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GREEK VOTIVE OFFERINGS

AN ESSAY IN THE HISTORY OF GREEK RELIGION.

BY

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PREFACE.

IN ancient times Polemon wrote an account of the votive offerings on the Acropolis of Athens in four books[1], and another of those in Lacedaemon[2]; Menetor wrote also a book on votive offerings[3]. Since their day the subject has met with scant attention; there is no general work dealing with it, and I know only of Tomasino's book[4] on Roman votive offerings, the pamphlets of Reisch and Ziemann[5], and the articles in the Dictionaries of Smith, of Daremberg and Saglio, and in Pauly's *Realencyclopädie* (*Donarium*, *Donaria*). A number of essays have, however, appeared on special parts of the subject, particularly in the archaeological journals, which will be found cited in the notes to this book. Most of them have their value, but it consists chiefly in their collection and presentation of facts. I have not wittingly used the work of others without acknowledgment; but inasmuch as most of my collections were made before I met with the books and articles alluded to, I have not thought it necessary to refer to these for quotations which we have found independently. I must particularly mention, however, Mr J. G. Frazer's *Pausanias*, which has been of great help in revising my book.

[1] Strabo, ix. 396; Athenaeus, xi. 472 B, xiii. 587 C Πολεμὼν ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἀκροπόλεως.

[2] Athenaeus, xiii. 574 C. Πολεμὼν ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἀναθημάτων.

[3] Athenaeus, xiii. 574 C. Μενέτωρ ἐν τῷ περὶ ἀναθημάτων.

[4] Jacobi Philippi Tomasini, Episcopi Aemoniensis, *De Donariis ac tabellis votivis*, liber singularis, Patavii, 1654. Ziemann mentions another: P. Kunz, *Sacra et Profana ἀναθημάτων Historia*, 1729.

[5] See list of abbreviations.

In the present essay I have attempted first to set forth the facts in some convenient order, then to deduce principles from them: the only possible plan in dealing with a subject which has never been fully investigated, and where explanations are commonly assumed as axioms without an attempt at proof. I began my work with a few of these ready-made theories, which so impressively enunciated seemed to be no more open to suspicion than Caesar's wife; to my surprise, as the evidence displayed itself, I saw them drop away one by one, and since the conclusions I have been led to are very different from what I expected, I may fairly claim that they are due to no prejudice. If those who prefer the old assumptions can give reasons for their faith, I am willing to learn; the true test of my own suggestions will be, whether future discoveries will fall readily into their proper place. It has interested me greatly to see that this subject, in itself apparently of small account, yet throws light on more than one great principle; and after the ten years' work which has gone to make this book, I seem to see far more clearly than I did the sincerity and simplicity of Greek religion in the great age, and the elements of corruption which finally brought it to nought. In this history there are not wanting apt illustrations of modern tendencies, which have more than antiquarian interest.

I tried to make my collection of facts complete; but so large was the mass of them that they could not all be presented. Certain classes of dedications, such as those of honorific statues, could without loss be dealt with summarily; and, in general, there is little to interest in dedications which are later than the fourth century. Before that date I have not wittingly omitted anything of note or significance. The most arduous part of the task has been to sift the archaeological finds. If in the hundreds of journals and periodicals much has been overlooked, the only excuse I can offer is that the book was written at Tomi, where there are no libraries, and therefore the time available for the search has been a week stolen here and there from leisure. It should also be remembered, that with a few exceptions (such as the Asclepius and hero reliefs) even the pioneer work of collection and comparison had not

been done. When we have a *Corpus* of Reliefs, and more exact descriptions of the figures of all sorts which have been discovered in sanctuaries, it is quite possible that many obscurities may be cleared up, and mistakes corrected. This being so, it may seem rash to have published this book so soon; but after all, one might have waited until the Greek Kalends. It is something to have the available facts collected, which I have tried to do: if the future should bring more light for them, I shall be the first to welcome it. The only criticism which I shall not welcome is a vain repetition of old shibboleths, some at least of which I think this volume ought to destroy.

Although it was no part of my purpose to record foreign parallels, I have done so wherever I happened to know of anything to the point. It was, however, all along my intention to include modern survivals; and therefore I have described at some length the practices which now hold in the Levant. I speak chiefly from my own knowledge of these; but where other travellers have recorded similar scenes, I have generally added a reference to their works.

In the inscriptions which are cited below, restored letters are printed in thick type; and the iota adscript is printed in line, not beneath, where it is found on the stone. Where it is printed subscript I have copied my authority; in such cases there was no exact transcription available.

Proper names have been spelt in the traditional way; but Greek epithets, and some names not familiar in Latin form, keep the Greek spelling. In this matter it seems better to be inconsistent than pedantic, and nothing is gained by dubbing an old acquaintance Aischulos or Thoukudides.

I am well aware of the faults of this essay; but those who have not attempted to deal with the subject will not readily believe, how difficult it has been to present the material in anything like a clear arrangement. For one thing, there is its bulk; for another, its incompleteness. It was necessary to choose between two alternatives: either to adopt one uniform classification, and in each section to fill in such heads as were there represented; or to classify the matter in each chapter in the way most convenient, and to leave the general scheme to

develop itself in the final survey. The former plan would have left in several chapters ugly gaps, and would have made it difficult to find a place for a great deal of my material; I therefore chose the latter. It is a drawback, no doubt, that the arrangement thus differs in the different chapters, some of which deal with specified groups of divinities and others with specified occasions: but in my opinion the gain is great, in that the theories of explanation are not assumed, but evolve themselves.

I have to thank the administrators of the Worts Fund for a grant of £50, which in the year 1896 enabled me to visit the museums of Sparta, Smyrna, Samos, Odessa, and Petersburg. Dr Waldstein and Dr de Cou, with the true scholar's generosity, have allowed me to quote from their unpublished discoveries in the Heraeum; and M. Haussoullier also was so good as to send me a copy of some inscriptions found by him at Branchidae. My thanks are due also to Prof. E. Gardner and Prof. Rhys Roberts, who did me the service of reading and criticising the proofs; to the Council of the Anthropological Institute, who kindly allowed me to use two plates from Major Temple's article referred to below (p. 391[1]); and to Prof. Ridgeway for the loan of several blocks from his *Early Age of Greece*.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

AA. Archaeologischer Anzeiger: Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch, *q.v.*

AJA. American Journal of Archaeology and of the History of the Fine Arts. Princeton University Press, 1886—1896, *New Series*, 1897—

AM. Mittheilungen des deutschen archaeologischen Instituts: Athenische Abtheilung, 1876— .

Ann. Annali dell' Instituto archaeologico di Roma.

Ant. Denk. Antike Denkmäler, herausgegeben vom kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Institut. Berlin, Reimer, 1887—1891.

AZ. Archaeologische Zeitung, 1843— .

Baumeister. Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums. München und Leipzig, 1885.

BCH. Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique. Paris, 1877— .

Bronzen = Ergebnisse.

Bull. Bulletino dell' Instituto archaeologico di Roma.

Carapanos. Dodone et ses ruines.

Cat. Ath. Mus. Sc. Γλυπτὰ τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Μουσείου· κατάλογος περιγραφικὸς ὑπὸ Π. Καββαδία. Ἐν Ἀθήναις· ἐκ τοῦ τοπογραφείου Σ. Κ. Βλάστου. I. 1890—92.

Cat. Acr. Mus. Κατάλογος τοῦ Μουσείου τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως ὑπὸ Π. Καστριώτου. 1895.

Cat. Acr. Mus. Br. Catalogue des Bronzes trouvées sur l'acropole d'Athènes.

Cat. Berl. Sc. Beschreibung der Antiken Skulpturen mit Anschluss der Pergamenischen Fundstücke. Berlin, Spemann, 1891.

Cat. Br. Mus. Catalogue of the Bronzes in the British Museum: Greek, Roman and Etruscan, by H. B. Walters. 1899.

Cat. Br. Mus. Sc. A Catalogue of Sculpture in the department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum. By A. H. Smith, M.A. London. Printed by order of the Trustees. Vol. I. 1892, Vol. II. 1900.

Cat. Cypr. Mus. A Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum. By John L. Myres and Max Ohnefalsch-Richter. Clarendon Press, 1899.

CIA. Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum, consilio et auctoritate Academiae litterarum Regiae Borussicae editum. Berlin, Reimer, I.—IV. 1873—

CIG. Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum. Böckh, I.—IV.

Coll. Sab. Furtwängler: Collection Sabouroff. Vols. I. and II.

Collitz. Sammlung der griechischen Dialektinschriften.

Dar. and Sagl. Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines. Paris, Hachette, 1877— .

Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. Ἐφημερὰς Ἀρχαιολογική. Athens, 1837— .

Ergebnisse. Olympia: Die Ergebnisse der von dem deutschen Reich veranstalteten Ausgrabungen. Vol. III. Bronzen, Vol. IV. Inschriften. Berlin, v.d.

Farnell. Cults of the Greek States. Vols. I. and II. Clarendon Press, 1896.

Furtwängler = Coll. Sab.

F-W. Die Gipsabgüsse Antiker Bildwerke: von Carl Friedrichs, neu bearbeitet von Paul Wolters. Berlin, Spemann, 1885.

Gaz. Arch. Gazette Archaeologique, 1875—1889.

Girard. Paul Girard, L'Asclépieion d'Athènes. Paris, Thorin, 1881.

IGA. Inscriptiones Graecae Antiquissimae praeter Atticas in Attica repertas, edidit Hermannus Roehl. Berlin, Reimer, 1882.

IGI. Inscriptiones Graecae Insularum Maris Aegei. Berlin, Reimer. I. Rhodi, Chalces, Carpathi cum Saro, Casi. F. Hiller de Gärtringen, 1895. II. Lesbi, Nesi, Tenedi. Gulielmus R. Paton, 1899. III. Symes, Teutlaseae, Teli, Nisyri, Astypaleae, Anaphes, Therae et Therasiae, Pholegandri, Meli, Cimoli. F. Hiller de Gärtringen, 1898.

IGS. Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum Graeciae Septentrionalis. Berlin, Reimer. I. Inscriptiones Graecae Megaridis, Oropiae, Boeotiae, edidit Gulielmus Dittenberger, 1892. III. 1. Inscriptiones Graecae Phocidis, Locridis, Aetoliae, Acarnaniae, Insularum Maris Ionii, edidit Gulielmus Dittenberger, 1897.

IGSI. Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum Siciliae et Italiae, edidit Georgius Kaibel. Berlin, Reimer, 1890.

IPI. Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum Peloponnesi et Insularum Vicinarum. I. Inscriptiones Graecae Aeginae, Pityonesi, Cecryphaliae, Argolidis, edidit Maximilianus Fraenkel. Berlin, Reimer, 1902.

Inschr. von Ol. = Ergebnisse.

Jahrb. Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen archaeologischen Instituts. Berlin, Reimer, 1886— .

Jahreshefte. Jahreshefte des österreichischen archaeologischen Instituts in Wien. Wien, 1888— .

Κατ. Κατάλογος τοῦ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἐπιγραφικοῦ Μουσείου ἐκδιδομένης ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἑταιρείας. Τόμος I. Ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως· Τεῦχος I. Ἀρχαϊκαὶ Ἀναθηματικαὶ Ἐπιγραφαὶ ὑπὸ H. G. Lolling. Ἐν Ἀθήναις· ἐκ τοῦ τυπογραφείου τῶν ἀδελφῶν Πέρρη, 1899.

Mon. Ant. Monumenti Antichi, publicati per cura della reale Accademia dei Lincei. Hopli, Milano, 1889— .

Mon. et Mém. Monuments et Mémoires, publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres. Paris, Leroux, 1894— .

Mon. Grec. Monuments Grecs, publiés par l'association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France. Paris, Maisonneuve, 1872—1897.

Mus. It. Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica, diretto da Domenico Comparetti. Firenze, 1885—1890.

Notizie. Notizie degli Scavi.

Preller, *Gr. M.* Griechische Mythologie.

Reisch. Griechische Weihgeschenke: Abhandlungen des Archaeologisch-Epigraphischen Seminars der Universität Wien, VIII. Wien, 1890.

Rev. Arch. Revue Archaeologique, publiée sous le direction de MM. Alex. Bertrand et G. Perrot. Paris, Leroux, 1845— .

Ridder, *Cat. Acr. Mus. Br.* Catalogue des Bronzes trouvés sur l'Acropole d'Athenès, par A. de Ridder. Paris, Thorin, 1896.

Ridgeway, *Currency.* Origin of Currency and Weight Standards, by W. Ridgeway. Cambridge University Press, 1892.

Ridgeway, *Early Age.* The Early Age of Greece, by W. Ridgeway. Cambridge University Press, I. 1901.

RM. Mittheilungen des deutschen archaeologischen Instituts: Römische Abtheilung.

Roberts. An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy, by E. S. Roberts. Cambridge University Press, I. 1887.

Roscher. Lexikon der Mythologie.

Schöne. Griechische Reliefs aus Athenischen Sammlungen, von Richard Schöne. Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel, 1872.

Sybel. Katalog der Sculpturen zu Athen, von Ludwig von Sybel. Marburg, 1881.

Ziemann. Franciscus Ziemann, De Anathematicis Graecis. Dissertatio Inauguralis. Regimonti Borussorum, 1885.

ERRATUM.

p. 231, line 2. *Dele* reference to illustration.

ADDENDA.

p. 257. Figures of nursing mothers are in the Museum at Eleusis.

p. 294. A r. f. vase found at Eleusis represents scenes from the Mysteries, and is inscribed in golden letters Δημητρία Δήμητρι ἀνέθηκεν (*Mon. et Mém.* vii. pl. iv.).

p. 298. *infra:* Croesus sent golden cows to Ephesus (Herod. i. 92).

p. 384. I omitted to notice that there is a late dedication of the thyrsus to Aphrodite (*Anth. Pal.* xiii. 24).

ERRATA.

Page xiv, line 8, *for* Εφημεραὶ *read* Εφημερίς.
„ 9, line 2, *for* heroes *read* warriors.
Pages 12[3], and 418, *read* ἐξωκλήσια, ἐρημοκλήσια.
Page 63, line 3, *omit* and were.
„ 92, line 12, *for* a similar origin *read* courtezans.
„ 113, line 1, *for* Polyperchron *read* Polyperchon.
„ 116[7], *read* *BCH* vi 32[31], below p. 230[8].
„ 200[2], *after* εἰσιτητήριον *add* *CIA* ii 1. *Add.* 453 *b c*.
„ 201, line 4 from foot of text, *for* dorter *read* dortor.
„ 203, last line of text, *after* Cos *add* Plin. *NH* xxix 2.
„ 250[13], *add* See p. 214 above.
„ 278, last line of text, *for* Carthage *read* Calchedon.
„ 285[1], *add* Differently explained as the offering of a citharoedus, by M Maas, quoting Arist. *Acharn.* 13 (*Philologus* lviii 155).
„ 306[7], *omit all after* 342.
„ 324[13], *for* ...ον *read* ...ου.
„ 330[16], *substitute for note as given* Collitz i 368.
„ 357, line 5, *for* sow *read* pig.
„ 364, line 3, *for* rams *read* sheep.
„ 374, line 16, *after* worshipt *insert* in their place.
„ 391, line 10, *for* may *read* need.

Indices:

Page 403, viii *add* δαΐς 2420, περιρραντήριον 2422, πόρπη 2420.
„ 419, *read* Καλλίπυγος 249[1].
„ 435, *s.v.* Demeter, line 16, *for* home *read* honour.
„ 447, *s.v.* Muses *add* writer dedicates writing materials, 72.

GREEK VOTIVE OFFERINGS.

INTRODUCTION.

PLAN OF THE BOOK.

WHATEVER is given of freewill to a being conceived as superhuman is to speak strictly a votive offering. The motive is simple, but not always the same: the occasion is accidental, or, if it be determined, the gift is not compulsory. This definition excludes all taxes, whether paid to a god or a government, and includes the sacrifice of animals at the altar. But some taxes or customary contributions are so closely associated with votive offerings, or so clearly grow out of them, that no strict line can be drawn; and to discuss the principle of the sacrifice would lead us far afield into questions of comparative custom, whilst the details of sacrifice are not instructive for our present purpose. Sacrifice will therefore be only touched on by the way, and a few pages will be given to the consideration of ritual fines. On the other hand, tithes and firstfruits paid in kind are important to us, both in themselves and for their developments, and something must be said of them. The main purpose of the book, however, is to collect and classify those offerings which are not immediately perishable; and by examining the occasion of their dedication, and the statements made about it, to trace if possible the motives of the dedicator and the meaning which the act had for him.

We shall begin with the Worship of the Dead, which is demonstrably one of the oldest found on Greek soil, and the customs connected with it. The second chapter will deal with Tithes and Firstfruits. Next will be considered several important occasions for the dedication of votive offerings: Victory in War and the Games; deliverance from Disease, Danger, or Calamity; the crises of Domestic Life; memorials of Honour and Office; memorials of Ritual; and Propitiation of an offended deity. A brief survey will be taken of things dedicated for their rarity, and of some curious developments of the main custom. We shall then collect the formulae of dedication, and indicate how the objects were disposed of. Lastly, a general review will gather up all the threads together, and draw the necessary conclusions.

I.

THE DEAD, THE HEROES, AND THE CHTHONIAN DEITIES[1].

τῆς Ἑλλάδος προσελθούσης τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ ἐρωτώσης ὅπως δεῖ τιμᾶν τὸν Ἡρακλέα μετὰ τὴν ἀποθέωσιν, εἶπεν ὁ θεός· νῦν μὲν ὡς ἥρωα, ἄγριον δὲ ὡς θεόν.

Schol. Pindar *Nem.* II. 38.

Every student of primitive culture knows how common a practice it is to immolate men, women, and animals at the funeral, and to send with the dead into his new home food and drink, and the articles which by analogy with this world he might be expected to want. In case of burial, food is placed upon the mound and drink poured into the earth, whilst the tools or utensils are laid with the body in the tomb; in case of burning, the offerings may be destroyed by fire. In the *Odyssey* we see the underlying principles in all their bare savagery, when Ulysses cuts the throats of his victims over a ditch, and the insubstantial shades by drinking of the blood gain a momentary strength to answer his questions. On the other hand, at the funeral games of Patroclus there is immolation of victims, but its meaning is not so much as hinted at. To argue that the practice described in the *Odyssey* grew up after the date of the *Iliad*, is impossible; because in the former we have a complete parallel to the practices of savages, while the civilisation of the *Iliad* is too advanced to admit of such practices beginning there. The *Iliad* is in fact earlier in date, but later in culture, than the ninth book of the *Odyssey*; it is silent of many things, such as the mutilation of Cronus, which crop up first at a later date.

[1] See Furtwängler, *Collection Sabouroff*, Introduction; Roscher, *Lex. der Mythol.*, *s.v.* Heros.

And the worship of the dead is attested not only by literature but by archaeology: moreover, there is evidence of continuity. The excavation of the beehive tomb at Menidhi in Attica brought to light a series of sacrificial vases, which proved that the cult had been practised there without a break from the Mycenean to the classical age. We are justified then in assuming that the *γέρας θανόντων* included more than a barrow and a stone slab; and in regarding the burial of toys and vases in the tombs of a later day as the survival of an outgrown belief.

The rites done for the dead seem to have included a funeral feast, periodically or yearly renewed, which was celebrated at the tomb[1]. Royal and noble houses would naturally have a family tomb[2]; and the tendency in Greece as elsewhere was to deify the founder of the race. So the Scythian kings were honoured by the immolation of wives and slaves, by the offering of firstfruits and golden cups[3]. Those who died after the great founder of the family would naturally join him, and become as he was. Partly for fear of what harm the ghosts could do, and partly from hope of their help, the survivors were scrupulous in doing what might please them. The tomb was filled with weapons and utensils which belonged to them in this life, or which they might be likely to want in the other. All these are strictly votive offerings[4]; they are dedicated on a special occasion, and for the purpose of propitiation, to a being conceived

[1] *τρίτα*, *ἔνατα* (Isaeus, ii. 37), *τριακάδες* in Lexicographers, *γενέσια* (Herod. iv. 26). Lucian describes how garlands and myrrh were offered, wine poured into a trench, and the offerings burned (*Charon* 22). Compare the inscr. of Ceos, *IGA* 395, where mention is made of wine and oil, of sacrificial vessels, of the month's mind and the year's mind. Customary sacrifice to the dead in Olynthus: Athenaeus, viii. 334 F. So in Modern Greece: at Patmos, for example, the memorial feasts and services after a death are *τριήμερα*, *ἐννιαήμερα*, *σαράντα*, *τριμῆνα*, *ἑξαμῆνα*, *χρόνια*, *δίχρονα*, and *τρίχρονα*. In the Greek and Russian churches, those who are named after a saint keep his day holiday; but it is perhaps fanciful to see a connexion between this tribute to a spiritual father and ancestor worship.

[2] Roscher, *Lex.* i. 2459, 2474.

[3] Herod. iv. 71, 72. Battus and the old kings of Cyrene seem to have had divine honours, Herod. iv. 161.

[4] Euripides speaks of *ἀναθήματα νεκροῖς*: *Suppl.* 983. Votive offerings in Argive tombs: Frazer, *Pausanias* ii. p. 173. In tombs of slain warriors: *op. cit.* v. p. 141.

as superhuman. Since, however, a distinction soon grew up between burial rites and divine ritual, I do not propose to follow out the former through all its history. Nor is it important to consider here whether or no divine ritual was always derived from the ritual of the dead. As Furtwängler acutely remarks, the pouring of a libation is meaningless unless it be connected with beings who dwell in the underworld; and this at least was extended to non-chthonian deities. But at the outset the two kinds of ritual approximate. It would appear that the recurrent feast was carved on a slab of stone and set up over the grave, perhaps as a perpetual memorial of the willingness of the living to serve the dead; and the burial rites gave rise to a type of relief which was of importance in the history of art.

This is the so-called Hero Feast or Death Feast: the earliest form is best seen in a series of ancient Spartan reliefs, of which the following may be considered typical[1]. Two figures, a male and a female, are seated upon a throne. The male figure holds in his right hand a goblet, and extends his left in a posture which is hard to interpret: it is neither a blessing nor an accepting, the hand being held vertical[2]. The female holds a pomegranate in her right hand, and the left holds her veil. A large snake curls under the throne, the head appearing over its back. Before the pair is seen a couple of tiny figures, a man and a woman, he holding a cock and an egg or some little object, perhaps fruit or cake, she a flower and a pomegranate. In this relief the enthroned figures turn towards the right of the spectator, but in some of later date they turn to his left. Other attributes, such as the dog, also appear[3], and sometimes there is no female. The heroized pair are always distinguished by being larger in size than the human adorers; a natural convention, seen often in the sculptures of Egypt and Assyria[4]. From the rough working of the lower part of these slabs they appear to have been fixed in the earth.

[1] *Coll. Sab.* i. pl. 1; see for the whole series, *AM* ii. 301 ff., 459, iv. 163, 193, vii. 163. They date from the seventh or sixth century. See fig. 1.

[2] Perhaps the ambiguity is due to the artist's limitations.

[3] *AM* ii. pl. 22.

[4] Philostr. *Her.* 296 (685) τὸ εἶδος

The earlier examples have no inscriptions to guide us in the interpretation, but the later ones are inscribed with names. They may therefore be confidently regarded as sepulchral. This view is supported by several other facts. Along with the first slab an inscription was found recording that the place was sacred to Hermes[1]. The snake is carved on an

Fig. 1. Archaic Spartan relief: deified ancestors with votaries. *Collection Sabouroff*, i. pl. 1.

early Spartan tombstone[2], and it is well known to be associated with the chthonian powers. Its habit of lurking in

ἐς ἥρω ἔφερε μέγαν τε καὶ καλὸν καὶ ἀνδρεῖον οὔπω τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότα. In India I once saw a marionette show, representing the siege of Delhi; in which the English general was twice the size of his men, and the Great Mogul within towered high over the walls of his citadel.

[1] Ἑρμᾶνος, *IGA* 60.

[2] *Annali* xxxiii. pl. C. Snake identified with the hero Cychreus: Paus. i. 36. 1.

holes of the earth, its mysterious movement and uncanny eye, its silence and deadly power, have caused this creature to be regarded with superstitious awe in many parts of the world. The Greeks of a later age believed that snakes issued from the dead man's marrow[1]; and that is not the kind of idea which is likely to have originated in a later age. Not by Greeks alone is the serpent regarded as the incarnation of wisdom[2]; and amongst them it continued to be associated with oracular caves and shrines. Flowers, eggs, and cock were no doubt sacrifices; and we know how the cock became the traditional poor man's offering to Asclepius[3]. The whole scene, then, represents one scene in the ritual of the dead, the sacrifice to wit; and as living and dead are supposed to meet in the ritual banquet[4], so the deified ancestors, or heroes, are represented as present at the feast or as preparing to partake in it.

Out of this early cult of ancestors appears to have grown the whole system of Hero-Worship in Greece; and this is no mere inference, for a similar principle produces the same results until long after the Christian era. To heroes are applied those terms which express ideas relating to the dead: they are "the Stronger," "the Averter," "the Protector[5]." Mortal men in time become heroes and even gods, as in the case of Asclepius and the Dioscuri[6]. Even oracles, and the practice of sleeping in

[1] Philostr. *Her.* 288 (670); Roscher i. 2467.

[2] *Genesis* iii. 1.

[3] I am not prepared to say that the cock had also a symbolic meaning: it was a very common sacrifice. His crow is now believed to frighten away the ghostly powers of the night; the Kalikazari in Cyprus and Cos, the witches or goblins of northern Europe. But I see no proof that the early Greeks held any such view, or that they conceived of their dead as having no power in the daytime. Sacrifice was however done to the heroes at sunset (Paus. vi. 23. 3, Schol. Pind. *Isth.* iv. 110) or at night (viii. 14. 11); and Athenaeus says (xi. 461 B) χαλεπούς καὶ πλήκτας τοὺς ἥρωας νομίζουσι, καὶ μᾶλλον νύκτωρ ἢ μεθ' ἡμέραν.

[4] Compare Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 255 ff. Cf. Paus. ii. 10. 1. The hero certainly partakes in Daulis: Paus. x. 4. 10, "the blood they pour through a hole into the grave, the flesh they consume on the spot."

[5] οἱ κρείττονες (see Hesych. *s.v.*), ἀποτρόπαιος, ἀλεξίκακος. Arist. *ap.* Plut. *Cons. ad Apoll.* 27. Furtwängler p. 21, Roscher i. 2474. The old woman in Aristophanes calls out for help ὦ Ἡράκλεις, ὦ Πᾶνες, ὦ Κορύβαντες, ὦ Διοσκόρω. *Eccl.* 1069.

[6] For Asclepius see ch. v. The Dioscuri are men in *Il.* iii. 236, heroes or gods in *Od.* xi. 300.

the precinct for the purpose of consulting them, are attested for the dead among the Nasamones[1], and alluded to elsewhere[2]. Sometimes the descriptive titles become abstracted and personified as heroes, a point which has significance when we remember that the Pelasgians did not name their gods[3]. Thus we find Amynos at Athens, the Defender[4]; Eumenes, the Kindly, at Chios[5]; Sosias, the Saviour, at Olbia[6]. Soter, the Saviour, was added to the name of Brasidas heroized[7], and to Demetrius and Antigonus at Athens; and in later days inscriptions are common which dedicate statues to the Roman Emperors under the title of Founder and Saviour[8]. Such titles imply protection in general, but others are more particular. There are heroes who specialize in war, as Phylacos the Guardian at Delphi[9], Teichophylax at Myrina[10], and Promachos at Psophis[11]; Eunostos of Tanagra[12] and Deloptes[13] of Samos have other functions which the names make clear. Or again, the healing of disease was the special function, and this especially where the worship centred round a medicinal spring[14]. Such are the Hero Physician at Athens[15], and Asclepius at Tricca, of whom more anon. If there is a cave of mysterious vapours, oracle and prophecy come to the front, as in the case of Amphiaraus and Trophonius. But the idea of power in general is never lost sight of, and it is ascribed to the mighty dead throughout Greek history. Brasidas and Sophocles have already been mentioned as heroized; similar honours are ascribed to Philippus of Croton[16], Onesilos at Amathus[17], even to

[1] Herod. iv. 172.

[2] Plut. *Consol. ad Apoll.* 14, Herod. v. 92.

[3] Herod. ii. 52.

[4] *AM* xxi. 330.

[5] Athenaeus, vi. 266 D; compare the title Eumenides, and the Good People in English folk-lore.

[6] Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 248[101].

[7] Thuc. v. 11. Sophocles was heroized after his death as Dexion, because he had welcomed Asclepius to Athens: *ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ δεξιώσεως*, *Et. Mag.*

[8] *οἰκιστής*, *κτίστης*, *σωτήρ*: e.g. *CIA* iii. 493 ff., *AM* xviii. 10 Trajan *σωτῆρι καὶ κτίστῃ τῆς οἰκουμένης*. See Furtwängler 22, Roscher i. 2516.

[9] Herod. viii. 39. Aristomenes was also useful: Paus. iv. 32. 4.

[10] Hesych. s.v.

[11] Paus. viii. 24. 6.

[12] Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* 40.

[13] *AM* xxv. 172.

[14] Athenaeus xi. 512 F *τὰ θερμὰ λουτρὰ τὰ φαινόμενα ἐκ τῆς γῆς πάντες Ἡρακλέους φασὶν εἶναι ἱερά.*

[15] *CIA* ii. 403. Frazer, *Pausanias* ii. 149. Theagenes in many places: Paus. vi. 31. 9.

[16] Herod. v. 47.

[17] Herod. v. 114.

such unlikely persons as Theagenes the athlete in Phocis and many other places[1]. The Homeric heroes one and all seem to have had this honour paid to them. Ulysses was a hero in Laconia[2], Agenor in Argos[3], Protesilaus in the Chersonese[4], even Hector in Boeotia[5]. The warriors who fell at Plataea were worshipt as heroes with offerings of garments, firstfruits, and all that was customary year by year[6]; the Spartans built a shrine to Maron and Alpheus who fell at Thermopylae[7]; and until late days a public vote might make heroes of the gallant dead[8]. Epicteta of Thera, in her well-known will, took upon herself this state function. She left her property to endow a shrine to the Muses and the Heroes, the last being herself and Phoenix her husband, with their two sons. In their honour recurrent feasts were to be kept up, with sacrifice and libation, when the statues of the heroes were to be adorned with garlands[9]. In course of time the idea lost all its meaning, and hero, like the German *selig*, came to be a synonym for the dead[10].

The heroes do more than protect mankind; they also punish them for wrongdoing, or at least for an offence against themselves[11]. In early times, of course, the line is not drawn distinctly between a ritual and a moral offence; but

[1] Paus. vi. 24. 3. The unsuccessful suitors of Hippodamia were worshipt as heroes: Paus. vi. 21. 11.

[2] Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* 48.

[3] Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* 50.

[4] Herod. ix. 116; Philostr. *Her.* passim, who mentions also Nestor 303 (696), Diomede and Sthenelus 304 (699), Philoctetes 305 (702), Agamemnon and Menelaus, Idomeneus and Ajax 307 (706), Chiron and Palamedes 308 (708), Odysseus 312 (716), Teucer 315 (721), Aeneas, Sarpedon, Alexander 316 (723), Helenus, Deiphobus, Polydamas, Euphorbus 317 (725).

[5] Lucian, *Deor. Conc.* 12; Lycophron 1205; Roscher i. 2482.

[6] Thuc. iii. 58 *πατέρων τῶν ὑμετέρων θήκας, οὓς ἀποθανόντας ὑπὸ Μήδων καὶ ταφέντας ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἐτιμῶμεν κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον δημοσίᾳ ἐσθήμασίν τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νομίμοις, ὅσα τε ἡ γῆ ἡμῶν ἀνεδίδου ὡραῖα, πάντων ἀπαρχὰς ἐπιφέροντες.*

[7] Paus. iii. 12. 9, vi. 11. 9.

[8] Collitz iii. 3196 *ὡς ἥρω τιμῆν* (Corcyra); *BCH* xvii. 98 *ἡ πόλις ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν ἀφηρώισεν.* A statue of Aristeas was dedicated to Apollo at Delphi for similar reasons, Herod. iv. 15.

[9] *IGI* iii. 330. So the great Nicholson's spirit is still propitiated with worship and offerings: Lyall, *Asiatic Studies*, ii. 301.

[10] *IGS* i. 1715 and *Index.*

[11] Schol. Arist. *Birds*, 1490 *οἱ ἥρωες δυσόργητοι καὶ χαλεποὶ τοῖς ἐμπελάζουσι.*

Philostratus tells us that in his day they were the guardians of morals to some extent[1]. It is perhaps not rash to identify them with the mysterious daemons of Homer, who visit the habitations of men, marking their uprightness or evildoing[2].

Traces are found of human sacrifice offered to heroes, not only in such celebrations as the funeral games of Patroclus, but in the story of Sperthias and Bulis[3], and in the victims sacrificed to Scedasus and his daughters before the battle of Leuctra[4]. But in the times we have to do with, the usual sacrifices were firstfruits in kind, and various animals: cattle, sheep, pigs, and goats, even horses, and sometimes fish[5]. In their honour the Arcadians celebrated regular feasts with their slaves in archaic fashion down to historical times[6]. The heroes were brought into connexion with every meal by the libations which were poured to them in general and in particular[7], and by the custom, that any food which fell from the table was sacred to them[8]: this assumes an earlier offering of the firstfruits of the meal. Besides, eatables and drinkables were offered at the shrine, the offerer inviting the shades to join in his banquet[9]; this became later the *θεοξένια* of the Dioscuri, Heracles and others[10]. The shrines generally included the hero's grave in a

[1] Philostr. *Her.* 294 (680).

[2] *Od.* xvii. 485 *καί τε θεοὶ ξείνοισι ϝεϝοικότες ἀλλοδαποῖσι παντοῖοι τελέθοντες ἐπιστροφάουσι πόληας, ἀνθρώπων ὕβριν τε καὶ εὐνομίην ἐφορῶντες.*

[3] Herod. vii. 134—7.

[4] Plut. *Pelop.* 20; see also Herod. iv. 71.

[5] Thuc. iii. 58; Roscher i. 2506, with authorities. For the horse, see Philostr. *Her.* 294 (681). A white horse was sacrificed in Athens at the tomb of Toxaris, the Stranger Physician: see Frazer, *Pausanias* ii. 148. A late Greek romance speaks of a horse as sacrificed at a girl's tomb: Ἐρωτικὰ Διηγήματα iii. 20.

[6] Hecataeus, *ap.* Ath. iv. 149 D: *ὅταν δὲ τοῖς ἥρωσι θύωσι, βουθυσία μεγάλη γίγνεται καὶ ἑστιῶνται πάντες μετὰ τῶν δούλων· οἱ δὲ παῖδες...μετὰ τῶν πατέρων ἐπὶ λίθων καθήμενοι γυμνοὶ δειπνοῦσιν.*

[7] Schol. Aesch. *Ag.* 245.

[8] Roscher i. 2507. Compare Hecataeus *ap.* Ath. iv. 149 C. The Arcadians *μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον σπονδὰς ἐποιοῦντο, οὐκ ἀπονιψάμενοι τὰς χεῖρας ἀλλ' ἀποματτόμενοι τοῖς ψωμοῖς, καὶ τὴν ἀπομαγδαλιὰν ἕκαστος ἀπέφερε, τοῦτο ποιοῦντες ἕνεκα τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀμφόδοις γινομένων νυκτερινῶν φόβων.*

[9] Philostr. *Her.* 291 (675), 326 (742).

[10] *ξενισμός* or *θεοξένια*, *CIA* i. 4, Paton, *Inscr. of Cos*, 36 *b*[23], *c*[38]; Roscher i. 1169 (vase painting); Heuzey, *Miss. arch. de Mac.* 419 pl. 25. 1 (relief). Schol. Pind. *Nem.* vi. 68, *γίνεται ἐν Δελφοῖς ἥρωσι ξένια, ἐν οἷς δοκεῖ ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ ξένια καλεῖν τοὺς ἥρωας.*

walled precinct, with a sacred grove, a place for sacrifice, and a heroum with table, couch, and the necessary implements. One of these shrines is prettily described by Philostratus[1]. "Protesilaus," he says, "lies not in Troy, but here in the Chersonese, and the barrow there yonder on the left marks his tomb. Those elms were planted around the barrow by the nymphs, and on the trees they would seem to have written this law: that the branches which are turned towards Ilium flower early, and cast their leaves soon and die before the time, as was the lot of Protesilaus, while on the other side the trees live and do well....And the shrine, wherein, as our fathers have told us, the Medes wreaked their insolence, on which even smoked fish came to life they say, there it is, and you see how little is left of it. But then it was fine methinks, and by no means small, as may be guessed from the foundations. And this statue stood upon a ship, for the base is shaped like a prow, and an admiral dedicated it. But time has defaced it, and to be sure the people, by anointing it and fastening upon it their prayers."

The importance and the antiquity of hero-worship have been very much underrated. The heroes meet us everywhere, and in many instances one stands in the precinct of a more famous god. There was an ancient shrine of the Hero in the Olympian Altis[2]; Apollo Ptoan stood side by side with a Hero Ptoan[3]; Butes had an altar in the Erechtheum[4]; Athena, and later Asclepius, threw the neighbouring healer Amynus and the Hero Physician into the shade[5]; we have already met with heroes at Delphi. It is inconceivable that these heroes should have grown up in such places after the greater gods had been introduced; they were therefore on the spot before them. Take these facts in conjunction with the Homeric allusions to the daemons, and the Arcadian custom already mentioned, and the conclusion is forced upon us that we have here a system of worship which was older than the great gods. The Pelasgians

[1] Philostr. *Her.* 289 (672).

[2] The Pelopeum, cp. Paus. v. 13. 1; cf. also *Inschr. von Ol.* 662.

[3] *IGA* 162 ἥρωι Πτωΐωι, and *BCH* xxii. 244; Paus. ix. 23. 6.

[4] Paus. i. 26. 5.

[5] Below, ch. v.

inhabited Greece before those races which worshipped Zeus, Athena, and Apollo; and the Pelasgians spoke of their gods without names[1], doubtless by some such collective title as Heroes or Daemons. The worship of the heroes continues throughout Greek history, but is on the wane and is not official, although recognised in public oaths where it is not safe to neglect any being who might have power[2].

These conditions answer to what would be expected, if the heroes belonged to the worship of a subject population, overmastered or conquered, but not crushed. Side by side with the great gods such worship would go on, as the hero-worship does, lingering longest in rural places or country villages, and in cities supported rather by the poor than by the rich and great. It lingered, too, in the country because so little was needed in the way of apparatus. No gorgeous temple was necessary, no organised priesthood; the family tomb was enough, or a modest shrine, not larger or more elaborate than the wayside chapels which at this day meet the traveller in Greece at every step. Indeed, there seems to be more than a chance resemblance between the ancient and the modern practice. The 'deserted chapels' or 'outside chapels'[3] are for the most part simple cells, standing alone in the midst of a field or a patch of woodland. Scores and hundreds are ruined, and often nothing remains now but the foundations; many of them were built in Byzantine

[1] Cp. Herod. ii. 52, Diog. Laert. i. 10. 3 ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔστιν εὑρεῖν κατὰ τοὺς δήμους τῶν Ἀθηναίων βωμοὺς ἀνωνύμους, ὑπόμνημα τῆς τότε γενομένης ἐξελάσεως (Epimenides and the plague).

[2] *Museo Italico* iii. 657, Crete: ὀμνύω τὰν Ἑστίαν τὰν ἐμ πρυτανείωι καὶ τὸν Δῆνα τὸν ἀγοραῖον καὶ τὸν Δῆνα τὸν Ταλλαῖον καὶ Ἀπέλλωνα τὸν Δελφίνιον καὶ τὰν Ἀθαναίαν τὰν πολιοῦχον καὶ τὸν Ἀπέλλωνα τὸν Ποίτιον καὶ τὰν Λατοῦν καὶ τὰν Ἄρτεμιν καὶ τὸν Ἄρεα καὶ τὰν Ἀφορδίταν καὶ τὸν Ἑρμᾶν καὶ τὸν Ἄλιον καὶ τὰν Βριτόμαρτιν καὶ τὸμ Φοίνικα καὶ τὰν Ἀμφιώναν καὶ τὰγ Γᾶν καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἥρωας καὶ ἡρωάσσας καὶ κράνας καὶ ποταμοὺς καὶ θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας. So in a treaty between Rhodes and Hierapytna, *Rev. Arch.* xxxv. 235, Cauer 181 ἀγαθᾶ τύχᾳ εὔξασθαι μὲν τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἱεροθύτας τῷ Ἁλίῳ καὶ τῷ Ῥόδῳ...καὶ τοῖς ἀρχαγέταις καὶ τοῖς ἥρωσι. A law of Draco ordained sacrifice to the gods and heroes together, firstfruits being offered: Porphyr. *De Abst.* iv. 380. G. B. Hussey, *AJA* vi. 59 ff., calculates that hero-shrines are rare except in Laconia (28 known) and Attica (16), two of the most conservative parts of Greece.

[3] ἐρημοκλησιά or ἐξωκλησιά.

times[1], and may fairly be assumed to stand on spots hallowed, for whatever reason, from times still more ancient. Some adjoin sacred wells, or sacred trees[2], on which hang the rags of devout worshippers, and may have been holy places before the Greeks came to Greece. Some are still cared for and kept neat; within you find a rude altar, an icon or two, some tapers and a font, with the offerings of the faithful. But most of these chapels, even ruined ones where a village is near, are the scene of some yearly festivity. Their patron saints are remembered by the country folk; and on the saint's day there is often a local Panegyris, and even the sacrifice of some animal with gilded horns[3]. It would be rash to propound theories when so little is known; but it is surely not fanciful to believe that these shrines may often stand on the site of a hero-shrine, or some farmer's chapel sacred to Pan or Dēmeter. Several are found near a medicinal spring, or ancient baths, and bear the name of the Saint Healer[4]. There are chapels on most of the high hills of Greece, now sacred to St Elias; in ancient times Zeus was usually worshipt in such places, and he seems to have displaced local names[5].

Closely allied with these are the chthonian deities; who may themselves have been often deified heroes, but in any case, like them, have protective and retributive power[6], and were appealed to in sickness[7]. Assuming that they really are deified ancestors, it becomes easy to understand why they so often go

[1] As the Μητρόπολις near Dip in Lesbos.

[2] Mesotopos in Lesbos; another in Cos up on the hills. I have noted many in the eastern islands. See *Folk-Lore*, vii. 149.

[3] Near Kalloni, Lesbos; see my paper in *Folk-Lore*, vii. 147. Cp. Homer *Od.* 425 ff., *CIA* iv. 2. 27 *b* τριττοίαν βούαρχον χρυσοκέρων.

[4] Αἱ Θαράπος or Θαράπης. In Lesbos, near the Bay of Kalloni; in Geranda, near Branchidae; a little way from Bassae. The last item is significant. So is perhaps the dedication of the church in Lindos (Rhodes), which worshipped Athena, to the Virgin. The Παναγία τἄλσου, or Virgin of the Grove, just outside the city of Cos, may preserve a memory of the grove of the ancient shrine; there is no vestige of a grove there now.

[5] Preller, *Gr. M.* 116 foll. Cp. *BCH* xxii. 244 (Taygetos, Parnassos, Ardettos, etc.); Paus. ix. 23. 6; Farnell, i. 152 ff.

[6] Aesch. *Eum.* 263 μέγας γὰρ Ἄιδης ἐστὶν εὔθυνος βροτῶν· ὕπερθε χθονὸς δελτογράφῳ πάντ' ἐπωπᾷ φρενί.

[7] The sanctuary of Hades and Persephone at Acharaca was visited by the sick. Strabo xiv. 1. 44.

in pairs. There would seem to have been an earlier local pair at Eleusis, which were displaced by the coming of others; for one relief, which bears the presentment of Demeter and the Maid, shows a pair of divinities seated by them, who are inscribed as the God and the Goddess[1]. Where the great gods are distinguished by appropriate titles, they may well have stepped into the places of such as these. Zeus Chthonius and Ge Chthonia[2] may be an instance in point; and another pair, Zeus Meilichius and Meilichia[3], have associations much the same as those of Demeter Chthonia[4]. In the Hellenistic age, Sarapis and Isis inherited the functions of many of the older pairs.

So much by way of introduction, and very necessary it is to the right understanding of the reliefs. As to the occasion of the offering, we have as a rule no key; except that we may assume the customary feast as a usual time of dedication, and sentiments of gratitude or propitiation for the cause. In this chapter we shall deal only with the general features of Dedications to Heroes, leaving aside for further examination those which are specifically inscribed as thank-offerings for healing or deliverance, and all that are associated with Asclepius and other healing gods. With the exception of this last important class, most of the dedications to the heroes known to us belong to the later periods of Greek history: but this is probably an accident, due to the fact that their shrines were less important and have not been so thoroughly examined.

An obvious offering would be the figure of the Hero. The base of one such has been discovered in Athens[5], and in Argos another base which seems to have borne one of the Dioscuri[6].

[1] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1886, 19, pl. 3.

[2] Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 373, Myconos.

[3] *BCH* ix. 404 Boeotia; *IGS*, 1814; Xen. *Anab.* vii. 8. 4.

[4] Dedications to her in Hermion: Collitz iii. 3382—3.

[5] Ἀθήναιον v. 161. 23 ...της ἥρωι εὐξάμενος.

[6] Collitz iii. 3262 τῶν ϝανάϙων· τοὶ Νιράχα ἀνέθεν. The base bore one statue of the stiff 'Apollo' type. M. Fränkel (*AZ* xl. 383) argues that the sons dedicated their father's portrait, because (1) there was one statue, (2) the givers' names are omitted. But (1) dedications to one of the Dioscuri are known, *AM* ii. 218; and (2) the dedicators' names are not necessary (see chapter xii.). Fränkel quotes a similar dedication from Delphi *BCH* vii. 445. But the conclusive objections

Statues of course stood in the shrine[1], but the number is small of those specially dedicated. I may mention a figure of Heracles dedicated by a Greek near Rome[2]; and a statuette of Hades enthroned, one of the few such which are inscribed[3]. At Eleusis[4] and at Tegea[5] have been found hundreds of small statuettes representing Demeter enthroned, with high head-dress and long robes. Similar figures were offered in other shrines of importance, but there is little direct evidence for the Heroes. One shrine, however, that of Menelaus and Helen near Therapne in Laconia[6], has been excavated, and has yielded an interesting series of figures[7]. About four hundred objects made of lead were found, including warriors armed with round shield and Corinthian helmet, mounted men, others stark-naked; and female figures of various types, some dressed in a long robe and holding a spear, others armed with the bow, others winged. There were also draped female figures with the *polos* head-dress, girls playing upon the flute, and what look like running or dancing men; there were animals, the lion and the horse, palm leaves and garlands, a Centaur, and other things[8]. Some of these may well have been meant for the figures of Menelaus and Helen, armed or dressed in various fashions because the type was not fixed, and the idea was that of a protecting power[9]. If the winged goddesses were not Helen (and no reason appears why they should have been Helen), perhaps they may belong to a yet earlier shrine of the ancient goddess called by the Greeks

to his view are that the person dedicated must be mentioned in an honorific inscr., and that honorific statues are not known so early. For the difficult inscr. of Niocles see p. 27.

[1] Paus. iii. 15. 3, *CIA* i. 360.

[2] *IGSI* 1004. Pausanias ix. 11. 6 records another.

[3] Sparta: no. 3 in Dressel-Milchhöfer's Catalogue *AM* ii. 297 ff.

[4] In the Museum at Eleusis.

[5] *AM* iv. 170 ff.; below, ch. VIII.

[6] Paus. iii. 19. 9, Herod. vi. 61, Isocr. x. 63. By the time the *Laus Helenae* was written, they had become gods: *οὐχ ὡς ἥρωσιν ἀλλ' ὡς θεοῖς*, 63.

[7] *AZ* xxx. 8 ff., pl. i, ii.

[8] The palms or garlands were perhaps held in the hands of figures, as we see them in terra-cotta statuettes (below, ch. VIII.). The grills or gridirons which M. Perdrizet found so mysterious are the bases of animal figures; many were found at Olympia with the animals upon them. *Bronzen von Ol.* 198, 202, etc.

[9] Without proof I cannot accept the suggestion that they were meant for Athena.

Artemis; similar figures were found in Apollo's temple at Amyclae, which appear to be as old as the Mycenaean age[1]. But the maidens with musical instruments are more likely to have been meant for the worshippers, or for some official who played a part in the ceremonies, dedicated as a memorial of the rite. Palmettes and wreaths, if offered independently, would be cheaper memorials of the act of worship. Animals must be interpreted in the light of the larger series of Olympia, Dodona, and the Cabirium[2]. We never hear of the lion as a sacrificial animal; and if the horse was sacrificed to a hero, it was not sacrificed to Zeus. It is safer therefore to assume, that the lion is the hunter's thank-offering, and the horse that of the warrior, the racer, or the breeder. At this date, the early sixth century, toys are probably out of the question. What to make of the centaur I do not know. In the Olympian Pelopeum were figures of men and animals, tripods, vases, rings, needles, articles of adornment and of value, and armour[3]. A variety of objects, though not so great, was found in the Tarentine shrine of the Dioscuri[4]. Here we have reclining male figures and seated female figures, probably combined together originally into a group like that of the Hero Feast; but very often a child is held by the female, or climbs upon the couch. There are also masks, and terra-cotta discs with a head in relief; heads of Pan, Silenus, and the Gorgon; and miniature vases, amphorae and others, in thousands. There are armed men and riders, a youth with an oil-flask, a satyr, a lad on a ram, and numbers of human heads covered with a ceremonial head-dress.

Fragments of bronze and fictile vases have been found bearing dedications to heroes: the hero's name is commonly not given. It is impossible to say whether they were given because of their value, or for use, or as memorials of some act of ritual. That vases used in ritual were left at the shrine is proved by the tomb of Menidhi, but an inscription suggests some more special occasion. Part of a fictile vase, with an archaic dedication, was found in a place at Megara

[1] *AZ* xxx. 19.

[2] Below, chs. II. and VIII.

[3] *Bronzen von Ol.* 3.

[4] *Gaz. Arch.* vii. 155 ff., *AZ* xl. 286 ff.

identified by another inscription as a hero shrine[1]. A vase found at Tarentum, bearing the hinder part of two horses, is dedicated to the Saviours[2]. A black fictile vase of the early fifth century, found at Mycenae, is inscribed "of the hero[3]." A trade guild dedicate a bronze vessel to their local hero in Phocis[4]. A vessel of stone from Cyprus bears a similar legend[5]. Altars are also dedicated to the heroes: to the Dioscuri for example[6], or to Theseus in Attica[7], to Heracles in Boeotia[8]. One at least of these was the gift of a priest on his election[9]; one was given in obedience to a dream[2]; others in return for preservation[10]: all are of later date than the fourth century. Diomedon of Cos, who left by will an estate for founding a sanctuary to Heracles, presented the furniture: table, couch, cups and mixing jar, lamps, brazier, censers, and a rug, together with two clubs and five golden crowns for the statues[11]. Herodotus speaks of gold cups being offered to Protesilaus[12].

The dedication of arms and armour is also recorded, but the motive is not always clear. If Heracles could be invoked in battle[13], then captured arms might be offered to him; and Philostratus mentions Mysian arms that hung by a medicinal spring[14]. But the shield and helmet which hang on the wall of a heroum, in a fifth century relief from Cumae[15], or in later reliefs from Samos[16], may be part of the hero's own equipment.

We need do no more than mention the offerings of firstfruits in kind[17], food, flowers, wreaths[18], money[19], and locks of hair; the

[1] *IGS* iii. 1. 3493 [**E**]ὐκλείδας καὶ Μ*h*ειλο...**ἀνέθεν**: cp. 3492, 3495—7.

[2] *IGSI* 2406[108] (σωτῆρες).

[3] *IGA* 29, Collitz iii. 3313 τοῦ ἥρωος ἠμί.

[4] *IGA* 323 Εὔφαμος καὶ τοὶ συνδαμιουργοὶ ἀνέθηκαν τῶι ἥρωι.

[5] Collitz i. 96 Εὐμένης ἔθηκε τῶι ἥρωι.

[6] *CIA* iv. Suppl. 1. 1663 *b* ἀνάκοιν.

[7] *CIA* ii. 1205, Sybel 6221—2.

[8] *IGS* i. 1829 (Leuctra) Φιλεῖνος Διονύσω Ἡρακλεῖ κατ' ὄνειρον.

[9] *CIA* ii. 1205 Ἀπολλωνίδης Ἱέρωνος Ῥαμνούσιος ἱερεὺς γενόμενος τῷ Θησεῖ.

[10] *BCH* iii. 293 θεῷ σώζοντι εὐχήν.

[11] Paton, *Inscr. of Cos*, 36 *d*.

[12] Herod. ix. 166.

[13] Below, p. 96.

[14] Philostr. *Her.* 300 (691).

[15] *Cat. Berl. Mus.* 805, Roscher i. 2555.

[16] *AM* xxv. 176 ff.

[17] Thuc. iii. 58, Herod. iv. 71.

[18] Philostr. *Her.* 296 (684) ὁπόσα νομίζουσιν ἐπὶ σημάτων ἄνθρωποι, ἐπέφερε τῇ κόνει τάς τε ἡδίους τῶν ἀμπέλων ἐξαιρῶν αὐτῷ κρατῆρα ἐτρύγα, καὶ ξυμπίνειν τῷ Παλαμήδει ἔφασκεν. Lucian, *Charm.* 22.

[19] Aelian, *VH* viii. 18.

first and last will be presently considered, and with the others we have no concern. We must, however, mention that models or images of the perishable things offered in the sacrifice were sometimes offered in stone, metal, or clay. Thus among the finds at a sanctuary of chthonian Persephone, unearthed at Tarentum, are a number of clay animals, and in particular a whole series of pigs[1]. One Lysistrate at Athens dedicated to Heracles a stone shaped like a cake, with appropriate inscription[2]. Statuettes of the votary holding a pig or other sacrificial animal are known in several places[3]; they may be mentioned here because the pig was a favourite offering to the chthonian deities.

But the most interesting dedications are the reliefs, which survive in large numbers. The hero is represented in various forms. Sometimes he is distinguished by attributes; as Heracles by club and lion-skin, the Dioscuri by their horses and hats of a peculiar shape. More often the heroes are stalwart young men, as Theseus is represented; or youths mounted on horseback, or standing beside their horses, with hounds or huntsmen. We learn from Philostratus that these were the forms under which the hero was supposed to appear to his worshippers[4]. He tells us that if they showed themselves in a sweat, it portended storm and flood; if dusty, drought; blood on their arms meant plague and pestilence; and when none of these signs were seen, good seasons would follow and the earth bring forth her kindly fruits. Horse and snake are the general attributes of the hero[5], and the snake often twines round a tree, representing no doubt the sacred grove. The hero is often found associated with greater deities: as Neoptolemus at Delphi, Erechtheus at Athens, Triptolemus at Eleusis. The type of

[1] *JHS* vii. 22, 24.

[2] Sybel 4014; below, ch. VIII.

[3] Kekulé, *Terracotten von Sicilien*, 25 Camarina, 33 Gela, 19 Acragas.

[4] Philostr. *Her.* 294 (680) *ἱπποτροφεῖν τε γάρ φασιν αὐτὸν καὶ ὁπλιτεύειν καὶ θήρας ἅπτεσθαι.* The horse was not peculiar to the Dioscuri.

[5] It is hard to agree with Furtwängler (*Coll. Sab.* i. p. 27) that the horse has a hidden meaning, and is meant to symbolize the "mastery" of the ancestor over his descendants; or that the dog is there because "sacred" to certain deities. Horse and dog are the natural comrades of the hunter; and they cannot tell us what hero is depicted. They are properties in a character costume. See more in ch. XIV.

hero-reliefs is freely used for sepulchral, where the dead is heroized; but the votive character of many of these is clear from the inscriptions[1]. I shall cite these as votive where they are so inscribed or not at all, but omit those which bear only the usual sepulchral formula.

The reliefs[2] may be divided into three main classes: scenes of Ritual, scenes of Feasting, and scenes of the hero's Activity. The third class splits into two groups, according as the horse does or does not form an integral part of the composition. The groups overlap to some extent.

1. *Ritual: the Hero Enthroned.* Chief and most ancient in this division are the Laconian reliefs mentioned above. Sometimes a heroized pair is seated upon the throne[3]; or the female stands before the male, pouring the libation for him[4]; many show the male figure alone[5], and two male figures even are found[6]. The hero feeds a snake from his goblet[7]; or a dog fawns upon him[8]. He holds a pomegranate in one hand, the goblet in the other[8]; or the woman holds a wreath[9]. A horse's head, or a whole horse, appears framed in the corner[5]. Once a youth holding jumping-weights appears between two male figures[6]. The later slabs are inscribed with names[10].

The same type recurs in Boeotia. An archaic slab from Lebadea shows the hero seated, with staff and goblet[11]; in another, of the fifth century, a female pours the libation before him[12]. From Patrae in Achaia we have a seated hero, with the female figure behind, and in front nine worshippers leading

[1] E.g. *Cat. Berl. Mus.* 807 Καλλιτέλης Ἀλεξιμάχωι ἀνέθηκεν, 4th century.

[2] My account is based on Roscher's Article *Heros*, but the classification is not quite the same. See also F-W. 55 ff.; *AM* iv. 125 ff.

[3] *Coll. Sab.* i. 1, = *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 731.

[4] *Ny-Carlsberg* 12, = *AM* viii. 364, pl. xvi.

[5] *AM* vii. 260 ff.

[6] *AZ* xli. pl. 13. 2.

[7] *AM* iv. 127. 4, pl. viii. 2, v. pl. vii. 1; *AZ* xxxix. 294; *AM* vi. 358 [62].

[8] *AM* vii. pl. vii.

[9] F-W. 55.

[10] Deneken sees a similar type in Crete: Roscher i. 2569 *n.* Plutarch says that the Spartan tombs were not inscribed with names except when the dead was killed in battle: *Inst. Lac.* 18.

[11] *AM* iii. 317. 9, iv. 270, v. 141: F-W. 45.

[12] No. 140 in Körte's Catalogue, *AM.* iii. 301 ff. Sometimes the female figure becomes the most important of the relief, as nos. 30—32 in Dr.-Milchh., *AM* ii. 134, but there is no principle of difference to suggest a new class.

a ram; there is a shield hanging upon the wall, and a horse-head in frame[1]. In the museum at Corfu is a terra-cotta slab, with a female pouring the libation before the enthroned hero, and a second female figure also enthroned. The hero feeding a snake recurs in Olbia, where we know Achilles was worshipt[2]. In Berlin is a slab of uncertain origin, but of late date, in which we see the hero enthroned on a raised dais by the altar, and a troop of worshippers, one of whom leads a horse;

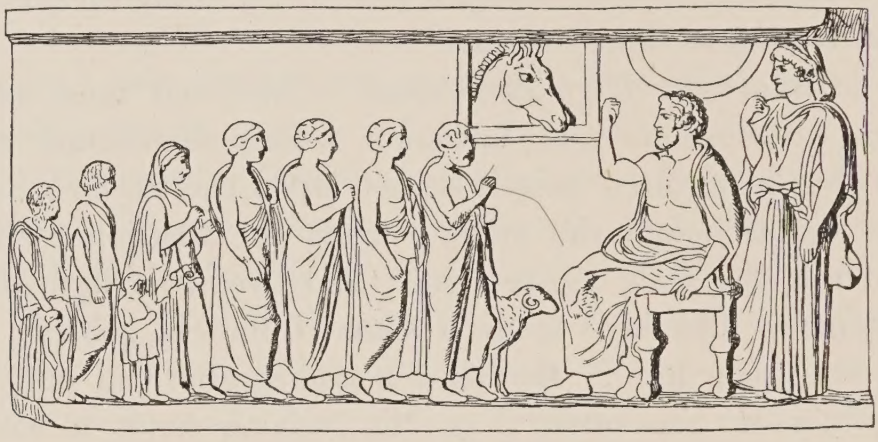

Fig. 2. Hero Relief, from Patrae.
Roscher i. col. 2571, fig. 8.

there is a tree with a snake twined round it; and on the wall hangs a case with tools, doubtless meant to indicate the dead man's calling[3]. A fine third-century relief shows a bearded man seated in a chair, under which is a snake; a female pours the libation. The type resembles Asclepius, but is not that god[4]. Sometimes the hero stands in a sacrificial scene before the altar, as in a relief from Samos[5].

2. *The Hero reclining, and partaking of a feast.* Of this type, which is known as the Hero Feast or the Death Feast[6],

[1] *AM* iv. 125. 1, 164; F-W. 1071. See fig. 2.

[2] Roscher i. 2571.

[3] *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 804.

[4] *AM* viii. 364, pl. xviii. 1 (Leiden).

[5] *AM* xxv. 172 Ἥρως Δηλόπτης: altar, one worshipper. The same hero in Peiraeus, coupled with Bendis: *BCH* xxiii. 370; Dümmler, *Annali* lv. 192.

[6] See Milchhöfer, *Jahrb.* ii. 25; *Cat. Brit. Mus. Sc.* p. 298, and nos. 711 ff.; *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 814 ff.; Wolters, *AZ* xl. 300; Gardner, *JHS* v. 107; von Fritze, *AM* xxi. 347. The last completely disposes of the attempts to explain these as Family Feast simply. The history of the type is dead against supposing them to have originally referred to the mythical Feast in the

some three hundred examples remain, the oldest of which comes from Tegea. Most of them belong to Attica, and the type is rare in Peloponnese and the southern islands, somewhat more common in Thrace, Asia Minor, and the northern isles; in Boeotia and Thessaly it is practically displaced by the Rider type. One example comes from Naucratis[1].

The Tegean relief is broken, and the reclining hero has lost all but his feet. A seated female figure turns towards him, and before her is a naked lad holding a wreath uplifted in his left hand[2]. A fifth-century relief from the Peiraeus shows the

Fig. 3. Death-Feast Relief, from Peiraeus.

hero reclined and holding a bowl, while the female sits as before; a boy draws wine from a mixing-bowl, a dog eats the

Underworld; but this idea may have become associated with the old type in later times. The actual moment represented may perhaps be, as von Fritze believes, the dessert; but too much stress must not be laid on the fact that cakes of pyramidal shape are "not known in the death cult" (349). Do we know everything about the death cult? It is equally rash to deny the sacrificial character where the hero himself pours the libation: he may be supposed to do so as head of the family. The same type is used for the gods, where there can be no question of a family meal. Milchhöfer points out that while only one (possibly) is found in a cemetery, many are found in shrines: Sybel 3992, 4093, 4272, 4326, 4694, 4897, 4958, 4983, 4985.

[1] *Naucratis* ii. 22—3: hero reclines on couch, female sits feeding a snake out of a saucer; boy drawing wine from crater; horse's head in corner: one female worshipper with uplifted hand. Samos: *AM* xxv. 176 ff.

[2] F-W. 54, *AM* iv. 135, 162, pl. vii., Sybel 3090.

scraps under the table, and a worshipper is present[1]. An altar for incense often appears, on or near the table[2]; the crater is constant, and the hero holds a drinking horn[3]. Fruit, especially pomegranates, and cakes lie on the table, the cakes being of a pyramidal shape[4]. Dog and snake often appear, and the horse is hinted at[5]. Rarely we see a boat, or a man in a boat[6]. Weapons occasionally hang on the wall. Sometimes two male figures recline together[7], or a woman alone, who perhaps offers drink to the serpent[8].

The Death-Feast type has been found, as might have been expected, in the Asclepieum at Athens[9], in the shrines of Amphiaraus in Oropus and Rhamnus[10], and at Athens in company with an Amphiaraus relief[11]. These facts go to show both the votive character of the type, and the heroic character of Asclepius and Amphiaraus. The type of face varies, often approaching that of Zeus or Hades. The same type of relief is associated with Asclepius[12], with Dionysus[13], with Hercules and the Muses[14], with Hades[15], with Hecate[16], with the Dioscuri[17], with Zeuxippus and Basileia[18], later with Isis[19]. The heroic figures sometimes have the look of portraits[20]. Once the scene is found on a painted vase[21], and the type is known in terra-cotta groups[22].

[1] F-W. 1052, Sybel 325. Roscher i. 2555, fig. 3. See fig. 3 in text. From the place of finding the hero is identified with Asclepius. Cp. F-W. 1053 ff., *Cat. Brit. Mus. Sc.* 711.

[2] If incense was first offered to the dead in the Hellenistic age, this proves nothing for the origin or general interpretation of the type.

[3] For the significance of this see Athenaeus xi. 461 B, Aristoph. *frag.* Kock i. p. 517.

[4] See for these *AM* xxi. 351—2: pomegranates, *AZ* xxxv. 139 ff., no. 91, inscr. ...τυχων ἁπάντων.

[5] No. 92 in von Duhn's list, *AZ* xxxv. 139 ff. Snake: *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 815, 818, etc.

[6] F-W. 1057.

[7] *Cat. Brit. Mus. Sc.* 712.

[8] *Cat. Brit. Mus. Sc.* 721.

[9] *Jahrb.* ii. 26 ff.; *AM* xviii. 241.

[10] *Deltion* 1891, p. 27 no. 23; *AM l.c.*

[11] *Deltion* 1891, p. 115 no. 5; *AM l.c.*

[12] F-W. 1070.

[13] F-W. 1135, 1843.

[14] *AZ* xlix. 81, *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 832 (Roman date, from Smyrna). Cp. another in Tarentum, Roscher i. 2542*.

[15] Eleusis: Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1886, pl. 3.

[16] Woman with torch, perhaps the Maid: Sybel 5931.

[17] Tarentum, terra-cotta: Roscher i. 2579.

[18] *Jahrb.* ii. 27.

[19] *Antike Bildwerke* ii. 193.

[20] See *Cat. Brit. Mus. Sc.* 734.

[21] *AA* 1890, p. 89.

[22] Tarentum: *AZ* xl. 286, *Gaz. Arch.* vii. 155.

A combination of the types of Sacrifice and Feast appears on some monuments. Thus worshippers are seen in the corner, assisting at the feast with uplifted hands[1]. The heroes take no account of them, and they stand as accessories outside the picture, just as the dedicators kneel unnoticed in some Italian painting[2]. So too we see victims and sacrificial implements forming part of the festive scene[3].

Fig. 4. Hero Feast, from Peiraeus.
Le Bas, *Voyage*, pl. 54.

3. We come now to the third group, where the *Hero appears as Rider or Hunter.* In a fifth-century relief from Cumae[4] the hero is a youth clad in chlamys and petasus, and bestrides a prancing steed; behind him appears the heroized wife. A group of worshippers, of smaller size, face the pair, their hands uplifted; on the wall hang shield and helmet. There are no offerings and no altar, but a hare fawns on the smallest figure. Both hunting and war are thus hinted at in

[1] *Cat. Brit. Mus. Sc.* 716; Le Bas, *Voyage*, pl. 54; F-W. 1059.

[2] *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 814: 4th cent. A similar series in the Samos Museum: *AM* xxv. 175 ff.

[3] *Coll. Sab.* i. pl. 33, *Cat. Ath. Museum Sc.* 1516, 1539; *AM* xxi. 356; *Cat. Brit. Mus. Sc.* 713, 714 (horse's head also), 717 (same).

[4] *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 805. See fig. 5.

this scheme, and the combination is clearer still in another example from Tanagra[1]. The rider is armed in the cuirass;

Fig. 5. Hero Relief.
Cat. Berl. Sculptures, no. 805.

behind him a slave, with the hunting-club, and game on his shoulder, holds fast to the horse's tail. A heroized female figure bears bowl and jug for the libation. Often the hero leads his horse, as in a fourth-century relief from Tanagra[2], where an altar is present, and libation and adoration are repeated. A fine Attic piece of the fifth century[3] contains two divisions. In the upper is a heroum, containing a statue, with a large heroic figure seated on either side; below, the hero unarmed leads his horse, the dog following behind. One adorer and an altar complete the group. There is only one early example from Attica of this type[4]; but both motives, the warrior and the hunter, become regular for sepulchral monuments. Boeotia presents us with half a hundred monuments of the type now in question, many of them being carved on small altars which were doubtless used for the rite depicted[5]. The hero now bestrides his horse, now stands by it; he may be armed; the horse approaches an altar, or even places a hoof

[1] F-W. 1076, 4th cent.

[2] *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 807 Καλλιτέλης Ἀλεξιμάχωι ἀνέθηκεν.

[3] F-W. 1073.

[4] *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 808, 4th cent. The worshipper holds out a cake.

[5] Körte, *Kat. der boiot. Sk.* in *AM* iii. 319 ff. quotes 52.

upon it. A female figure is often present, ready for the libation[1]; and there are troops of worshippers[2]. The hunt-motive only occurs on the tablet from Tanagra described above. Nearly all are early; one of the fifth century[3], several of the fourth[4]; the best show Attic work or influence.

From Thessaly comes a unique example; there is the youth and the horse, and a group of worshippers; but there is also a female figure enthroned[5]. The sepulchral slabs from this district, when inscribed, are all dedicated to the heroized dead[6]. The hero on horseback reappears in Laconia, and a beast is offered to him[7]. We shall come later to the Dioscuri, who occur in this scheme. From Argolis we have an actual hunting scene, an armed rider attacking a boar; the altar, tree, and snake occur on this slab[8]. In a Thyrean relief[9], the youth holds the horse's bridle, whilst he feeds a snake which coils about a tree. On the tree hanging are a shield and a sword, on the ground lance and body-armour, whilst a boy carries the helmet. The type is known in Pergamus, with a female in the divine aspect, and no worshippers[10].

Examples have been found in Rhodes[11], in Lemnos[12], and in Thasos[13], but in the small islands only one so far[14]. This is more likely to be due to accident, or to the greater rarity of all works of fine art, than to the nature of the ground[15]. There

[1] Nos. 138, 143—4, *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 807.

[2] Nos. 145 ff., *Berlin* 806 f.

[3] No. 10, *AM* iv. pl. xiv. 1; perhaps the fragment F-W. 1205, which is made of Boeotian stone.

[4] Nos. 138, 141, 143, 145; *Berl.* 807 = *Coll. Sab.* pl. 29.

[5] *BCH* xii. pl. v.: ...ιοι Σύμμαχος... Θρασυδάειος ἀνέθηκεν.

[6] Ussing, *Inscr. Gr. med.* 39; Heuzey, *Miss. arch.* 418 pl. 26[1], *Mont Olympe* 469[5], 475[17], 476[19], 478[23], 483[43]; Lolling, *AM* xi. 51[21], 54[29], 59[48], 120[51, 52], 130[85], 131[91]. These references I take from Roscher.

[7] *AM* ii. 422, no. 264.

[8] *AA* 1855, 58, and others.

[9] Sybel 574, F-W. 1812.

[10] *BCH* xiii. 509, pl. ix.

[11] *AZ* xlii. 485. 8 = *Cat. Brit. Mus. Sc.* 753; Furtwängler, *AM* viii. 370.

[12] Conze, *Reise auf Lesbos*, 31 pl. 15. 1.

[13] Conze, *Inselreise*, 29 pl. 10. 8, 66 pl. 10. 6.

[14] From Amorgos: *AM* xxi. 195 (cut). The hero, in helmet and tunic, rides a prancing horse. There is a tree and snake, female divinity, worshippers, and a boy leading a ram to the altar. Now in Syra Museum.

[15] Horses are used in every island, and doubtless were used there in ancient days. Deneken (in Roscher's *Dict.*) takes the view that horses were less likely to be used in small islands.

are no early examples from the less Greek parts of the Greek world; but the type is common in Thrace during the later periods and the age of Roman dominion, and then appears in Macedon, Asia Minor, and even Illyria. In Thrace, several were found in a hero-shrine[1]. The Thracian copies are inscribed 'to the lord hero,' with or without the word εὐχήν[2], or to the heroized dead[3], one to Apollo[4], and one to the Dioscuri[5]. The hero rides or stands by the horse; dog and altar appear, and often the tree with coiling serpent[6]. Sometimes he hunts the boar[7]. Once a woman is present[8], and once perhaps a worshipper[9].

The Macedonian examples are all dedicated to the heroized dead. Among them we meet with the boar hunt, and the snake coiling about a tree[10]. In Illyria the rider is armed, and gallops with lance in rest[11]. Most of the Asiatic types belong to heroized dead[12]. Smyrna has produced several[13], and Cyzicus a few[14], amongst the latter being one dedicated to Apollo[15]. One of the Smyrna reliefs, as may be seen below, has travelled far from the original conception, including as it does an honorific inscription. From Pergamus came two rider-reliefs with worshippers, dedicated to the Hero Pergamus[16]. A large number have come to light in Phrygia or Pisidia, inscribed to the Preserving God[17]. Coloë has two, inscribed to heroized dead, one of them to Gaius Germanicus Caesar[18].

[1] Dumont, *Inscr. et mon. fig. de la Thrace*, 71. (The reff. to Dumont I borrow from Roscher.)

[2] κυρίῳ ἥρωι, Dumont nos. 24, 32, 33 *c*, 39; εὐχήν 32, 33 *a*, *c*, 39 *f*.

[3] Dumont 27.

[4] Dumont 40.

[5] Dumont 61 *a*.

[6] Dumont 5—8, etc.

[7] Dumont 40, 49, 102.

[8] Dumont 32.

[9] Dumont 33 *c*.

[10] Fröhner, *Inscr. du Louvre*, 194, 216.

[11] Heuzey, *Miss. arch. de Mac.*, 399 pl. 31 [4], 33 [2].

[12] *BCH* vi. 442.

[13] *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 809, 810; 811 Ἄξιος Ἀξίου.....νος· below, παιδευτὴς ἥρως: 812 (broken)....ἐσώζων: 835 Ἀπολλωνίδης Ἀσκληπιάδου ἥρως Φιλόπατρις· οἱ χωρίτεοι Ζελειτῶν στεφανοῦσιν ἀειδίῳ στεφάνῳ, οἱ κωμήτεοι συκήνῳ στεφάνῳ ἀειδίῳ στεφάνῳ: *JHS* vii. 250, pl. C. 2.

[14] *AM* iv. 14 f., vii. 253 f.; Fröhner, *Inscr. du Louvre*, 263.

[15] *AM* x. 208.

[16] *JHS* v. 261; vii. 250 pl. C, with altar and adoring women: ἥρωι Περγάμωι.

[17] θεὸς σώζων: *BCH* i. 366, ii. 170, iii. 346, iv. 291, pl. ix., x.; *JHS* viii. 255; *Coll. Sab.* i. E 36. 3.

[18] *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 813; *AM* xiii. 18 ff., Γαιῷ Γερμανικῷ αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι, female with bound hands Γερμανία.

The enthroned figure is combined with the horse in an Athenian relief[1]. The rider is also found combined with the Feast type, as in a slab from Tarentum. Here two male figures recline at the festive table, with the usual accessories, whilst a man leads a horse towards them[2].

4. In the last type, the horse forms no integral part of the scene. The Hero stands free, and is usually armed; in an Argive relief he stands before an altar on which a boy is laying fuel[3]. In others, the female figure is over against him, pouring a libation. The oldest of this class known comes from Tegea, and is archaic[4]. Another example is in the Corfu museum, and has worshippers[5]. In Attica[6] and in Sicily[7] we meet with the same scheme, and there are others. Or the Hero gives the libation to a snake; as in certain examples from Sparta[8] and Tarentum[9].

A transitional type, between this and the thank-offering for a victory, is seen in the piece from Palermo, where Victory bearing a fillet flies towards the hero[10]; and in another, where Victory pours the libation[11].

We shall now briefly consider dedications made to particular Heroes, and see how far these fall into the classes defined above. Dedications made expressly for stated occasions, such as gratitude for healing or deliverance, will however be excepted, as I propose to take these in the succeeding chapters[12].

[1] Sybel 2039, Schöne 111.

[2] F-W. 1054.

[3] *AM* iv. 158. 6.

[4] Le Bas, *Voyage*, pl. 103. 1.

[5] Roscher i. 2565.

[6] *Mon. Grecs* pl. 1, = Roscher 406, where it is wrongly explained as Ares and Aphrodite.

[7] Palermo: *AM* viii. 370.

[8] *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 732 (archaic); *IGA* 51; Collitz iii. 4400; Roberts, *Gr. Ep.* no. 205. The inscription reads

.... ΜΑΥΛΟΙΘ ΙΟΡΟΚ....

restored by Röhl τοὶ κόροι Θιοκλεῖ Ναμερτίδα, as a dedication by the youths to Theocles, a man. It seems incredible that the dedication could take this form so early and leave no other trace; in late periods of course it is common enough. It is hardly easier to suppose the noun Θιοκλῆ to be accusative, as this also is a late formula. There seems to be no doubt as to the reading; the hero's staff comes between the two first words, so it is unlikely that Διοσκούροιν can be meant. But perhaps the dedication is meant for one only; see p. 30.

[9] Roscher i. 2566.

[10] *AM* viii. 370.

[11] *AM* iv. 166, note 1.

[12] For Asclepius see ch. v.; for Persephone and Demeter in their relation to agriculture, ch. ii.

Turning first to the chthonian deities, as most closely allied to what we have treated as the earliest type of worship, we find that Hades or Pluto[1] has more of the heroic than the divine about him. There appears to be only one temple recorded where Hades is worshipt under this name and alone, that seen by Pausanias in Elis[2]. He is generally associated, as Hades or Pluto, with the Maid and Demeter or with one of them[3]; sometimes with other heroic figures, Triptolemus, Eubuleus, or Iacchus; sometimes he goes by the name of Zeus Chthonius[4], or of Buleus[5]. The practice of lectisternia is certain for Athens[6], and probable for his other centres of worship. A terra-cotta relief from the Malian Locri[7] shows a remarkable likeness to the Spartan Type 1. Scherer can hardly be wrong in his interpretation of this work as Hades and Persephone[8]. The pair, a bearded male figure, with wreath, and a female figure with diadem and veil, sit side by side; he holds a spray of flowers, narcissus apparently, and she a large bunch of corn and a cock. The arm of the throne terminates in a snake. This is all which remains; one quarter of the original slab. Two reliefs of the Feast Type 2 came to light at Eleusis; these clearly represent the lectisternia already mentioned. They are not of early date or

[1] Pluto is the god of wealth, and as such does not concern us here. The name is first applied to the lord of the underworld in Soph. *Antig.* 1200.

[2] Paus. vi. 25. 2, Roscher, *Dict.* 'Hades' 1788.

[3] See Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 302, note 1.

Athens: with the Eumenides, Paus. i. 28. 6, and at the Eleusinium, with Demeter, the Maid, and Triptolemus.

Eleusis: with Demeter, the Maid, Iacchus, and Eubuleus (see below), *BCH* vii. 387 ff.

Coronea: with Athena, according to Strabo ix. 2. 29.

Peloponnese: Argos, Corinth, Pylos Triphylia, Sparta, Hermione, Olympia; sometimes as Zeus Chthonius, or as Clymenus (Roscher, 1788—9). Tegea, with Demeter and the Maid: *AM* v. 69.

Amorgos: *AM* i. 334. Myconos: Ἀθήναιον ii. 237. Paros: Ἀθήναιον v. 15.

Asia Minor: Acharaca, Strabo xiv. 1. 44. Hierapolis, Strabo xiii. 4. 14. Halicarnassus, Cnidus: Newton ii. 714. Aphrodisias: Μουσ. τῆς Εὐαγγ. Σχ. p. 180.

[4] Their identity may be seen from *Il.* ix. 457 Ζεύς τε καταχθόνιος καὶ ἐπαινὴ Περσεφόνεια.

[5] Eubuleus in Eleusis; see note 3.

[6] *CIA* ii. 948—950, combined: τούσδε ἐπιώψατο ὁ ἱεροφάντης τὴν κλίνην στρῶσαι τῷ Πλούτωνι καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν κοσμῆσαι κατὰ τὴν μαντείαν τοῦ θεοῦ.

[7] Roscher i. 1797, after *Ann. d. Inst.* xix. pl. F.

[8] Roscher, *l.c.* There was a famous shrine of Persephone in this place.

of great artistic merit; but they have considerable interest as attesting the cult of a chthonian pair in Eleusis beside the Two Goddesses. The first shows two pairs, each seated by a separate table, with a pilaster between. The pair on the right are inscribed To the God and To the Goddess; the others though not inscribed are probably meant for Demeter and the Maid. A youth holding a jug over a large amphora completes the scene[1]. The other, but a fragment, bears the heads, both inscribed, of Pluto and the Goddess side by side; Triptolemus was present, and his torch still remains; so was Eubuleus[2].

The third type does not appear to be used in connexion with Pluto, but the fourth is found in a late dedication from Macedonia; where the god, his body naked from the waist upwards, stands beside Cerberus[3].

Of other heroic personages, the Dioscuri are represented on the oldest known monuments, and these from Sparta, where they had a chthonian character[4], and where their worship was very ancient[5]. They appear chiefly in Types 3 and 4: as a pair of naked youths, without attributes, mounted[6] or usually standing beside their horses[7], or standing opposite each other without horses[8], or holding a wreath[9]. The inscription on the last example declares that the dedication is made for fear of the wrath of the sons of Tyndarus[10]. A later relief, which may

[1] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1886, 19, plate 3: Λυσιμαχίδης ἀνέθηκε· θεᾶι· θεῶι. *CIA* ii. *Add.* 1620 *b*.

[2] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1885, 26, plate 3[2]: Λακρατείδης Σωστράτου Ἰκαριεὺς ἱερεὺς θεοῦ καὶ θεᾶς καὶ Εὐβουλέως...ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν υἱῶν...καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς χαριστήριον Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρηι ἀνέθηκεν. Πλούτων. θεά. Τριπτόλεμος. Εὐβουλεύς. Restorations are certain, and therefore not indicated. *CIA* ii. *Add.* 1620 *c*.

[3] Heuzey, *La Ville d'Éané en Macédoine*, *Rev. Arch.* N.S. xviii. 22: θεῷ δεσπότῃ Πλούτωνι καὶ τῇ πόλει Ἐανῇ Τ. Φλαούιος Λεονᾶς, etc. (Roscher, 1792).

[4] Pind. *Nem.* x. 56 ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίας ἐν γυάλοις Θεράπνας. Alcman *frag.* 5 ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν τῆς Θεράπνης εἶναι λέγονται ζῶντες.

[5] Plut. *De Frat. Am.* 1. See Paus. iii. 24. 5, 26. 3. They were also worshipt in Messenia, Arcadia, Argolis, Achaia, Attica: see Paus. i. 18. 1, ii. 7. 5, 22. 5, 36. 6, iii. 14. 6, 20. 2, viii. 9. 2, 21. 4. They were probably the ἄνακτες παῖδες of Amphissa: *AM* x. 86. At Cyzicus, *CIG* 2157, 2158.

[6] *AM* ii. *Cat.* no. 219.

[7] F-W. 67, *AM* ii. *Cat.*, nos. 14, 20, 201, 202, 209—212, 220. Crete: *AJA* N.S. i. 249, fig. 5.

[8] *AM* ii. no. 204.

[9] *AM* viii. 371, pl. xviii. 2.

[10] *IGA* 62 *a* Πλειστιάδας μ' ἀνέθηκε Διοσκούροισιν ἄγαλμα, Τινδαριδᾶν διδύμων μᾶνιν ὀπιδδόμενος. *AM* viii. 372, pl. xviii. 2.

be votive, shows two youths on horseback, clad in chiton and chlamys, but without the distinctive hat. They are beardless, and their hair is bound with a diadem[1]. In another relief two youths stand with an altar between; each holds a spear, and one has a bowl, the other a jug[2]. Sometimes they are armed with swords[3], sometimes their feet clad in boots[4]. The two urns frequently appear[5], and in one case snakes are wreathed round them. A table also appears with something upon it, the silphium no doubt which we have read of[6]. Animals appear at their feet[7], and of course the snake[8]; while cocks may be seen in the gable[9].

The identification even when no horses are seen, is made certain by the dedication of one at least[10]. A dedication is found to one of the two alone[11], which makes it possible to assume the same thing for a fragmentary relief which has been much discussed[12]. One or two late examples are offered by a company of persons, probably those who took part in some great feast[13]. Here a female figure appears, doubtless Helen. A relief found in Cythera shows that the cult was practised there[14]: and a dedication to them comes also from Thessaly[15]. Dedications go on until Roman times[16]. The stars, which later are identified with these heroes as protectors at sea, do not appear; but if the story of Lysander be correctly interpreted, they were known in the fifth century[17]. At Tarentum the youths often ride or drive in a chariot[18].

[1] *Cat. Brit. Mus. Sc.* 780.

[2] *Cat. Brit. Mus. Sc.* 781, cp. *AM* ii. *Cat.* no. 220.

[3] *AM* ii. nos. 203, 206, iv. p. 126.

[4] *AM* ii. no. 212.

[5] *AM* ii. nos. 209, 210.

[6] Paus. iii. 16. 3 *τράπεζα καὶ σίλφιον ἐπ' αὐτῇ.*

[7] *AM* ii. no. 213.

[8] *AM* ii. nos. 209, 220.

[9] *AM* ii. no. 209.

[10] *AM* ii. *Cat.* no. 204 *Καλλικράτης Τυνδαρίδαις.*

[11] *AM* ii. *Cat.* no. 218.

[12] *IGA* 51, above, p. 27.

[13] *AM* ii. *Cat.* no. 202, F-W. 1848, Collitz iii. 4440 ff.: the formula is *οἱ σιτηθέντες ἐπὶ...* followed by a list of officials. The date is not long before the Christian era.

[14] *AM* v. 231 *Μένανδρος ἁρμοστὴρ Τινδαρίδαι...* See *BCH* ii. 394. Paus. x. 9. 8.

[15] *θεοῖς μεγάλοις*, relief of Dioscuri: Collitz i. 347.

[16] *AM* ii. *Cat.* no. 208 with Latin inscr.

[17] See Plut. *Lys.* 18. Euripides associates them with the stars: *ἄστροις ὁμοιωθέντε*, *Hel.* 140. But this does not imply that Lysander meant the stars as "symbols of the Dioscuri," see below, p. 135.

[18] *RM* xv. 23.

The Feast Type is fully represented in a series of reliefs found at Tarentum. The Dioscuri, on horseback, are seen approaching the feast which is set out ready for them[1], or reclining at table, their horses sometimes appearing in the background[2]. There are always two amphorae placed at the two sides, one for each. These amphorae are associated with the libation in the ritual type, where the Dioscuri themselves pour it upon the altar[3]; or they stand beside the two youths, who are unclothed and without attributes[4]; or they stand upon a table[5], while the youths raise a *stlengis* to their heads[6], or drive past[7]. The amphorae may signify either the feast or the libation; and where they stand quite alone it is impossible to say which[8].

Fig. 6. Tablet with θεοξένια of the Dioscuri (from Tarentum). *RM* xv. 24, fig. 3.

Certain Spartan reliefs show two amphorae, sometimes standing upon a table. A slab, of the second century perhaps[9], bears the twins clothed, with the typical hats, and standing upon a raised base or platform. A worshipper reaches out his hand to touch one of two large amphorae, which stand also on a high base; below is a small altar, with a pig carved in relief upon it. There is a boat in the background.

The snake is frequent on these reliefs, and the cock[10] is

[1] *RM* xv. 24. I regard the figures not as sailing through the air, but as approaching. The artist has not the skill to represent the perspective.

[2] *RM* xv. 27.

[3] *RM* xv. 7.

[4] *RM* xv. 8, fig. 1.

[5] The table has a rude shape: two square uprights joined by a balk. This was traditional according to Plutarch, *De Fr. Am.* 1, and called δόκανα. See *RM* xv. 43. Perhaps it is meant for their tomb; so at least implies *Etym. Mag. s.v.* δόκανα.

[6] *RM* xv. 8, fig. 3.

[7] *RM* xv. 22, 23.

[8] K. Petersen (*RM* xv. 41) thinks they denote prizes of wine. This is pure imagination, and I think the reader will prefer the explanation suggested above. Nor is there any reason to call them symbolic; which would imply that the pots could represent the heroes.

[9] Laconia? Now in Verona. *AM* ii. nos. 209, 210; Roscher i. 1171: inscribed.

[10] *AM* ii. 20. 209.

also found. We shall meet these beings later as saviours and protectors, especially of those who use the sea, and as givers of victory[1]. There remains the base of one statue at least dedicated to them[2]; and the little figures two together in a cradle, which have been found in several different places, are supposed to be they or their sons[3]. Altars dedicated to them have also been found[4]. A number of slabs bearing snakes only are in the local museum at Sparta; these may be connected with the Dioscuri, but there is nothing save the place of finding to suggest it. Dedications to the Dioscuri by seafarers do not meet us early; we may instance a late one from the island Megiste[5].

Heracles enthroned (Type 1) is to be seen on a relief of Attic character, found in Andros, and belonging to the fifth century. He sits before a temple or palace, whilst a female pours wine into his goblet[6].

In the fourth century the sacrificial scheme takes a different form. Lysistrate dedicates to him a stone carved to resemble a cake or loaf, with a relief: Heracles, wearing the lionskin, stands by a blazing altar, towards which a boy leads a sacrificial swine; a group of women and children complete the scene[7]. A relief from Ithome[8] shows Heracles standing before a shrine, beardless, with club and lionskin; there are worshippers, the victims are ox and sheep. An ox alone is offered on a similar relief[9], and there are remains of others[10]. In one relief Heracles appears to be holding out his hand for something[11].

[1] Chap. v.

[2] Argos: *AZ* 1882, p. 383 τῶν ϝανά-ϙων.

[3] *AM* x. 81, pl. 4; Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 862.

[4] *CIA* iii. 195, *IGI* iii. Thera 421, 422, etc.

[5] Collitz iii. 4331.

[6] F-W. 1203; the editor explains it as Hebe pouring wine for him in Olympus. It is true the sacrificial character of the relief is not clear; but in view of the preceding examples I prefer to regard it as a modification of the votive type.

[7] Sybel 4014 Λυσιστράτη ὑπὲρ τῶν παίδων Ἡρακλεῖ ἀνέθηκεν; *CIA* ii. 1565, with 1564, 1565 *b*, which seem to be fragments of similar reliefs. The 5th cent. piece F-W. 1134 is probably Theseus, as the lionskin lacks.

[8] Sybel 320, Schöne 112, who illustrates the offering of these victims by Diod. iv. 39. 1 (Thebes), Pollux i. 30.

[9] Described by Schöne, col. 56, no. 112.

[10] Sybel 372, 383, 5694; *Cat. Brit. Mus. Sc.* 791.

[11] *AA* ix. 170: cp. F-W. 1134.

The Feasting Type (2) is represented by a late relief from Athens, where Heracles appears as one of a group of heroic figures feasting, others perhaps being Apollo and the Muses. The scene is fanciful, including not only the apparatus of the feast, but trees and little winged loves[1].

Even the third type is found, although Heracles is no horseman. On a rough Rhodian piece of Roman date he appears club in hand mounted upon an ass[2].

The fourth type appears with characteristic variations. In a fourth century piece from Thebes[3], Heracles, with club and lionskin, stands before a Doric shrine. He holds the horn of plenty in his right hand, and another heroic personage, perhaps meant for Dionysus (for he has the thyrsus), touches the horn in the hand of Heracles. There are fragments of other figures in the scene. He also appears conjoined with Athena and a personification of Demus or Academus[4]. A relief of the fourth century, inscribed to Heracles Averter of Ill, represents the hero with Hermes on the steps of a shrine[5].

His aid in war is acknowledged by the statues of Athena and Heracles dedicated by Thrasybulus in the shrine of Heracles[6]; and in games, by a relief of Roman date[7]. The hero lies resting, his weapons hung on a tree, and the inscription commemorates an ephebic triumph.

His figure also appears on decree-reliefs, with Athena for instance[8].

Reliefs of the fourth type exist which are dedicated to Theseus. He is a youth, with cloke on shoulder, and cap, otherwise naked, and worshippers appear by his side in the usual attitude[9]. The hero looks very much like Heracles, except for

[1] Sybel 548.

[2] *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 689 Ἀπολλώνιος δὶς Ἡρακλεῖ ἀνέθηκε εὐχήν.

[3] F-W. 1153 Εὐμέδεις **ἀνέθηκε**, figured for the first time in Roscher i. 2188: cp. *Cat. Brit. Mus. Sc.* 791 (fragment).

[4] *AZ* iii. 130, pl. xxxiii. Ἡρακλῆς, Ἀθηνᾶ ...ημος.

[5] *AA* xii. 73 Ἡρακλέος Ἀλεξικάκου: Boston Museum.

[6] Paus. ix. 11. 6.

[7] At Oxford: *CIA* iii. 319. Cp. Michaelis, Oxford, 135.

[8] Scenes from the Labours, and such as the struggle with the snakes, are omitted, because votive reliefs are always connected with cult, and never mere records of myth.

[9] *Mon. dell' Inst.* iv. 223, figured

the costume; but where the lionskin lacks, it is safer to suppose that Theseus will be meant. Sosippus the dedicator is pourtrayed; and another male figure, from its size not human, perhaps a personification of Academus.

One relief, if properly assigned to Theseus, is of the sacrificial type (1): the hero stands in front of a Doric shrine, club in hand, and holds the horn of a sacrificial bull in token of acceptance[1]. There are three worshippers.

These types are also connected with greater deities. Reliefs of the Hero Enthroned are inscribed to Zeus Philios[2] or to Sabazios[3].

The Rider type is used for Apollo[4].

As a rule there is no clue to the occasion of these dedications. We find, however, now and then, instances of such as are usually connected with the great gods: victory in war or the games[5], fulfilment of a vow[6], even firstfruits[7] or acknowledgment of prosperity in trade[8]. In later times, we meet with bases which probably carried commemorative or honorific statues. One from Attica is dedicated to Eubouleus[9]; others by bodies of men, as the Heracleot thiasus at Megara[10], or what appears to be a company of athletes at Cefalù in Sicily[11]. Hermon of Oropus gives an offering to Heracles on completing his term of public office[12], and a board of religious overseers acknowledges to Theseus the vote of thanks and the crown which they had received for their services[13]. Father and sons combine in an offering to Heracles[14]. The votive formula is

in Roscher i. 2499: Θησεύς· Σώσιππος Ναυαρχίδου ἀνέθηκεν. *CIA* ii. 1525, *AZ* iii. 130, pl. xxxiii.

[1] F-W. 1134; cp. Schöne 113.

[2] F-W. 1128 (Peiraeus) Μύννιον Διὶ Φιλίωι ἀνέθηκε; Schöne, pl. 25. 105; Sybel 3751. See fig. 6 *a*, p. 36.

[3] Conze, *Inselreise*, pl. 17. 7.

[4] *AM* x. 208 (Cyzicus); Dumont, *Mon. fig. de la Thrace*, 40.

[5] Statuette of youth with oil-flask, and armed warriors, at Tarentum: *AZ* xl. 309. Above, p. 33.

[6] Base: *CIA* ii. 1546 εὐξάμενος; *IGSI* 1002 εὐχήν (near Rome).

[7] *CIA* ii. 1547 ἀπαρχήν.

[8] Apparently the cone of baked clay, with an archaic inscr., found in Italy: *IGSI* 652 κεραμεύς.

[9] *CIA* ii. 1620 *d*.

[10] *IGS* i. 192.

[11] *IGSI* 349 ...καὶ οἱ ἀλειφόμενοι Ἡρακλεῖ.

[12] *IGS* i. 436 Ἕρμων Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπιμελητὴς γενόμενος Ἡρακλεῖ: cp. 2235 γυμνασιαρχήσας.

[13] *CIA* ii. 1180 ἱεροποιοί.

[14] *CIA* ii. 1563, *IGSI* 718 (Naples).

used for the gift of a colonnade at Coronea[1], and elsewhere it is coupled with the late addition "to the state[2]." A dedication to the hero Eurymedon was found in Attica[3].

It remains to point out that some of these relief types became in later times traditional for tombstones, completely losing the votive character. The transition may be seen in a tombstone from Attica, where beneath the figure of a horseman are the words "Theodorus the Hero[4]." Boeotia is richest in this type. There a great number of horseman-reliefs have been found on tombs: sometimes with the horseman alone[5], others with the addition of an altar[6], others again with mourners in the attitude of adoration[7]. So far is the meaning forgotten, that the horse must needs appear on a woman's tomb; so Musa holds the animal's bridle, standing beside an altar[8]. So too the same scheme is used where three people are entombed, two men and a woman[9]. Then the old conception dies, giving rise to two developments. On the one hand, Hero is used as synonymous with 'dead,' like the German *selig* or *divus* of Roman emperors[10], and the relief disappears. On the other hand, the horseman survives as a decoration for the tomb of soldiers, as in the monument of Dexileos and others in Attica[11]. It would appear that statues on horseback were often placed by the tomb of dead men, as in a scene depicted on a beautiful Attic vase[12].

The Hunt-motive also appears on tombstones[13], but more rarely; it is however common in sarcophagus reliefs of Roman times. The Banquet type is also found on tombs, although it did not like the horseman set the example for a series of monuments wholly sepulchral. Examples are known from

[1] *IGS* i. 2874 ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ Παλαίμονι τὴν στοάν.

[2] *IGS* i. 2235 γυμνασιαρχήσας, Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ τῇ πόλει, τὴν στοὰν καὶ τὴν εἴσοδον καὶ τὰς θύρας.

[3] *CIA* ii. 1516.

[4] *CIA* ii. 1619 Θεόδωρος ἥρως.

[5] *IGS* iii. 2141, 2807, etc.

[6] *IGS* iii. 2139, 2140, 2153, 2154, 2628, 2690.

[7] *IGS* iii. 1813 with woman and child: Ἱκέσιος εἵρωι ἀνέθηκε.

[8] *IGS* iii. 1715 ἐπεὶ Μουσᾷ ἥρωι.

[9] *IGS* iii. 4244.

[10] *IGS* iii. e.g. 2001, 2073, 2110, 2123, etc.

[11] F-W. 1005: cp. 1004, *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 742.

[12] *AM* xvi. 349 ff., pl. viii.

[13] Schöne, 78.

Athens[1], from Byzantium[2], from Cyzicus[3], from Smyrna[4], from Antioch[5], and from Kertch[6]; and the well-known scene of a group of seated figures, with Charon's boat approaching the festive board, which still stands in the Ceramicus, is one of this class. Horseman and Feast types are combined on a late

Fig. 6 A. Dedication to Zeus Philios.

Farnell i., plate ii. *b*.

sepulchral monument[7] from Tomis; and another repeats the last faint and confused echoes of the old types, with the tree, the serpent, and the horse's head[8]. Here ends the history of the heroic reliefs, which from prehistoric days to the last period of Greek art maintain their connexion with the dead.

[1] *Cat. Brit. Mus. Sc.* 723, with epitaph; 724 (?).

[2] *Rev. Arch.* xxxiii. 12, pl. 1: Ματροδώρου τοῦ Καλλιγείτονος· Καλλιγείτων Ματροδώρου. A male figure reclines, a female sits, a child offers her tablets, a child stands in attitude of mourning, a third child holds a vase. Tools on the wall.

[3] *Cat. Brit. Mus. Sc.* 736.

[4] *Cat. Brit. Mus. Sc.* 737. In Lycian tombs Bellerophon sometimes appears on his winged steed: Fellows, *Lycia*, 136, 181, 232. A relief from his shrine at Gjölbaschi is in Vienna: O. Benndorf, *Vorläuf. Bericht über zwei österr. Exped. nach Kleinasien*, Wien 1883; *Arch.-Epigr. Mitth.* vi. 2.

[5] *Cat. Brit. Mus. Sc.* 738, where relief and inscr. are quite unconnected.

[6] *Cat. Brit. Mus. Sc.* 740.

[7] *Cat. Brit. Mus. Sc.* 742.

[8] *Cat. Brit. Mus. Sc.* 745.

Note on the Modern Representatives of Ancient Shrines.

I have tried in vain to find some satisfactory enquiry into the genealogy of modern Greek churches and chapels. The local chapels are not marked on the map, and no traveller has taken the trouble to note their names. It would serve no useful purpose to print here all those I have collected; such as seemed to throw light on the heroes have been given above. I will add a few more churches and chapels which probably stand on the site of ancient temples. Some indeed are built on the old foundations or with the materials of the old building; amongst them are one or two hero-shrines, but most of these have remained unnoticed. References given only by volume and page refer to Frazer's *Pausanias*, where authorities may be found cited.

Ambrosus: St Elias, v. 449.

Apollonia, near Brusa: St George (formerly Apollo), *Geographical Journal*, ix. 153.

Athens, Parthenon: the Virgin, Byzantine times (Athena). Monastery of Daphni (temple of Apollo), ii. 496. Virgin of the Rock (Artemis), v. 494. Ruined chapel by the Ilissus, v. 487.

Aulis: Byz. church of St Nicholas (Artemis), v. 79.

Bathos: St George (deposit of ancient votive offerings), iv. 314.

Calydon: St Theodore (Zeus Scotites), ii. 318.

Corinth: St John (Poseidon), iii. 10.

Cotilus, Mt, near Bassae: ruined chapel on temple foundations, iv. 405. Cave and Glen called the Virgin's Gorge (Demeter), iv. 406.

Elatea: St Theodore, v. 426.

Eleusis: St George, or the Saviour (Cyamites), ii. 494. Ruined chapel of St David (Hero Lacius), ii. 491. Chapel of the Virgin, above the ruins.

Epidaurus: St Michael and St Damian, a physician (Asclepius).

Erythrae: ? Byz. church (Demeter), v. 5. ? St Demetrius (Demeter) v. 6.

Helicon: St Trinity (Muses), v. 151.

Livadia: old church (King Zeus), v. 199.

Lusi, Arcadia: the Virgin (Artemis), *Jahreshefte*, iv. 33, fig. 19.
Megara: St Theodore, iii. 3.
Nemea: chapel on mound (barrow of Opheltes or Lycurgus), iii. 93.
Orchomenus: monastery, v. 186.
Patrae: the sacred spring or well, beside the church of St Andrew (Demeter).
Tanagra: ruined chapel (Dionysus), v. 79.
Tegea: St Nicholas (Athena Alea), iv. 425. Byz. ruin (Apollo), iv. 441.
Thebes: St Nicholas (Heracles), v. 47. St Trinity (Athena), v. 49.
Titane: St Tryphon (Athena), iii. 69.

One of the unknown hero shrines is marked by a boundary stone found between Zea and Munychia: HEROIO HOROS *AM* vi. 311. The so-called temple of Vesta (? Hercules) near the Tiber, became sacred to Madonna of the Sun (De Brosses, *Letters*, tr. by Lord R. Gower, p. 162).

Something is said on this subject by Mr W. M. Ramsay, in his paper *On the Permanent Attachment of Religious Veneration to special localities in Asia Minor* (Transactions of the Ninth Oriental Congress in London, 1893, ii. 381—391).

II.

TITHES, FIRSTFRUITS, AND KINDRED OFFERINGS[1].

καί σε φαίνω τοῖς πρυτάνεσιν
ἀδεκατεύτους τῶν θεῶν ἱρὰς ἔχοντα κοιλίας.
ARIST. *Knights* 300.

WHEN the earth and its growths were regarded by the simple soul as possest or protected by unknown powers, any intrusion upon new dominions was thought to be dangerous[2]. To clear the virgin forest or reclaim waste lands for the plow, to dig the foundations of a house, to build a bridge, was to disturb the primeval owners of the place and made necessary a solemn sacrifice. It seems to have been very common to sacrifice human life on such occasions, as we see from the legend of the death of Remus, the figures of straw thrown off the Wooden Bridge at Rome, or traditions on Greek soil like those of the Bridge of Arta[3].

Often a plot of land is left barren, or a clump of trees unhewn, to be the abode of the spirit which has been disturbed.

[1] See Dar. and Sagl. *s.v. Dekate*; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyc. s.v.* ἀπαρχή, δεκάτη.

[2] "In Arabia, the local earth-demons are still propitiated by sprinkling the blood of a sacrifice when new land is broken up, a new house built, or a new well opened": Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 159 note, who discusses the custom.

[3] Passow, *Carm. Pop. Gr.* 511, 512; *Folk-Lore*, x. 184. Cp. Plut. *Rom.* 11. The sacrifice of a youth and a maiden each year at Patras suggests an agricultural origin, for their heads were bound with corn-ears: Paus. vii. 20. 1. Pausanias of Damascus says of Seleucus Nicator, on founding Laodicea, *θυσιάσας κόρην ἀδαῆ ὀνόματι Ἀγαύην, ποιήσας αὐτῇ στήλην χαλκῆν εἰς τύχην τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως* (*Hist. Min. Gr.*, ed. Teubner, p. 160).

In Greece, when land was occupied by conquest or colonization, a portion of the land was "cut off" (*τέμενος*) for the god's habitation[1]. The sacred grove in an eastern village is probably the last remains of the primeval forest, which since the world began has never been toucht by plow or dug with the spade[2]. So in Greece, we find often enough the sacred tree in a village square, as the willow of Samos and the holy olive of Delos[3], the plane tree at Delphi[4], Helen's plane at Sparta[5]; or the sacred grove, as the olive groves of Athens[6], or the groves of Artemis with their game which no man might kill[7]. This may be the origin of the grove at the hero's shrine, of the speaking oaks of Dodona, and of other trees associated with divine beings; which like their attendant animals appear sometimes to have been selected for no other reason than that they were found on the spot[8]. But when animals were bred for use, and agriculture brought to men the kindly fruits of the earth, their gratitude for past favours and lively sense of favours to come would naturally prompt acknowledgment.

[1] Aesch. *Eum.* 400; Soph. *Trach.* 245; Thuc. iii. 30, 50; *IGA* 8; *CIA* i. 31, 32; Nicias *ap.* Ath. xiii. 609 E *Κύψελον πόλιν κτίσαντα...ἐς ἣν κατοικίσαντα Παρρασίων τινὰς τέμενος καὶ βωμὸν ἀναστῆσαι Δήμητρι Ἐλευσινίᾳ.*

[2] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1899, p. 238. So the last remains of the Cedars of Lebanon are enclosed and bear a reputation for sanctity amongst the Christians.

[3] Paus. viii. 23. 5.

[4] Ath. xv. 701 D.

[5] Theocr. xviii. 45.

[6] Suidas *s.v. μορίαι.*

[7] Philostr. *Imag.* i. 28.

[8] Pausanias tells of the tragic death of Hyrnetho, and how she was buried and a shrine made in her honour; adding that all the "olives and other trees" which grew there were sacred to her (ii. 28. 7). Victors' crowns of wild olive, pine or parsley, and laurel were taken from the trees or plants which grew near. A similar reason is given for the use of *λύγος* at Samos Ath. xv. 673 D, and ivy 675 D *ἐπὶ τὸν κίσσινον στέφανον ἦλθον αὐτόματόν τε καὶ πολὺν ὄντα καὶ κατὰ πάντα τόπον γεννώμενον* (Philonides). Of course explanatory tales spring up. For the animals compare Ath. xiv. 655 A—B and Philonides *ἐν Ἡλίου μέν φασι γίγνεσθαι πόλει φοίνικας, ἐν Ἀθήναις δὲ γλαῦκας· ἡ Κύπρος ἔχει πελείας διαφόρους· ἡ δ' ἐν Σάμῳ Ἥρα τὸ χρυσοῦν, φασίν, ὀρνίθων γένος τοὺς καλλιμόρφους καὶ περιβλέπτους ταώς.* C *περὶ δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς παρθένου ἐν Λέρῳ εἰσὶν οἱ καλούμενοι ὄρνιθες μελεαγρίδες.* The commonness of owls at Athens gave rise to the proverb *γλαῦκ' Ἀθήναζε.* The owl on Athena's hand, or on the coins, may have been originally nothing more than a mark of differentiation. The inevitable result was that these creatures came to be regarded as sacred. I do not suggest the same origin for them all; the mouse of Apollo Smintheus, for example, or the bull of Zagreus.

The beneficence of the earth deities must be recognised, or it might be withheld: hence vintage and harvest time were natural seasons for sacrifice and worship[1]. The offering of firstlings or firstfruits, then, appears to be partly an act of propitiation, by which precious things hitherto forbidden might be made available; partly an act of gratitude and hope. The rite itself, in some cases at least, had a sacramental character, the god and his worshippers being conceived of as partaking of the same food: a striking parallel to the interpretation already suggested of the Hero-Feast[2]. The idea that these ceremonies made it lawful to enjoy the gifts of the gods is expressly voucht for in Greece[3].

We are not now concerned with proving the principles here assumed, nor with illustrating them by examples. It is worth while however to note one or two significant points in the practices of savage tribes. One is, that firstfruits are often offered to the ghosts of departed ancestors[4]. So we have seen the funeral feast held in the shrines of the heroized ancestors in Sparta; and firstfruits and tithe offered to a hero[5]. Again, the kings or chiefs often take the place of the gods, or, when ritual is developed, the priests have at least a share[6]. So in the Greek temples, the priest always had his perquisite of

[1] For the principles here laid down, and examples in proof, see Frazer, *Golden Bough*[2] ii. 318 ff., 459 ff.; Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 240 ff., 463. In Frazer p. 468 the Tonga chieftain thanks the gods for their bounty in favouring the land with a good prospect of harvest, and prays that their beneficence may be continued. Where the thing is not sought for use, it was natural to dedicate the whole: thus Theseus, after mastering the Marathonian bull, sacrificed it to Athena in the name of the township of Marathon (Paus. i. 27. 10).

[2] Schol. Arist. *Knights* 1238 Oeneus, sacrificing the firstfruits, *οὐκ ἔθυσεν Ἀρτέμιδι· ὅθεν ὀργισθεῖσα σὺν μέγαν κατὰ τὰς χώρας αὐτοῦ ἀφῆκεν, ἵνα ταύτην λυμήνηται.*

[3] Schol. Arist. *Plut.* 660: *ὀσιωθείσης τῆς θυσίας καὶ τῶν ἀπαρχμάτων ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν τεθέντων, ἅπτοντας τοῦ βωμοῦ ἢ τοῦ κανοῦ καὶ ἐπιφθέγγονται ὅσια, καὶ τότε ἔξεστι τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς θυσίας ἀδεῶς χρῆσθαι.*

[4] Frazer, 463 (Malay), 464 (Fiji), 466 (Solomon Islands), etc. So the Scythians did, Herod. iv. 71. The Magnetes of Thessaly offered firstfruits of their herb simples to Cheiron, himself of the nature of heroes: Plut. *Symp.* iii. 1. 3. The Athenians offered firstfruits to the shades of the *μαραθωνομάχαι*: Thuc. iii. 58 (*πάντων ἀπαρχάς*).

[5] Above, p. 17.

[6] Frazer, 468, etc.

a slaughtered victim. Where the tribal feast became a social institution, the tithe still continued to be paid at the feast[1]. And again, firstfruits were offered not only from corn and vine, but from flocks or fish or the produce of the chase; and loaves or cakes are sometimes made from the sacred portion of grain[2]. The practice of making up a sheaf of corn or the like into the shape of a human figure, and preserving it until the next year, is also found in connexion with the harvest celebrations[3].

We know so little of the every-day life of the Greek farmer, that it is impossible to say how far he kept up the ancient rites. Were Stratonicus and Eudemus alone, when the one left a plot of ground unsown in his field in honour of Pan[4], and the other dedicated in his a shrine to Zephyrus, because he had helped him to winnow the corn[5]? or the old vinedresser in Philostratus, when he set apart a corner for his hero Protesilaus[6]? What was that local precinct, where the farmers are bidden sacrifice to Asclepius and Hygieia[7]? or the

[1] Dosiadas, *Cretan History*, ap. Ath. iv. 143 A *οἱ δὲ Λύκτιοι συνάγουσι μὲν τὰ κοινὰ συσσίτια οὕτως· ἕκαστος τῶν γινομένων καρπῶν ἀναφέρει τὴν δεκάτην εἰς τὴν ἑταιρίαν.*

[2] Frazer, 468, 469, etc.

[3] Frazer, 216 ff.

[4] *Anth. P.* vi. 79. Compare the curious Shetland custom: "In the yard near the *stiggie* was often to be seen a small *skroo* of corn, standing apart from the rest. This was the annual offering set apart to Broonie, a household deity whose annual services were thus secured." *Shetland Folk-Lore*, John Spence: Lerwick 1899, p. 174. "In a corner of the *looder* [in a Shetland water mill] stood a *toyeg* (a small straw basket), containing as much corn as would be a *hurd o' burstin*. This was the annual offering to the Water Neugle, in order to insure the good offices of his godship. When this was neglected, the Neugle would sometimes grasp the *tirl* and stop the mill, and could only be dislodged by dropping a fire-brand down by the *lightning tree*" (p. 172). So in the N.-W. provinces of India, firstfruits of sugar and corn are dedicated before use: *North Ind. Notes and Queries*, 1893, § 203. An old Boeotian inscr., *IGS* i. 1670, appears to dedicate firstfruits to Demeter. So the farmer, in exorcising the mice, gives them a plot for themselves: *ἐξορκίζω μῦς τοὺς ἐνταῦθα καταλαμβανομένους μή με ἀδικήσητε μήτε ἄλλον ἐάσητε· δίδωμι γὰρ ἀγρὸν ὑμῖν τόνδε*, *Geoponica* xiii. 5. 4. Compare the story of Poseidon's temple on disputed ground, Paus. ii. 22. 4. It is the same idea which makes the Pythia ordain that the Cirrhaean land should lie waste: Aesch. *Ctes.* p. 406 *τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐκπορθήσαντας καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀνδραποδισαμένους ἀναθεῖναι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ καὶ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Λητοῖ καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ Προνοίᾳ ἐπὶ πάσῃ ἀεργίᾳ.*

[5] *Anth. P.* vi. 53.

[6] Philostratus, *Heroicus* 286=665.

[7] Attica (Roman date): *ἱερὸν τὸ τέμενος τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ τῆς Ὑγιείας.*

private plot at Cnidus, consecrated to the infernal deities[1]? Was the shepherd of Theocritus alone, when he feasted at the altar of Demeter at the threshing-floor, and did he perchance dress up a sheaf to represent bounteous Mother Earth[2]? These questions can never be answered now; but it does not follow by any means that there was nothing of the kind because we hear so little about it. There needs a reaction from city life, and the self-conscious art of a later age, to suggest that rustic merrymakings are worth describing. But when the glorious prime of the ancient cities is past, and they have all come under the iron rule of Rome, then the old country customs, which had survived so many vicissitudes, come into our view. Such scenes as Longus describes in his pretty pastoral tale could not be the invention of his own day; and I make no apology for quoting from him in illustration of the time when Peisistratus was not yet born. "A cave of the nymphs there was," he writes[3], "being a great rock hollow within and rounded without. The images of the nymphs themselves were carved out of stone: unshod feet, arms bare to the shoulder, hair loose and flowing down over the neck, a girdle about the waist, a smile on the brow; their whole aspect was as it were a troop of dancers. The mouth of the cave was in the centre of the great rock. And from it a spring of water bubbled up into a rippling stream, so that a delightful meadow stretcht out before the cave, with much fresh grass fed by the water. And there were offerings of milk-pails and cross-flutes and pipes and reeds, dedicated there by the older shepherds." Hard by was a pine tree, with an image of Pan; horned, goat-footed, syrinx in hand[4]. Here the country folk worship the nymphs, sacrificing to them and praying them to interpret their dreams, and in the spring-time wreathing the heads of the statues with

θύειν τοὺς γεωργοὺς καὶ τοὺς προσχώρους τοῖν θεοῖν ἧι θέμις, *BCH* v. 262.

[1] Newton, *Branchidae* 380, 407.

[2] Theocr. vii. 154 τοῖον νέκταρ...οἷον δὴ τόκα πῶμα διεκρανάσατε, νύμφαι, βωμῷ πὰρ Δάματρος ἀλῳάδος;...ἃ δὲ γελάσσαι δράγματα καὶ μάκωνας ἐν ἀμφοτέρῃσιν ἔχοισα.

[3] Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, i. 4, iv. 26, 32, 39. Cp. Xenophon, *Symp.* vii. 5.

[4] Longus ii. 24. Achilles Tatius viii. 6 speaks of Pan dedicating a syrinx in a cave.

flowers[1]. After the vintage and wine-treading, he says of his rustic pair, "in great joy they worshipt the nymphs, bringing them bunches of grapes as firstfruits after the vintage[2]. Indeed, they had not neglected this in the former time, always waiting upon them as they set out for their pasturing, and worshipping them when they returned; and always they brought some offering, flower or fruit or fresh leafage, or again a libation of milk. And this in time brought them a recompense from the goddesses[3]." Songs and pipings and dancings in their honour were not wanting[4]. In misfortune, Daphnis vows the sacrifice of a goat for help, and an answer is given in dreams[5]. His prayer heard, he chooses the best of his flock, crowns him with ivy, slays and flays him, and hangs up the skin at the holy place, adding thereto a libation of milk. The flesh, after a portion offered, and the rest of the milk, he and Chloe themselves partake of. The same ceremony, with a libation of wine, is done before the statue of Pan. Limbs and skulls of animals, part of the sacrifice no doubt, were hung up on trees by the farmers to ensure fertility[6].

Some such scenes as these we may fairly assume to have been common in Greece from early times. Homer alludes as a matter of course to the altars of the nymphs, where all wayfarers did sacrifice[7], to their caves[8], and to their dances[9]. The god might vary with place and age, appropriate titles being added to the greater gods[10], or late-comers taking over the rights and duties of their predecessors as the successive tenants

[1] Longus i. 9, 32.

[2] *ἀπαρχάς.*

[3] Longus ii. 2.

[4] Longus i. 36, 37, ii. 3.

[5] Longus ii. 24, 30, 31, iv. 34.

[6] Schol. Arist. *Plut.* 943 *εἰώθασι τοῖς δένδροις κῶλα καὶ κρανία προσπατταλεύειν πρὸς ἀποτροπὴν βασκανίας οἱ γεωργοί, πρὸς τὸ μὴ ξηρανθῆναι αὐτά.* His explanation is not necessarily true, but it is the reason given by the modern Greeks for doing the same thing.

[7] *Od.* xvii. 210, a spring, a grove, and *βωμὸς δ' ἐφύπερθε τέτυκτο νυμφάων, ὅθι πάντες ἐπιρρέζεσκον ὁδῖται.* Coupled with Hermes xiv. 435.

[8] *Od.* xiii. 350 *σπέος...ἔνθα σὺ πολλὰς ἕρδεσκες νύμφῃσι τεληέσσας ἑκατόμβας.*

[9] *Od.* xii. 318.

[10] Demeter Χλόη or Εὐχλόη, Ἀμαία, Ἐπόγμιος; Dionysus Αὐξίτης; Zeus Ἔνδενδρος, Ὀπωρεύς, Ἐπικάρπιος; Poseidon Φυτάλμιος, Φύκιος are a few examples. See Usener, *Götternamen*, 242 ff.

of the oracular cave did at Delphi[1]. We find not only the local hero Agenor blessing the Argive flocks at his tomb[2], nor the national hero Heracles associated with Hermes and Cybele amongst the mountains[3]; but the "hero" and the "heroine," nameless, coupled with Zeus Anthaleus in a farmer's calendar[4], Demeter guardian of flocks in Sicily[5] as she was giver of corn, Apollo as shepherd's god in many places[6], perhaps Aphrodite even when she rides on the goat[7]. Sicilians make prayer for prosperity to the Mothers, and offer all kinds of acknowledgments[8]. Grain is offered to Cybele[9]. But the countryman's eyes were generally turned to Artemis and Pan, two of the most ancient deities of the Greeks, coupled with Hermes[10] and the Nymphs. Wreaths of corn were offered yearly to Artemis in Patrae[11]. Artemis is usually worshipt by herself, until later she became associated with Apollo; but the others go in a group together for the most part[12]. The Nymphs were often confused with the Graces and the Seasons, but each group seems to have had its own particular dances[13].

[1] Aesch. *Eum.* prologue.

[2] Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* 80.

[3] Aristides v. 65 *ἀλλὰ μὴν Ἑρμοῦ γε καὶ Ἡρακλέους ἐστὶ νῦν ἀγάλματα κοινά ...ἴδοις δ' ἂν καὶ ἐν ὄρεσι μέσοις Ἡρακλέα παρὰ μητρὶ θεῶν, καὶ ἐν ἄστεσι, καὶ πάλιν αὖ σὺν Διοσκούροις.* Pan associated with Cybele, *AM* xxi. 275.

[4] *AJA* x. 210 (from Marathon) *ἡρωΐνηι, Ἰολέωι οἷς, Κουροτρόφωι χοῖρος, ἥρωι, Νεανίαι, Μοίραις, Ζεὺς Ἀνθαλεύς, γῆ ἐγγύαις*, etc. One *ἡρωίνη* receives *τὰ ὡραῖα*; since no price is named (which is done for the other offerings) I take these to be firstfruits. Zeus was also called *Γεωργός*. Sophocles speaks of giving *τέλη ἔγκαρπα Κηναίῳ Διί*, *Trach.* 238.

[5] *Μαλοφόρος*, Paus. i. 44. 3; Collitz iii. 3046. She is worshipt in a cave, Paus. viii. 42. 4.

[6] *ἐπιμήλιος* in Camirus, *ποίμνιος* and *τράγιος* in Naxos (Macrob. *Sat.* i. 17. 45, Steph. *s.v. τραγία*), *μαλόεις* in Lesbos (Thuc. iii. 3, Steph., Hesych.), *Καρνεῖος* (Preller, *Gr. Myth.*, Index). See Stephani, *Compte Rendu* 1870, p. 100. He is also called lord of the earth, Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* 24.

[7] *ἐπιτραγία*: compare *ἐπιμήλιος* and *τράγιος* of Apollo. The artistic form may be due to the form of the word, which might mean riding upon a goat.

[8] Diod. iv. 80.

[9] Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 377[8].

[10] Hermes was a special guardian of flocks: Paus. ii. 3. 4.

[11] Paus. vii. 20. 3.

[12] But first-figs were offered to Hermes. *Corp. Paroemiogr. Gr.* i. p. 157 *εἴποτε γὰρ φανείη σῦκον, τοῦτο τῷ Ἑρμεῖ ἀνατιθέασι, τοῦτο δὲ οἱ βουλόμενοι ἀνελάμβανον.*

[13] Philostr. *Apoll.* iv. 21. 73: at the Dionysia there were dances in the theatre, differing from the choric dances, *τὰ μὲν ὡς ὥρας, τὰ δὲ ὡς νύμφας, τὰ δὲ ὡς Βάκχας πράττουσιν.* See also Heuzey, *La danseuse voilée d'Auguste Titeaux*, *BCH* xvi. 73 ff.; Heydemann, *Verhüllte Tänzerin*, Halle 1879.

The offerings were made to Hecate also, as to Hermes, at their wayside statues, cakes, cheese, and fish[1]. Firstfruits were also offered to Hestia[2].

The worship of Pan and the Nymphs was widespread in Greece, and the literary tradition probably gives a very inadequate idea of their importance. As the peasant of to-day fears the mysterious Neraidhes, who can bewitch him to death, or strike him deaf, dumb, or blind[3]; so in ancient days the dweller in solitudes feared that panic madness or nymph-stroke which the god and his woodland elves could plague him with[4]. Pan ruled the mountains and the forests; gave luck to the hunter, and kept the flocks from harm[5]. He appears in classical times as the national god of Arcadia[6], where Artemis was also at home[7], and where if anywhere we should expect to find the most ancient faith and ritual of Greece: but his sanctuaries are dotted over the land from Cape Malea to Macedon[8]. In particular, wherever there is a notable cave or grotto, there we are likely to find him ensconced. At Delphi, when Apollo was a new-comer, Pan and his nymphs took refuge in the Corycian cave[9]. It was a cave of the Nymphs in which Ulysses hid his

[1] See Pausanias *Index* for the wayside Hermes; and for Hecate, *AM* iii. 194. Schol. Arist. *Plut.* 594 *κατὰ νουμηνίαν οἱ πλούσιοι ἔπεμπον δεῖπνον ἑσπέρας ὥσπερ θυσίαν τῇ Ἑκάτῃ ἐν τοῖς τριόδοις.* Schol. Arist. *Peace* 277 *διαβόητον ἦν τὸ Ζηρίνθιον ἄντρον, ἔνθα τὴν Ἑκάτην ὀργιάζειν ἐλέγετο, καὶ τελετὰς ἦγον αὐτῇ καὶ κύνας ἔθυον.*

[2] Schol. Arist. *Wasps* 846 (she askt) *ἀπαρχὰς θυομένων αὐτῇ νέμεσθαι πρώτῃ παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.*

[3] I met an old goatherd in Lesbos, who told me that one night on the hills he heard the sound of bells rung by the Neraidhes, which made him to be deaf ever after. For more on this head see Schmidt, *Volksleben der Neugriechen*, 98 ff., and my paper in *Folk-Lore*, vii. 145.

[4] Paus. x. 23. 7.

[5] Paus. viii. 38. 8, *Hom. Hymn* xix. 5. Priapus was also worshipt "where there are pastures for goats or swarms of bees" (Paus. ix. 31. 2), but he plays a small part in dedications.

[6] Paus. viii. 26. 2.

[7] Lusi.

[8] Sanctuaries: Heraea (Paus. viii. 26. 2), near Lycosura (viii. 36. 7), Megalopolis (viii. 30. 2), Acacesium (viii. 37. 8); also at Sicyon (ii. 10. 2), near Argos (ii. 24. 7), at Troezen (ii. 32. 5), at Oropus (i. 34. 2), in Thessaly (Theocr. vii. 103), and others named in the text. The Sicilians held feasts and vigils in honour of the Nymphs at their own homes: Timaeus *ap.* Ath. vi. 250 A *ἔθους ὄντος κατὰ Σικελίαν θυσίας ποιεῖσθαι κατὰ τὰς οἰκίας ταῖς νύμφαις καὶ περὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα παννυχίζειν, μεθυσκομένους, ὀρχεῖσθαί τε περὶ τὰς θεάς.*

[9] Paus. x. 32. 7. Still to be identified by inscriptions: see Collitz ii.

treasures when he returned to his native isle[1]. In Attica the popularity of Pan dates from the Persian invasion, although the story implies that he was there worshipt before[2]. The people consecrated[3] a grotto to him under the acropolis, and establisht a torch-race in his honour. At Vari there was a cave and garden of the Nymphs[4], and a grotto of Pan on Parnes[5]. A shrine of the Nymphs down by the Ilissus was known to Plato, who in speaking of it implies that such a sight was common[6]; and to Euripides, who alludes to the votive tablets hung in these places[7]. The nymphs had caves in Cithaeron[8], Samicum[9], Siphnos[10], Pan at Marathon[11] and Calamata[12]. The belief in a plurality of Pans, which has left some traces[13], may be due to the number of places where he was worshipt, aided no doubt (but at what date first we know not) by a popular derivation of the name from *πᾶς*. His general favour is attested by the

1536. For other sacred caves see: *IGS* i. 3094 (Lebadea); Collitz iii. 4673 (Messenia); caves in Euboea sacred to Dionysus (Paus. ii. 23. 1); in Cyprus sacred to Apollo and Anassa, Collitz i. 31, 32, 38; *τὸ Χαρώνιον ἄντρον* at Acharaca, Strabo xiv. 1. 44. The caves of Ida and Dicte in Crete are not alone; a cave is sacred to Hermes Cranaeus (*Mus. Ital.* ii. 914); another to Hermes at Rhethymna (Melidhoni) (*CIG* 2569); cave of Rhea in Mount Lycaeus (Paus. viii. 36. 3); a cave in Phrygia, sacred to the Mother (Paus. x. 32. 3); another, to Heracles, Hermes, and Apollo (5); one near Magnesia, to Apollo (6); cave of Apollo in Delos; of Poseidon at Taenarum (Paus. iii. 25. 4); of Hecate (Schol. Ar. *Peace* 277).

[1] *Od.* xiii. 349. It is identified with a stalactite cavern, just above the little bay of *Dhexá*, the next "on the right hand" before you enter the harbour of Vathy.

[2] Herod. vi. 102, Paus. i. 28. 4. His worship is alluded to by Lucian, *Dialogues of the Gods*, xxii. 2; and Schol. to Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 45, p. 49 in Potter. Schol. Arist. *Lysistr.* 2 *Πανὶ ὠργίαζον αἱ γυναῖκες μετὰ κραυγῆς.*

[3] Or reconsecrated?

[4] *CIA* i. 423 ff.

[5] *CIA* iii. 210, *AM* v. 291.

[6] *Phaedrus* 230 B *ἥ τε γὰρ πλάτανος αὕτη μάλ' ἀμφιλαφής τε καὶ ὑψηλή, τοῦ τε ἄγνου τὸ ὕψος καὶ τὸ σύσκιον πάγκαλον,...ἥ τε αὖ πηγὴ χαριεστάτη ὑπὸ τῆς πλατάνου ῥεῖ μάλα ψυχροῦ ὕδατος, ὥς γε τῷ ποδὶ τεκμήρασθαι· Νυμφῶν τε τινὼν καὶ Ἀχελῴου ἱερὸν ἀπὸ τῶν κορῶν τε καὶ ἀγαλμάτων ἔοικεν εἶναι.* Dedications to the Nymphs and Achelous, *AM* x. 282, *CIG* 470 *b*.

[7] Eur. *Ion* 492. So in hero shrines, Aeneas Tacticus xxxviii. 10.

[8] Paus. ix. 3. 9.

[9] Paus. v. 5. 11.

[10] *IGA* 399.

[11] Paus. i. 32. 7, still easily identified; Frazer, *ad loc.* p. 439.

[12] *IGA* 74.

[13] Arist. *Eccles.* 106[9] *ὦ Πᾶνες, ὦ Κορύβαντες.* Aristides i. 14, Paus. viii. 37. 2. Compare Lucian's remarkable story of Great Pan's death.

sixth book of the *Anthology*, where he receives more dedications than any other deity there mentioned[1]. It is remarkable that in the matter of temples and shrines he falls far behind most of the others[2]; but there are traces that his power had dwindled from what it once was[3]. He is in fact essentially a deity of country life; and in his worship bears to the great city gods much the same relation as the heroes. We are not surprised to find, then, that he is neglected in after days. "They don't treat me as I deserve at all," Lucian makes him say[4], "far worse indeed than I might have expected, when I defended them from all that barbarian garboil. However, they do come up twice or thrice in the year, with an unmistakable billygoat smelling most rank; then they sacrifice him, and make a feast of the flesh, calling me to witness their jollity and honouring me with a handclap or two." So we find the farmer or breeder, if he were able, consulting the famous oracles in his own interest. At Dodona, the only place which has yielded a series of such documents hitherto[5], Cleotas enquires of Zeus and Dione whether he shall have profit and benefit of his sheep-rearing[6]; others ask how they are to prosper in their business[7], or desire a recommendation to some other "god or hero" who may be depended upon[8]. I have already pointed out how the later gods usurp the rights of the earlier. At this stage differentiation comes in: thus in a Rhodian

[1] Thirty-four in all; as against Athena 27, Artemis 26, Aphrodite 23, Apollo 21, Hermes and Dionysus 16 each, Priapus, Demeter, Cybele 10, Zeus, Poseidon, and the Nymphs alone 9, the Muses 7, Hera, Heracles 5, Asclepius, Ares 3, the others two or one.

[2] Statistics are given by G. B. Hussey, *AJA* vi. 59 ff.; the order is Apollo, Artemis, Athena, Zeus, Aphrodite, Demeter, Dionysus, Asclepius, Poseidon, Hera, Cybele, Heracles, Eileithyia, Dioscuri: after which Tyche, Hermes, Pan, the Maid, Ares, Pluto, the Fates, and Ge come together. The rest are rare. Female deities outnumber male by 57 to 43 per cent.

[3] Paus. viii. 37. 11.

[4] Lucian, *Bis Accusatus*, 10.

[5] One fragment was found at Delphi: Collitz ii. 2970; and a few others are recorded.

[6] Collitz ii. 1559: *ἐρουτᾶι Κλεούτας τὸν Δία καὶ τὰν Διώναν, αἴ ἐστι αὐτοῖ προβατεύοντι ὄναιον καὶ ὠφέλιμον.*

[7] Collitz ii. 1561 c, 1568.

[8] Collitz ii. 1582, etc. The god's replies are tantalising indeed, and keep up the oracular mystery. They break off at the interesting part.

inscription, offerings of grapes are made to Bacchus, of sheaves to Deo, of olives to Athena[1].

We may take it, then, that the offerings of firstfruits recorded in the *Anthology*, though late in date and at times fanciful, do not misrepresent the ancient custom. Sheaves are offered to Deo in thanks for a good harvest[2]; even if the earing be small, she must have her share, a handful of corn and a few seeds laid on a wooden stool[3]. Or the same offering is made to the Nymphs, as a tithe of winnowing[4]. At the vintage, grapes are offered to Aphrodite[5]; grapes, figs, and pomegranates are the portion of Priapus[6]. So the herdsman offers his milk to Pan[7], the bee-keeper his honey[8]. The firstfruits may also take the form of cakes dedicated to Pan and Priapus[9], or Hermes of the Roads[10]; a cake is laid in a basket on the threshing-floor as a thank-offering to Demeter[11]. Three jars of wine are offered to Bacchus and the Satyrs as the firstfruits of three vineyards[12].

There is a striking parallel to these ancient customs in the communion feast of a modern panegyris, especially when this falls in harvest time or vintage. In some places, the pious will eat nothing of grape or grain until it has been blest by the priest at the harvest home. The service on the saint's day always begins about sunrise; and after it is over, the holy bread (which has been provided by some of the more well-to-do of the company) is handed round. The people emerge: in the precinct stand little tables, on which stand bunches of grapes and small decanters of mastick, also a gift, which all taste of, as they eat the pieces of consecrated bread, wishing each other a happy year in the set formula. Then too in the church may sometimes be seen offerings in kind, when they are such as to last: as the sponge-fisher's tribute, chosen from his last takings,

[1] *IGS* i. 781.

[2] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 36.

[3] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 98 *ἐκ μικρῶν ὀλίγιστα.*

[4] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 225. See Dionysius *ap.* Ath. ix. 401 F: *νυμφῶν ὑπὸ σπήλυγγα τὴν αὐτόστεγον σύαγρον ἐκβόλειον εὔθηρον κλύειν, ᾧ πλεῖστ' ἀπαρχὰς ἀκροθινιάζομαι.*

[5] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 119.

[6] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 22.

[7] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 99.

[8] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 239.

[9] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 232.

[10] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 299: compare pp. 45, 46, above.

[11] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 258.

[12] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 44.

which hangs beside the icon of the patron saint. Even a last trace of the Corn-maiden seems to survive, in a curious plaited mat made of the ripe ears, hung up in the peasants' houses[1], which bears a distant resemblance to a begowned human figure.

In like manner the huntsman paid his devoirs to Artemis Agrotera, or Pan, or other deities of the woodland, in local shrines or under a tree[2]: where he hung up the head, horns, and skin, and offered a share of the catch[3]. One of the local shrines is described by Philostratus[4], and another may be seen on a marble relief[5]. "There is a shrine of the goddess at hand," says Philostratus, "and an image smooth with age, and the heads of boars and of bears; and thereby live wild beasts at large, fawns and wolves and hares, all tame and fearing man not at all." Evidence has at last been found of the antiquity of these customs, in the temple of Artemis at Lusi; where have been found stags' horns with boars' tusks and the teeth of bears in numbers, apparently the relics of early offerings[6]. Xenophon offered a tenth of his hunting to Artemis in the private shrine which he built[7]. King Philip slew a wild bull at Arbela, whose horns and skin he consecrated to Heracles[8];

[1] See my paper in *Folk-Lore*, vii. 147, with photograph. I have seen these as far east as Lesbos, where they are regular, and rarely on the mainland of Greece. The people call them *ψάθα*, 'mat,' or *σιτάρι*, 'corn,' and have forgotten what they once meant.

[2] Diodorus (iv. 22) tells of an impious man, *ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις εἰωθέναι τῶν ληφθέντων θηρίων τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ τοὺς πόδας ἀνατιθέναι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ προσηλοῦν τοῖς δένδρεσι*, who dedicated one to himself, with disastrous results.

[3] Schol. Arist. *Plut.* 943, Diod. iv. 22, Philostr. *Imag.* i. 28. 6: *πρωτάγρια, πρωτόλεια, ἀκροθίνια.* Or money: Arrian *De Ven.* 33. The altar at Delos, built of horns, has no demonstrable connexion with hunting; the horns were doubtless relics of many sacrifices, and were built up for a whim, like the pile of tripods at Dodona (Steph. *s.v.* *Δωδώνη*). Deer were sacrificed to Artemis, at the Elaphebolia, in Patrae (Paus. vii. 18. 12, Bekker, *Anecd.* i. 249), the hunter's firstfruit being made a custom. Skins of African buffaloes were hung in the temple of Heracles at Rome (Ath. v. 221 F).

[4] Philostr. *Imag.* i. 28 *τὴν Ἀγροτέραν προϊόντες ᾄσονται, νεὼς γάρ τις αὐτῆς ἐκεῖ καὶ ἄγαλμα λεῖον ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ συῶν κεφαλαὶ καὶ ἄρκτων, νέμεται δ' αὐτῇ καὶ θηρία ἄνετα, νεβροὶ καὶ λύκοι καὶ λαγωοί, πάντα ἥμερα καὶ μὴ δεδιότα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.*

[5] Roscher i. 311, from Braun, *Ant. Basrel.* figs. 9, 10, pl. 77.

[6] *Jahreshefte* iv. 37, 58.

[7] Xen. *Anab.* v. 3. 9.

[8] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 114—116.

and following the Greek custom, a party of elephant hunters in Egypt dedicated their catch[1]; whilst Hadrian the Emperor dedicated in Thespiae the firstling of a bear hunt[2]. In the *Anthology*, skin and antlers of a slain stag are offered to Artemis[3], or the horns hung on a tree for Pan[4]. A hunter in chase of a wild bull, knocks off his horn with the hunting-cudgel, and hangs it upon a wild pear-tree[5]. Two brothers dedicate stags' heads to Apollo, hanging them in the porch of his temple[6]. A lionskin and claws are hung on a pine tree for Pan[7], a wolfskin upon a plane[8], a boar is offered to him under a birch tree[9]. Hunters' dedications are found as late as the sixth century after Christ[10]. Perhaps we may include here the elephant's skull which Pausanias saw in a shrine of Artemis in Campania[11].

The fisherman also dedicates firstlings, and not to one god only. It seems to have been the custom for tunny-fishers after a good haul to offer the first tunny caught to Poseidon[12]; but the eel-catchers of Copais offered their finest eels to "the gods," by ancient prescription[13]. These gods may be the nameless deities, or the Cabiri, or the Ptoan hero, or Apollo. In the *Anthology* we find the fisherman offering a crab to Pan as firstling of his catch[14]; or a seasnail to the nymphs of the caves[15]; or a parcel of fish, wrapt in seaweed, to Artemis[16].

The Magnetan herbalists dedicated firstfruits of their simples

[1] *Classical Review* xii. 275; *Brit. Mus. Inscr.* 1207 (208–6 B.C.).

[2] *IGS* i. 1828. Doubtless he composed the epigram: *ὦ παῖ τοξότα Κυπρίδος λιγείης, Θεσπίαις Ἑλικωνίαισι ναίων, ναρκισσοῦ παρὰ κῆπον ἀνθέοντα, ἰλήκοις· τὸ δέ τοι δίδωσι δέξο ἀκροθείνιον Ἀδριανὸς ἄρκτου, ἣν αὐτὸς κάνεν ἱππόθεν τυχήσας. σὺ δ' αὐτῶι χάριν ἀντὶ τοῦ σαόφρων πνέοις οὐρανίας ἀπ' Ἀφροδίτης.*

[3] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 111.

[4] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 96.

[5] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 255.

[6] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 112.

[7] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 57.

[8] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 106.

[9] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 168.

[10] *Brit. Mus. Inscr.* no. 1043.

[11] Paus. v. 12. 3.

[12] Antigonus *ap.* Ath. vii. 297 D: *Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος...τοὺς ἁλιέας λέγει θυσίαν ἐπιτελοῦντας τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν θύννων ὥραν, ὅταν εὐαγρήσωσι θύειν τῷ θεῷ τὸν πρῶτον ἁλόντα θύννον.*

[13] Agatharchides *ap.* Ath. *l.c.*: *φησὶ γοῦν ὁ Ἀγαθαρχίδης...τὰς ὑπερφυεῖς τῶν κωπαΐδων ἐγχέλεων ἱερείων τρόπον στεφανοῦντας καὶ κατευχομένους οὐλάς τ' ἐπιβάλλοντας θύειν τοῖς θεοῖς τοὺς Βοιωτούς.* These are *τὰ προγονικὰ νόμιμα.*

[14] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 196.

[15] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 224.

[16] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 105.

to Cheiron, the Tyrians to Agenorides; the "first physicians," and their own patrons[1].

Besides the private celebrations of the countryside and the shore, there were public ceremonies by which the state sought to express gratitude and to avert dearth. The Hyperboreans used to send firstfruits and tithes in a mysterious fashion to Dodona and Delos[2]. Eretrians and Magnetes paid firstfruits to Apollo as "giver of corn[3]." At Athens the Eiresione[4] was a sort of harvest home, at which bread and fruit, honey, oil, and wine[5] were offered to the Sun and the Seasons, or to Athena Polias[6]. The *προηρόσια* was similar[7], and so was the bunch of grapes offered to Dionysus at the Oschophoria[8]. At the Panathenaea, the eiresione was a branch pluckt from the sacred olive groves, and offered to Athena[9]. The Troezenians gave firstfruits to Poseidon[10]; and firstfruits due to Apollo are mentioned at Decelea[11] and at Delphi[12], in which latter place the "threshing-floor" had an important part in the

[1] Plut. *Symp.* iii. 1. 3 *Τύριοι μὲν Ἀγηνορίδῃ, Μάγνητες δὲ Χείρωνι, τοῖς πρώτοις ἰατρεῦσαι λεγομένοις, ἀπαρχὰς κομίζουσιν· ῥίζαι γάρ εἰσι καὶ βοτάναι δι' ὧν ἰῶντο τοὺς κάμνοντας.*

[2] Herod. iv. 33—4. Paus. i. 31. 2. Compare Plut. *Mor.* 1136, Callim. *Hymn to Delos* 278 *ἀμφιετεῖς δεκατηφόροι αἰὲν ἀπαρχαὶ πέμπονται*; Mannhardt, *Wald und Feldkulte* 233. The firstfruits are mentioned in an oracular response from Delphi (*AM* xviii. 193[8]) and at Samothrace (*loc. cit.* 349 B[9]) So too some "barbarians" sent firstfruits to the Syracusan shrines, Thuc. vi. 20. 4.

[3] Plut. *De Pyth. Or.* 16. He says *ἀνθρώπων ἀπαρχαῖς*, which must be wrong if the reason be right. Query *καρπῶν* or *πάντων*.

[4] See Dar. and Sagl. *s.v.*; Mannhardt, *Wald und Feldkulte* 239 ff.; Bötticher, *Baumkultus*, ch. xxv, who however has misunderstood part of the evidence. The offerings are called *ἀπαρχαὶ* in Bekk. *Anecd.* 246.

[5] The verses they used to sing are given by Schol. Arist. *Plut.* 1054 and Eudocia, no. 333: *εἰρεσιώνη σῦκα φέρει καὶ πίονας ἄρτους καὶ μέλι ἐν κοτύλῃ καὶ ἔλαιον ἀποψήσασθαι καὶ κύλικ' εὔζωρον ὡς ἂν μεθύουσα καθεύδῃς.* Those who wisht to find a reason for the rite ascribed it to a plague: Schol. Arist. *Knights* 732, Eudocia *l. c.* If the Delphic oracle commanded the public celebration, that proves nothing for its first origin.

[6] Schol. Arist. *Knights* 732. Here we see the celebration diverted to the patron deity of the state.

[7] Suidas *s.v.*; Schol. Arist. *Knights* 732, *Plutus* 1054.

[8] Bötticher, ch. xxvi.

[9] Schol. Clem. Alex. p. 9. 33 (Potter), quoted by Dar. and Sagl.

[10] Plut. *Theseus* 6.

[11] Xen. *Hellen.* iii. 5. 5.

[12] Collitz ii. 2561 D [49] *Βουκατίοις τῶι Διὶ πατρώιωι καὶ τῶπόλλωνι τὰ ἀκρόθινα* (4th cent.).

religious ceremonies[1]. The cereals offered to Zeus and other deities in sacrifice, and possibly the sprinkling of barley meal, would appear to recal the ancient custom[2]. Aristotle says distinctly, that the ancient sacrifices, made after the harvesting, were a kind of firstfruits[3]. We see the old surviving into the new order of things, when the Eleans after their ancient custom sacrificed monthly on "all the altars" wheat kneaded with honey[4]. The custom of sacrificing cakes, and things without life, was ancient in Athens also[5]; and the traditional offering to Phigalean Demeter was fruit, honeycombs, and wool yet unspun[6], while the fruits of autumn were offered to Demeter in Mycalessus[7].

The word "firstfruits," although it does not occur in Homer, is implied by the cognate verb which has a ritual meaning[8], and Homer uses *ἄργματα* in the sense of *ἀπαρχαί*[9]. The same form occurs in very old Attic inscriptions[10]. Homer recites also how Artemis sent the great boar to destroy the crops, because the usual offerings had not been made to her on the threshing floor[11].

[1] Collitz ii. 2642[64] *πομπευόντω ἐκ τᾶς ἄλωος ἐν τὸν ναόν.*

[2] Collitz iii. 3636[48].

[3] Arist. *Eth.* xi. 1160 *a* 25 *αἱ γὰρ ἀρχαῖαι θυσίαι καὶ σύνοδοι φαίνονται γίνεσθαι μετὰ τὰς τῶν καρπῶν συγκομιδὰς οἷον ἀπαρχαί.*

[4] Paus. v. 15. 10.

[5] Paus. viii. 2. 3.

[6] Paus. viii. 42. 11.

[7] Paus. ix. 19. 5.

[8] *ἀπάρχεσθαι*: *Il.* xix. 254, *Od.* xiv. 428. See for this subject the article *ἀπαρχαί* in Pauly, from which I take a few references which had escaped me. The verb appears to be used, but in the active, on a very old Tanagran inscription, recording a dedication to Hermes; a bronze cup *BCH* xix. 242, *ἰαρὸν τῶ Καρυκεΐω Φλόϝαϙος ἀπάρχοντος λεκτοῖς Θηβαίοις ἀνέθεαν.* Cp. *Jahreshefte* iii. 137. In Eretria: *CIG* 2144. *ἐπαρχὴ* seems to mean a fee or money contribution: *CIA* ii. 588 *ἐπαρχὴ ἣν ἐπάρχονται οἱ δημόται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἑκάστης ἧς ἂν λάχει, εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ τὴν ἵδρυσιν τῶν ἱερῶν. IGS* i. 235[21]. But it also appears to mean firstfruits in Delphi; and *ἐπάργματα* certainly bears that sense in Thera: *IGI* iii. 436 *οὖροι γᾶς θεῶν ματρί... θυσία Ἀρχίνου· τῶι ἔτει τῶι πρατίστωι θύσοντι βοῦν καὶ πυρῶν ἐγ μεδίμνου καὶ κριθῶν ἐγ δύο μεδίμνων καὶ οἴνου μετρητὰν καὶ ἄλλα ἐπάργματα ὧν αἱ ὧραι φέρουσι. CIA* ii. 632 has *ἐπὶ τράπεζαν καταρχήν. ἀκροθίνια* is also used for firstfruits: Suid. *s.v. αἱ τῶν ἐνιαυσίων καρπῶν ἀπαρχαί.* So Hesych., adding *θῖνες δέ εἰσιν οἱ σωροὶ τῶν πυρῶν καὶ κριθῶν.*

[9] *Od.* xiv. 446.

[10] **ἀπάργματα** *CIA* i. 347, cp. *CIG* 2465. To Cybele: Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 377[14] (Thera).

[11] *Il.* ix. 534 *χωσαμένη ὅ ϝοι οὔτι θαλύσια γουνῷ ἀλωῆς ϝοινεὺς ῥέξ'*. Compare Apollodorus i. 8. 2.

Herodotus, who first uses the noun *ἀπαρχή*, speaks of the first-fruits of his inheritance which Croesus sent to Delphi and elsewhere[1]. Inscriptions mention the firstfruits of corn[2], of oil[3], of the fruits of the earth[4]: those of fish and of house-property, in Delos, are probably a civil tax[5]. Firstfruits of tribute money occur often in Attic inscriptions[6]; and firstfruits of men[7] were dedicated to the gods, originally perhaps for sacrifice, later for use as slaves. The word occurs on inscriptions of Rhodes[8], Miletus[9], Delos[10], and is very common in Athens as we shall see. *ἀκροθίνιον* or *ἀκρόθινα* is used in a similar sense; for firstfruits in kind I have already given an instance[11], and it is applied to a statue dedicated by a poet or some such person in Phocis[12].

There is nothing to show whether the firstfruits formed any particular fraction of the whole, but the country custom would appear to have been that a sheaf or two was enough for the small farmer. Indeed, so long as there was no organised priesthood, there would be no reason to offer more than would make a good show. But with the organised priesthood, and with the organised social system, there must needs come a change. A fixt minimum would be appointed by the king or the representatives of the god, and exacted as a due[13]. Moreover, with large amounts offerings in kind become inconvenient; and we can hardly doubt that as soon as a fixt currency was introduced, whether in tripods, axes, cauldrons, or what not, which each represented some unit of value in kind[14], the firstfruits

[1] Herod. i. 92 *τῶν πατρώων χρημάτων ἀπαρχήν*.

[2] *καρποῦ CIG* 484: particulars of wheat and barley for each tribe, *CIA* iv. 2. 834 *b*.

[3] *ἐλαιοῦ CIA* iv. 1. 27 *b*.

[4] *IGI* iii. 436 *ἀπάργματα ὧν αἱ ὧραι φέρουσι*.

[5] *σιτοῦ, ἐνοικιῶν, ἰχθύων*, quoted by Homolle, Dar. and Sagl. *s.v. Donarium* p. 366 note [47].

[6] *CIA* i. 226, 257, etc.; iv. 1. 51. *ἀπαρχὴ* is used of money in Eleusis, *AM* xix. 192[5].

[7] Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* 35, *CIA* i. 210, Dionys. i. 16. 44.

[8] *IGI* i. 466 statue, Athena Lindian, etc.

[9] *CIG* 2855.

[10] *BCH* xiv. 408.

[11] Above, p. 52[12].

[12] *IGS* iii. 1. 131.

[13] The tithe of Peisistratus: Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* xvi.; Diog. Laert. i. 6. 53 *ἀπάγει δὴ ἕκαστος τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοῦ αὐτοῦ κλήρου δεκάτην, οὐκ ἐμοὶ ἀλλὰ ὀπόθεν ἔσται ἀναλοῦν ἔς τε θυσίας τὰς δημοτελεῖς, καὶ εἴτι ἄλλο τῶν κοινῶν, καὶ ἢν ὁ πόλεμος ἡμᾶς καταλάβῃ*. Arist. *Oec.* ii. 1346 *b* 3 *ἐπικαρπία καὶ δεκάτη*.

[14] Ridgeway, *Origin of Coin and Weight Standards*, Index.

would be commuted for their value. This is perhaps the origin of the tithe (*δεκάτη*)[1]; although since the two words are used for votive offerings side by side, as we shall see, the question is not yet clear. The principle of the firstfruits or tithe offering was extended, as civilisation increased, to merchants and tradesmen; and was applied also to the portion set apart by states for their patron deity, or for support of some national shrine[2]. The tithe was also dedicated to the gods not only from yearly profits but from occasional gains, such as the spoils of war, and a windfall or lucky find. The same idea prompted the consecration of one-tenth of the land apportioned out for cleruchs' allotments[3], and one-tenth of confiscated property, which we shall discuss later.

The evidence for the extent of the tithe offering is not complete. The reason, however, is probably that the inscriptions so far discovered are unevenly distributed, whilst smaller towns would have a less organised cult. The earlier inscriptions, moreover, have often only the deity's name, often only his and the giver's, with or without a verb; and as we know that some dedications so inscribed were the firstfruits or the tithe of war[4], the fact that this is not specified elsewhere does not prove that it was not true. The Pelasgians offered the tithe[5], as the

[1] Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 245 ff., 458, discusses the tithe. The tithe appears to have gone to the kings, and the maintenance of the tribal sanctuaries to have been a first charge upon it. See also *Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, xxxi. 126. The fraction chosen depends on the fact that a man has ten fingers, and therefore ten is the natural basis of arithmetic. *δεκάζειν*, like *πεμπάζειν*, meant properly to 'count' (not as Suidas says *s.v.* *δεκάζεσθαι*, derived from a marshalling of the recipients in tens). Later the word *δεκάτη*, like *δεκατεύειν*, may have lost its exact sense, so as to be used for any sacred portion. Cp. *IGI* iii. 258 *δεκάταν ὑπὲρ θυγατρός*.

[2] The tithe was a royal tax under Peisistratus: Arist. *Ath. Pol.* xvi.; and perhaps later, Xen. *Hell.* i. 1. 22, Pollux vi. 128, ix. 28.

[3] Thuc. iii. 50 records this of the cleruchy in Lesbos. We have no further information on the subject, but he mentions it as a matter of course.

[4] As *IGA* 32, 46, 510 on helmets and a lance, each naming an enemy.

[5] Stephanus *s.v.* *Ἀβορίγινες*. Dionysius i. 18. 49 *δεκάτας ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνῆγον τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης ὠφελειῶν εἴπερ τινὲς καὶ ἄλλοι λαμπροτάτας*. So did the Carthaginians (Justin 18) and the Tyrians (Plut. *Symp.* 313).

Hyperboreans did[1]. There are ancient dedications of a tithe of war in many places[2]; the tithe not specified is offered to Zeus at Thebes[3], to Demeter by men and women in Argolis[4], by a woman to Athena at Paestum[5], to Apollo by a man at Naxos[6]. Statues on the Sacred Way at Branchidae are an early example of the dedication of the tithe to a non-local deity[7]. In Athens we find the war tithe early[8], and a tithe of slaves is mentioned[9]. A great number of other tithes have been found here, which we shall consider by and by[10]. Dedications from Calabria[11] and Calymna[12] are specified as a tithe of work. Later, we find the tithe in Anaphe[13], Boeotia[14], Crete[15], Cyrene[16], Delos[17], Didymi[18] and Epidaurus[19] in Argolis, Halicarnassus[20], Ithaca[21], Megara[22], Naxos[23], Rhodes[24], Thera[25]. The tithe of trade is alluded to incidentally in a Cretan inscription of the third century[26]. It is also used in connexion with feasts for the dead[27]. The tithe is not mentioned in Homer.

[1] Herod. iii. 33—4, Callim. *Delos* 278 ff.

[2] See below, chap. III.

[3] *IGA* 191.

[4] Collitz iii. 3407, *CIG* 1172; *IPI* i. 580, 977.

[5] *IGA* 542.

[6] *IGA* 408.

[7] *IGA* 483.

[8] *CIA* i. 334.

[9] *CIA* i. 210. Xenophon's men sold their slaves and gave a tithe to Artemis, *Anab.* v. 3.

[10] Tithe and firstfruit occur together: Κατ. 269 *CIA* iv. 1. 382 p. 154...*τόδ' ἀπαρχὴν* **εὐξάμενος δεκάτην**. One is offered by each of two persons, *CIA* iv. 1. 373[77].

[11] *IGSI* 643 (Hera); see below, p. 92.

[12] Ross, *Ined. Insc.* iii. 298 *Νικίας μ' ἀνέθηκεν Ἀπόλλωνι ἔργων τὴν δεκάτην.*

[13] *IGI* iii. 257, 258: Apollo.

[14] *IGS* i. 1739[16] (Thespiae, to Heracles), *IGA* 191 (Thebes, Zeus).

[15] *CIG* 2556.

[16] Collitz iii. 4839, 4840 (Apollo). *AM* xxiii. 22: woman to Artemis. *CIG* 5133.

[17] *BCH* vi. line 47.

[18] Collitz iii. 3407: two women to Demeter.

[19] Collitz iii. 3335: a woman to Demeter.

[20] *CIG* 2660: Athena.

[21] *IGS* iii. 1. 654: Artemis.

[22] Paus. i. 42. 5: Apollo *Δεκατηφόρος*.

[23] *IGA* 408: Apollo.

[24] *IGI* i. 817 *a* 3: Athena Lindia (common).

[25] *IGI* iii. 431: Heracles (in a cave); 437: Mother of the gods.

[26] *CIG* 2556[52] *αἱ δέ τι τῶν θεῶν βωλομένων ἔλοιμεν ἀγαθὸν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἢ κοινᾶι ἐξοδούσαντες, ἢ ἰδίαι τινὲς παρ' ἑκατέρων ἢ κατὰ γᾶν ἢ κατὰ θάλασσαν, λαγχανόντων ἑκάτεροι κατὰ τὸς ἄνδρας τὸς ἕρποντας, καὶ τὰς δεκάτας λαμβανόντων ἑκάτεροι ἐς τὰν ἰδίαν πόλιν.*

Heracles, we learn from Diodorus (iv. 21), promised weal and wealth to those who would tithe their goods to him, and many Romans grew rich by that means.

[27] *CIG* 1034 leaden tablet *τὴν τῶν τριακάδων ἀνιέρωσιν...ἀφ' ἧς δέδωκα δεκάτην μέχρι ἡμερῶν τετταράκοντα.*

At the great national sanctuaries, in which every Greek city was interested, each city which hoped for the favour of the presiding deity made offering occasional or regular[1]. Herodotus speaks of the tithe due to Apollo[2] and Zeus[3], and each deme appears to have been bound to pay its share[4]. The Athenian theori, who sailed to Delos in the sacred ship of Theseus, in memory of his vow to Apollo[5], took the firstfruits with them[6]; and the same was done by other states[7]. Vases were dedicated as firstfruit by Cos[8] and Rhodes[9]; and the Mapsidichae, perhaps an agricultural tribe, send their firstfruits year by year[10]. The same was the case at Delphi[11]. The Eleusinian shrine was supported from early times by the firstfruits which had been enjoined by a Delphic oracle apparently upon all the Greeks[12], and were sent to Athens "from all parts." During the fifth century, this pious custom fell into disuse; and just before the war, a law was past making it compulsory upon Athens and

[1] Cp. Eur. *Meleag.* fr. 520 *Οἰνεύς ποτ' ἐκ γῆς πολύμετρον λαβὼν σταχὺν θύων ἀπαρχάς.*

[2] Herod. vii. 132.

[3] Herod. i. 89.

[4] Crates *ap.* Ath. vi. 235 c: *τὸν δ' ἑκτέα παρέχειν ἐς τὰ ἀρχεῖα τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τοὺς Ἀχαρνέων παρασίτους ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκλογῆς τῶν κριθῶν.* Called *ἀπαρχαί* below.

[5] Plut. *Thes.* 22.

[6] *CIA* ii. 984, 985; *BCH* xviii. 183; Mommsen, *Heortologie* 402, *Feste der Stadt Athen* 451.

[7] *BCH* xx. 695. Poeta *ap.* Clem. Al. *Strom.* iv. 24. 164 *ὄφρα...δεκάτην ἀκροθίνιά τε κρεμάσαιμεν.*

[8] *BCH* xiv. 408 *φιάλη...τῆς πόλεως τῆς Κωΐων ἀνάθημα, τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι ἀπαρχήν* (279 B.C.).

[9] *Ibid.* These cups are only part of the offering, no doubt.

[10] *BCH* vi 41 [114], etc.

[11] *BCH* xviii. 183, xx. 695—6; Xen. *Hell.* iii. 5. 5 *ὀργιζόμενοι αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀντιλήψεως τῆς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος δεκάτης ἐν Δεκελείᾳ.*

[12] *CIA* iv. 1. 27 *b κελευέτω δὲ ὁ ἱεροφάντης καὶ ὁ δαιδοῦχος μυστηρίοις ἀπάρχεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας τοῦ καρποῦ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὴν μαντείαν τὴν ἐγ Δελφῶν.* The tax was $\frac{1}{600}$; it was paid in kind, and sold; votive offerings were bought with part of it, and inscribed *ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ τῆς ἐπαρχῆς.* See also Körte, *AM* xxi. 322 ff., who gives the later history of the custom, and makes some interesting deductions as to the price of cattle. He places the date of our decree later than it is done in the *Corpus.* Cp. Isocr. *Paneg.* 31 *αἱ μὲν γὰρ πλεῖσται τῶν πόλεων ὑπόμνημα τῆς παλαιᾶς εὐεργεσίας ἀπαρχὰς τοῦ σίτου καθ' ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ὡς ἡμᾶς ἀποπέμπουσι, ταῖς δ' ἐκλειπούσαις πολλάκις ἡ Πυθία προσέταξεν ἀποφέρειν τὰ μέρη τῶν καρπῶν καὶ ποιεῖν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν τὰ πάτρια.* Schol. Arist. *Plutus* 1054 *χαριστήρια παντα-χόθεν ἐκπέμπουσιν Ἀθήναζε τῶν καρπῶν τὰς ἀπαρχάς.* See also *CIA* i. 32, Schol. Arist. *Knights* 727. The Delphic oracle does not imply that the practice was not older: it merely sanctions it.

her allies, and inviting the other states to join in[1]. Occasional offerings were sent for some special prosperity. Here the tithe or firstfruit assumes a developed form; it is a thanksgiving for that which gave wealth to the dedicating state. Thus Croesus sends to Delphi an offering of the gold which was found in his country[2]. The Siphnians offer a tithe of their mines[3]; the Corcyreans acknowledge a special haul of fish at Delphi and Olympia[4], and Tenedos makes similar acknowledgment apparently for a fine catch of crabs[5]; Selinus renders thanks for its celery[6], Metapontium[7], Myrrhina, Apollonia[6] for their corn, all at Delphi.

The Samian merchants tithed their profits to the amount of six talents; and with the money they procured a magnificent bronze crater supported on kneeling figures, which they dedicated in the Heraeum[8].

When we examine the private dedications of this class, we find a great variety of callings represented. Sometimes the nature of the offering alone shows that it is the tithe or firstfruit of husbandry, orchardry, shepherdry, or hunting[9]; but in many cases the dedicator records his calling. Actor and physician offer a tithe of profits at Delphi[10]. On the acropolis of Athens we find the fisherman[9], the breeder[9], and the farmer[11], before the Persian invasion; and a fisher apparently vows his first cast to the nymphs of Syra[12]. Among the early inscrip-

[1] ἐὰν βούλωνται.

[2] Herod. i. 50.

[3] Herod. iii. 57, Paus. x. 11. 2. The finding of the mines was an unexpected windfall, but the offering thereafter vowed was to be regular. When it was neglected, the sea flooded their mines and destroyed them.

[4] Paus. x. 9. 3, v. 29. 9. The objects sent were axes.

[5] Plut. *De Pyth. Or.* 12. I take ἀπὸ τῶν καρκίνων to be the account given to Plutarch and his explanation to be wrong. Axes were once a unit of currency (Ridgeway, *Origin* 319). Why on earth should Tenedos offer an axe simply because the pattern on the back of a crab was like an axe?

[6] Plut. *De Pyth. Or.* 16.

[7] Strabo p. 264.

[8] Herod. iv. 152 οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι τὴν δεκάτην τῶν ἐπικερδίων ἐξελόντες ἓξ τάλαντα, etc.

[9] Cp. Κατ. 2, *CIA* iv. 1.

[10] *BCH* xx. 695 τάδε πόλεις καὶ ἰδιῶται ἐπάρξαντο.

[11] 373 ἄγρας ἀπαρχήν, *CIA* iv. Suppl. 1. 373[121] p. 182: τἀθηναίαι δεκάτην χωρίου Ἀθμονόθεν Χαιρέδημος Φιλέα.

[12] *IGA* 7, if rightly restored. It was the rule to dedicate the first tunny of a good haul to Poseidon; Athen. vii. 297 E, 302 B, 346. So the fisherman in the *Anthology* dedicates a crab as the firstfruit of the quest, vi. 196.

tions of Athens are dedications of fullers[1], potters[2], a baker[3], a tanner[4], a physician[5], a builder[6], a recorder[7], and washermen or washerwomen[7], who seem to have been a pious tribe. One inscription may refer to a shipwright[8], a later inscription of Astypalaea to a shipmaster[9]. Elsewhere we read of a butcher or cook[10], a courtesan[11], and possibly a smith[12]. Several, both men and women, speak in general terms of a tithe of their earnings or property[13], or of their blessings[14], of their skill, or of their holy works[15]; others pray for skill[16]. Pairs of partners or brothers[17], and even larger companies[18], combine in one offering. A vow was often made before the offering[19]. All handicraftsmen at Athens, we know, bearing baskets of offerings, used to worship Athena at the feast of Chalces[20]; this

[1] *CIA* iv. 373 *f*, p. 42 : Σίμων...ὁ κναφεύς.....δεκάτην ; others below.

[2] Below, p. 60[7], 61[1, 2, 3, 4].

[3] *Cat. Acrop. Mus. Bronzes* 264.

[4] σκυλοδέψης *CIA* iv. 1. 373[224].

[5] *CIA* iv. 1. 422[14], p. 185. Nothing else surely can be the source of another inscription : **ἀστῶν** θαλόντων, πολιηόχε πότνι' Ἀθάνα, Σμικροῦ καὶ παίδων μνᾶμ' ἔχοι ἥδε πόλις : *CIA* iv. 2. 373[106].

[6] *CIA* iv. 1. 373[262], p. 203.

[7] *CIA* i. 399, iv. 2. 373[84].

[8] *CIA* iv. 1. 373[234], p. 198: **ἀνέθηκεν τἀθηναίαι δεκάτην** ναυπηγός. Very archaic. ναυ- is Naxian.

[9] *IGI* iii. 203 ναῶν ὠκυδρόμων πόλλ' **ἀπὸ κτησάμενος**. ναύκλαρος παλλα... Κατ. 185.

[10] *IGA* 543 (Calabria).

[11] Rhodopis: Herod. ii. 135 (Delphi), cp. *BCH* xv. 113.

[12] *BCH* vi. 47[168], ἄκμων in Delos.

[13] Croesus: Herod. i. 92. *CIA* i. 345 ἔργων ἀπαρχήν (boustrophedon); κτεάνων *CIA* iv. 1. 373[105, 218]; ii. 1434; iv. 2. 1550 *d*; iv. 1. 373[91], Κατ. 172 **δεκάτην ἔργων** καὶ χρημάτων. A dedication to Athena Ergane can only be that of a work-woman: *CIA* iv. 1. 373[271]. So in Delos ; see below, p. 60[3].

[14] *BCH* xiii. 160 **Ἑρμόδωρός** μ' ἀνέθηκ' Ἀφροδίτηι δῶρον ἀπαρχὴν πότνια τῶν ἀγαθῶν, τῶι σὺ δὸς ἀφθονίαν, etc.

[15] Κατ. 48 **ἄπαργμα τέχνης**. *IGS* iii. 1. 131 ἐξ ὁσίων ἔργων ἀκροθίνιον.

[16] *CIA* iv. 1. p. 79.

[17] *CIA* i. 351, 358, 375, 396 ; iv. 1. 373[215]. ἀνεθέτην is common (373[113, 183, 189], 418 *g*).

[18] *CIA* iv. 1. 373[124].

[19] *CIA* i. 349, iv. 1. 373[202], etc.

[20] Mommsen, *Heortologie*, 313: Soph. *frag.* 724 βᾶτ' εἰς ὁδὸν δὴ πᾶς ὁ χειρῶναξ λεὼς οἳ τὴν Διὸς γοργῶπιν Ἐργάνην στατοῖς λίκνοισιν προστρέπεσθε. Of course no special deity was necessary for the artisan to worship ; but Athena in this aspect was often called Ergane, the Worker (Diod. v. 73, Paus. i. 24. 3), and coupled with Hephaestus (Solon xiii. 49, Paus. i. 14. 6, *CIA* ii. 114 *b*). Athena Ergane at Sparta, Paus. iii. 17. 4 ; Olympia, v. 14. 4 ; Megalopolis, viii. 32. 3 ; Thespiae, ix. 26. 8 ; Organe at Delos, *BCH* vi. 351 ; Ergatis at Samos, Hesych. *s.v.* (Farnell, *Cults* i. 410). There is no evidence or likelihood of a special type, cult, or temple of Ergane at Athens (cp. Farnell i. 344 f.). As Stathmia, she protected commerce, Hesych. *s.v.* The Bur-

then would be the season for such offerings, and the custom of dedicating them must have been common. Isaeus speaks of a generous man performing this duty for those who could not or would not[1]; and the custom is attested by the inscriptions[2]. Cleon then, is not gibing, when he says to the sausage-seller, "I'll denounce your sausages as confiscate to the gods; never a tithe have you paid on them[3]." The tithe of profits, with reference to fishermen, is alluded to as a thing of course by Diphilus, but as being sometimes dishonoured in the breach[4]. Later, a cordwainer's guild dedicates a statue in Lesbos[5]. As late as the Roman age a trade-dedication is found in Amphipolis[6].

If we may trust analogy, the firstfruit of a craftsman would be his first finisht piece, the 'masterpiece' of the mediaeval workman; and some of the dedications appear to be of this kind. The most conclusive evidence is furnisht by a covered earthenware jar, found at Athens, and inscribed "Lycinus dedicated to Athena his first piece of work[7]." "Firstfruit of

nishers of Olympia sacrificed to the Worker goddess before polishing the image (Paus. v. 14. 5).

[1] Isaeus vi. 42 ἔτι δ' ἐν ἀκροπόλει ἀπαρχὰς τῶν ὄντων ἀναθέντες πολλοῖς, ὡς ἀπὸ ἰδίας κτήσεως.

[2] *CIA* i. 349 δεκάτην τοῦ τέκνου εὐχσαμένου; Collitz iii. 3448 (Anaphe) Στέφανος καὶ Ἀκεστίμα ὑπὲρ θυγατρὸς Θευδοσίας δεκάταν Ἀπόλλωνι; *IGI* ii. 258 (Lesbos).

[3] Arist. *Knights* 300 σὲ φαίνω τοῖς πρυτάνεσιν ἀδεκατεύτους τῶν θεῶν ἱρὰς ἔχοντα κοιλίας. The tithe is mentioned *CIA* i. 353, 384, 385; the firstfruit i. 351, 352, 375, 382; and in the Acropolis inscriptions (Κατάλογος vol. 1), some 427 in number, ἀπαρχὴ occurs 49 times, δεκάτη 37, not counting doubtful instances; and both together, dedicated each by a separate person, *CIA* iv. 1. 373[91] (cp. 382). When it is remembered that hardly any of these inscrr. is complete, and that they fall within a comparatively small space of time, it is clear that the practice was common. The tithe of work appears also in Delos, *BCH* vi. 193 [53]. Isaeus, as quoted above (note [4]), speaks of this as a common practice; so does Demosthenes, alluding to the same age, *Androt.* 617, αὐτοὺς δεκατεύοντες; *Timocr.* 741 τῶν δεκατῶν τῆς θεοῦ ἀμελῆσαι. War is nearly always specified when it is the occasion.

[4] *Ap.* Ath. vi. 226 E οὐ πώποτ' ἰχθῦς οἶδα τιμιωτέρους ἰδών· Πόσειδον, εἰ δεκάτην ἐλάμβανες αὐτῶν...πολὺ τῶν θεῶν ἂν ἦσθα πλουσιώτερος.

[5] *IGI* ii. 109 συγκαθιέρωσαν οἱ τὴν σκυτικὴν τέχνην ἐργαζόμενοι.

[6] *BCH* xix. 110 M. Καικέλιος Σῶτας ὁ χαλκεὺς ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης θεοῖς μεγάλοις τοῖς ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ.

[7] Λυκῖνος ἀνέθηκεν τῇι Ἀθηνάαι τὸ πρῶτον ἠργάσατο: *BCH* ii. 522, 547, with cut. De Witte, who edits it, believes the inscr. to be genuine. A

work" is scratcht on a fictile vase found on the Acropolis[1]; and perhaps some of the famous vase-painters whose names also appear there, such as Andocides[2], Nearchus[3], and Euphronius[4], may have dedicated a choice piece of their own. The phrase "with his hands" inscribed on another block may be interpreted in the same way[5]; the same by one reading may be said of one of the pottery tablets at Corinth[6]. An Aeginetan artist made a statue for his deity[7]. Another inscription, apparently from Corinth[8], records that Midonidas offered a piece which he had himself painted; and a similar formula is found at Athens[9]. An Athenian vase bears the figure of the goddess armed, and upon the shield is the legend "Callis made and dedicated it to Athena Health[10]." We may perhaps take as the workman's first attempt a rough obelisk of terra-cotta found at Metapontium, and dedicated by a potter to Heracles[11]. A bronze statuette of a youth, ascribed to the fifth century, and dedicated to the goddess at Rhamnus, is a firstfruit[12]. Ecphantus's offering from Melos was made by himself[13]; it may have been the column, or a statue upon it[14]. Iphicratides of Naxos also dedicated an offering to Delian Apollo which he made himself[15]; and Tisagoras, "whoever he was," dedicated an

potter's son, perhaps an apprentice, dedicates a vase at Athens: *CIA* iv. 1. 373 *w*.

[1] *CIA* iv. 1. 373 [12] *b*, *c*; *f* has δεκάτην. A potter's son dedicates no. 373 *w*.

[2] *CIA* iv. 1. 373[215]; Klein, *Griech. Vasen mit Meistersign.* 188, etc.

[3] *CIA* iv. 1. 373[91]; Klein, 38.

[4] *CIA*. iv. 1. 362; Klein, *Euphronios*.

[5] *CIA* iv. 1. 373[249].

[6] Reading αὐτοπόεια with Collitz iii. 3119[68]; but see p. 81[4].

[7] *IGA* 352 Ἀβλίων ἐποίησε.

[8] *IGA* 36 *a* p. 170 Μιδωνίδας ἔγραψε κἀνέθηκε.

[9] *CIA* iv. 1. 373[174] ἐποίει κἀνέθηκε τῶι θεῶι, on the fragments of a small column.

[10] *AM* xvi. 154 Ἀθηναίαι Ὑγιείαι Κάλλις ἐποίησε καὶ ἀνέθηκεν.

[11] Röhl, *Imagines* xv. 5, Collitz ii. 1643 χαῖρε, ϝάναξ Ἡρακλῆς. Νικόμαχός μ' ἐπόει, ὅ τοι κεραμεύς μ' ἀνέθηκε. δὸς δέ ϝ' ἰν ἀνθρώποις δόξαν ἔχην ἀγαθάν. Roberts, p. 302; see fig. 7, p. 62.

[12] *CIA* iv. 1. 422[16] Λυσικλείδης ἀνέθηκεν Ἐπανδρίδου υἱὸς ἀπηαρχὴν τόνδε θεᾶι τῆιδε ἣ τόδ' ἔχει τέμενος. Lysicleides was perhaps a better craftsman than poet.

[13] *IGA* 412 παῖ Διὸς Ἐκφάντωι δέξαι τόδ' ἀμενφὲς ἄγαλμα, σοὶ γὰρ ἐπευχόμενος τοῦτ' ἐτέλεσσε γρόφων.

[14] ἄγαλμα is any precious thing; a tripod in two inscrr., Herod. v. 60, 61, cp. Paus. x. 7. 3 (quoted by Roberts, p. 32).

[15] *BCH* xii. 464 Ϝιφικρατίδης μ' ἀνέθηκε ὁ Νάξιος ποιήσας (very archaic). The base has rams' heads and gorgoneia carved on it.

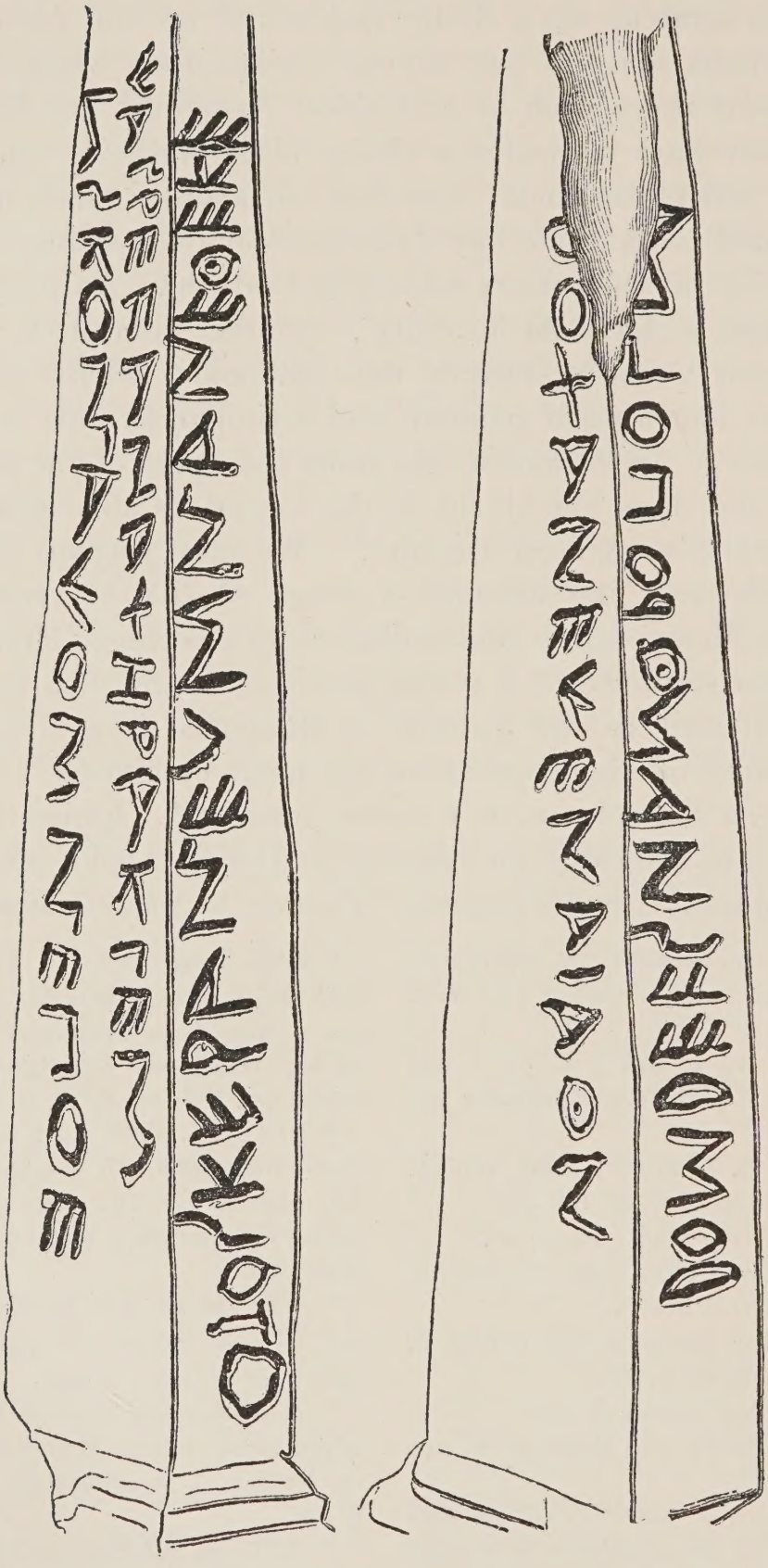

Fig. 7. Workman's dedication. Roberts, p. 302.

iron group of Hercules and the Hydra at Delphi, and iron heads of lion and wild boar to Dionysus at Pergamus, all which he had made himself and were "marvels of skill[1]." Perhaps the "beautiful partridge" of Protogenes, dedicated at Rhodes, was offered with the like feeling[2]. The wording of an ancient inscription on the steps of the old temple at Syracuse suggests a maker's dedication[3]. Of the same kind will be the two amphorae dedicated at Erythrae, by a master and pupil, who held a contest to see which could make the thinner[4]. Palamedes is said to have dedicated in the shrine of Fortune at Corinth the dice which he had invented[5]. Parmenion a painter painted a pig so naturally that those who saw it expected a grunt; and this he dedicated[6]. The outline which traditionally suggested to Butades of Sicyon the moulding of portraits in clay, was preserved in the Nymphaeum[7]. Eubulides of Athens, too, made and dedicated a statue of Apollo[8]. Two sacrificial vessels are made and dedicated to Pan and the Nymphs by the same man[9]. It is on this principle I would explain the bronze Apollo, with an inscription in silver letters declaring that Charidamus dedicates it as a tithe to Athena[10]. There is no

[1] Paus. x. 18. 5.

[2] Eudocia, no. 994: *εἰ δὲ χρὴ τὴν νῆσον ταύτην οὐ μόνον τῷ μεγίστῳ Κολοσσῷ σεμνῦναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ σμικροτάτῳ τινὶ ἐπᾶραι ἀναθήματι· ἐκεῖ γὰρ καὶ ὁ καλὸς πέρδιξ ἦν, τὸ τοῦ Πρωτογένους ὑμνούμενον πάρεργον.*

[3] *IGA* 509 Κλεομένης ἐποίησε τὠπέλωνι ὁ **τέκτων**?...Do the words refer to part of the temple?

[4] Pliny, *NH* xxxv. 12. 46.

[5] Paus. ii. 20. 9 with Frazer's note. Eustathius on *Il.* ii. 308 says it was a draughtsman, and dedicated at Argos; perhaps Palamedes distributed the set as Alexander did with his arms.

[6] *Corp. Paroem. Gr.* i. p. 412 *Παρμενίων ὁ ζωγράφος ὗν γράψας ἀνέθηκεν ἦν καὶ φωνὴν ἀφιέναι οἱ θεώμενοι ἐδόκουν.*

[7] Pliny, *NH* xxxv. 43. 151 fingere ex argilla similitudines Butades Sicyonius figulus primus invenit Corinthi filiae opera, quae capta amore iuvenis, abeunte illo peregre, umbram ex facie eius ad lucernam in pariete lineis circumscripsit, quibus pater eius impressa argilla typum fecit et cum ceteris fictilibus induratum igni proposuit, eumque servatum in Nymphaeo donec Mummius Corinthum everterit tradunt.

[8] Paus. i. 2. 5.

[9] *AM* xxi. 437, Attica: *σπονδῆς καὶ λιβάνου θελκτήρια χαλκέα τεύξας Πανί τε καὶ Νύμφαις θῆκε φέρων Νομικός.* Space on top for *σπονδεῖον* and *θυμιατήριον*.

[10] *IGSI* 2274 *Χαρίδαμος Ἀθηναίαι δεκάταν*; archaistic, probably of the 1st or 2nd cent. B.C. The makers' names (there were two makers) were engraved on lead and put inside; unluckily they

meaning in dedicating the statue of one god to another, except it be dedicated as a work of art or a thing of value[1]. It can hardly have been dedicated by this man, as a tithe of war. Perhaps too the curious cast bronzes, found in the Idaean cave of Crete, are the maker's masterpiece[2]. I suggest this because they include two or three scenes cast in one piece: a war-galley manned, a man milking a cow, and other incongruous scenes together. Each scene has its own base, so they were meant to be separated; but there seems no reason why they should be dedicated together unless as specimens of the maker's art.

A somewhat fanciful extension of this idea suggests to the literary man the dedication of some of his work. Plato is using metaphor, no doubt, when he speaks of the mottoes at Delphi as the "firstfruits of wisdom" dedicated by Solon and other wise men[3]; and Pindar, when he uses the dedicatory verb of his odes[4]; but Heraclitus dedicated his book in the temple at Ephesus[5]. The poems of Hesiod appear to have been dedicated on Mount Helicon, where Pausanias saw them engraved on ancient tablets of lead[6]. At Delos were the poems of Alcaeus and the astronomy of Eudoxus[7], and at Lindus the Seventh Olympian of Pindar[8]. A "golden book" was dedicated at Delphi by the poetess Aristomache, who had won a prize at the Isthmia[9]. The custom was not confined to Greece; for the Carthaginian traveller Hanno dedicated his log-book in the temple of Baal at Carthage[10]. Oenopides of Chios dedicated an astronomical table of bronze at Olympia[11];

cannot be made out, but one was a Rhodian.

[1] For Panofka's view see the final essay, ch. xiv.

[2] *Mus. It.* ii. 727; see fig. 8.

[3] Plato, *Protag.* 343 B; cp. Paus. x. 24. 1. Isocrates also uses the metaphor (*Laus Hel.* 29 p. 219).

[4] Pind. *Ol.* xiii. 35 *ἐπ' Ἀλφεοῦ ῥεέθροισιν αἴγλα ποδῶν ἀνάκειται*; xi. (x) 8 *ἀφθόνητος δ' αἶνος Ὀλυμπιονίκαις οὗτος ἄγκειται.*

[5] Diog. Laert. ix. 6 *ἀνέθηκε δὲ αὐτὸ ἐς τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν.*

[6] Paus. ix. 31. 4. Whether in a temple is not stated, nor the dedicator.

[7] Dar. and Sagl., *Donarium* 378.

[8] Schol. Pind. *Ol.* viii., p. 157, Böckh (Lindian Athena).

[9] Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* v. 2. 9.

[10] Bosworth Smith, *Carthage* 13.

[11] Aelian, *VH* x. 7.

Xenocrates at the Pythium on Mount Olympus, his calculations of the height of the mountain[1].

In later days we find prize poems so treated. Paeans to Apollo have been unearthed in the Treasury of the Athenians

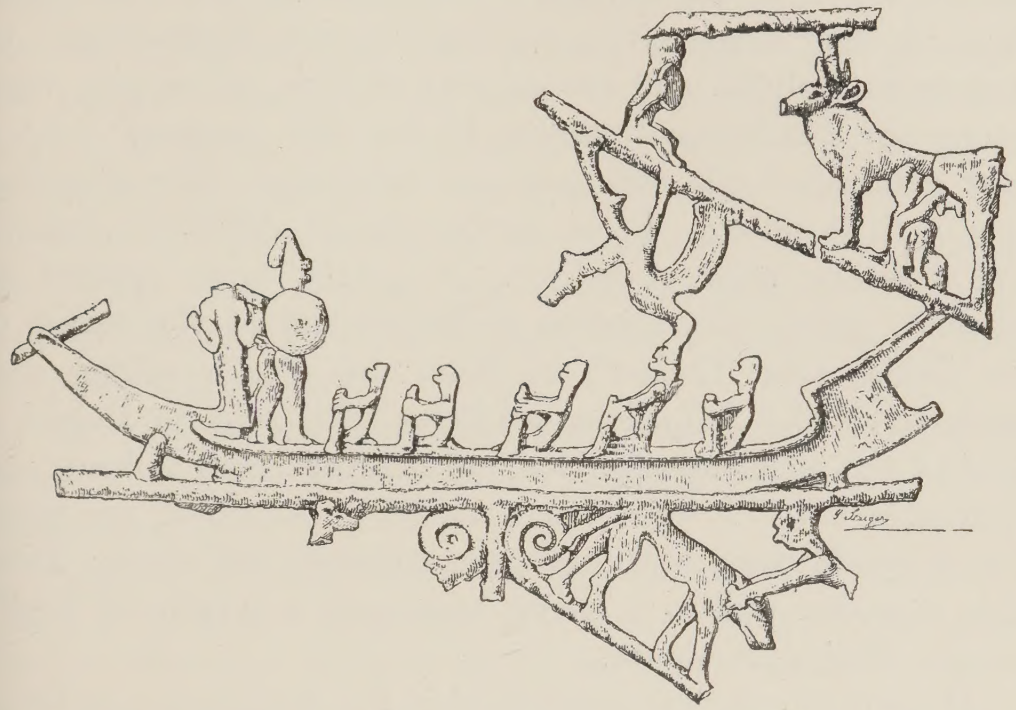

Fig. 8. Votive offering, from Crete.
Museo Italico ii. 730.

at Delphi[2], and a hymn to Dionysus in the same sanctuary[3]; all these of the fourth century. Such another is Thrasyllus' hymn to Apollo Maleatas and Asclepius, found at Epidaurus[4]. At Delphi also have been found two inscriptions in shorthand, and references to a work of Aristotle[5]. So we see Agathias dedicating his book to Paphia[6]. Perhaps the alphabet inscribed on a piece of pottery, and dedicated to Poseidon at Corinth, may represent a learner's first

[1] Plut. *Aemil.* 15.
[2] *BCH* xix. 562, xvii. 561, 569.
[3] *BCH* xix. 392.
[4] Collitz iii. 3342 (ἀνέθηκε is used).
[5] *BCH* xxii. 269, 270. A. received a vote of thanks, and his work was placed in the temple library.
[6] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 80.

'masterpiece[1]'; and the same explanation may apply to others[2].

The offering in kind was often commemorated by a model. There is no reason to think that the models took the place of the tithe or firstfruit; it is rather to be supposed that they accompanied the offering, and were meant to keep it in mind. Thus we find three cities sending "golden harvestings" or sheaves to Delphi[3], and eleven ears of corn, silver gilt, were among the Parthenon treasures in the fifth century[4]. At a later date other gilt corn-ears are mentioned here, standing upon a little pillar[5]. For a similar reason, doubtless, Selinus sent a golden head of celery[6]. A golden olive appears at Oropus[7]; golden vine-clusters at Delos[8] and at the shrine of the Cabiri near Thebes[9]; at Delos was also a golden sea-lavender[10]. The Ampeliots, a Libyan tribe, sent to Delphi a head of the precious silphium; an offering small indeed, and perishable too, if it were not a model[11]. All these are mentioned by the way, but they were certainly not alone: Pliny adds a golden radish, a silver beet, and a turnip of lead[12], private offerings no doubt.

Many of the animals mentioned in the Inventories, or found in excavations, may have had a similar origin. Some may have

[1] Collitz iii. 3019 *k*; *IGA* 20[13].

[2] As that from Calymna, *Inscr. Brit. Mus.* 123. It may however have been meant for a charm; alphabets have been found in tombs, *IGA* 390, and on a vase placed there 524.

[3] Plut. *De Pyth. Or.* 16 *θέρη χρυσᾶ* (Myrina, Apollonia); Strabo vi. 264 (Metapontium), Πυλίων δὲ λέγεται *κτίσμα...οὓς οὕτως ἀπὸ γεωργίας εὐτυχῆσαί φασιν ὥστε θέρος χρυσοῦν ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀναθεῖναι.* The ear of corn was a device on the coins of Metapontium: Head, *Hist. Num.* 62.

[4] *CIA* i. 161[9] *λήιον περίχρυσον στάχυες* ΔΙ, B.C. 434.

[5] *CIA* ii. 731 *στάχυες ἐν πυργίσκωι χαλκῶι ἐπίχρυσοι.*

[6] Plut. *De Pyth. Or.* 12 Σελινούντιοί *ποτε χρυσοῦν σέλινον ἀναθεῖναι λέγονται.*

[7] *IGS* i. 3498[61] *ἐλαία χρυσῆ.*

[8] *BCH* xiv. 406 *ἄμπελος χρυσῆ.* Also *ῥοιαί, μῆλον*, perhaps parts of ornaments.

[9] *IGS* i. 2425 *a* θαλλὸν ἀμπέλου.

[10] *BCH* vi. 30 [11] *λειμώνιον.*

[11] Schol. Arist. *Plut.* 925=Eudocia, no. 226: *καὶ οἱ Ἀμπελιῶται δέ, ἔθνος Λιβύης, ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθεσαν καυλὸν σιλφίου, ὡς φησιν Ἀλεξανδρίδης.* The Libyans were connected with the Pelasgi: Ridgeway, *Early Age* 230.

[12] Pliny, *NH* xix. 86 ut est Graeca vanitas, fertur in templo Apollinis Delphis adeo ceteris ibi praelatus raphanus, ut ex auro dicaretur, beta ex argento, rapum ex plumbo.

been dedicated as ornaments or trinkets; and yet it is not unlikely that the Athenian silver duck was a poulterer's offering[1], or that the goats and rams given at Delos by Parmenion and Timoxenus were firstlings in model[2]. At the Argive Heraeum were found the duck, the cock, the sheep, and the cow[3]. Oxen, sheep, pigs and suchlike found amongst the ruins of a temple may be memorials of sacrifice[4]; but it is difficult so to regard the riderless horse and the mare. I may mention, then, that models of horses were dedicated in the ancient shrine of Menelaus[5], at Calaurea[6], Taenarum[7], Delos[8], at Dodona[9], at Olympia[10], in Crete[11], and in the Heraeum[12], most ancient of all. Bulls, rams, stallions and brood-mares will come under a different category[13], although it is possible that some of these were model firstlings.

The fruit or offering in kind which is sometimes seen in the hands or upon the knees of votive statuettes may represent the firstfruit or tithe.

There is direct evidence for the hunter's dedication of a model of his prey. Hesychius tells how a Samian hunter made such an offering to Hera in his native isle[14]. Another example will be the bronze hare dedicated to Apollo at Priene[15]. Cakes

[1] *CIA* ii. 698 II[21] *νῆττα ἀργυρᾶ.*

[2] *BCH* vi. 34[49] *σκάφιον...ἀπὸ τῶν αἰγῶν καὶ τῶν τράγων ὧν ἀνέθηκαν Τιμόξενος καὶ Παρμενίων.* If not, they were living firstlings; but in that case we should expect *τιμή* to be added, with the value. I assume the models to have been melted and cast in form of a cup: the formula is regular for this process (cp. line 51 *ψυκτήριον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλάφου καὶ τράγων*). Note that a calf is offered for a good harvest in *Anth. Pal.* vi. 258.

[3] Bronzes: 44, 47, 22, 27.

[4] See chapter VIII. Mandrabolus certainly dedicated a model of the sacrificial animal.

[5] *Rev. Arch.* xxx. 13, early 6th cent.

[6] *AM* xx. 308.

[7] Frazer, *Pausanias*, ii. p. 397.

[8] *AZ* xl. 333: oxen and horses, bronze and clay, in the lowest stratum.

[9] Carapanos, pl. xx. 4 bull, xxi. 1 mare, 2 ram.

[10] *Bronzen*, 28 foll.; all strata, lowest mostly horses and cattle: pl. xi—xiii. bull, ox, horse, mare, pig, ram, goat.

[11] *Mus. Ital.* 727 milch cow (Cave of Ida); 906 bulls, rams, etc. (Cave of Dicte); 914 pl. xiv. goat, ox, cow, ram, etc. (Cave of Hermes).

[12] Bull, cow, ox, goat. Bronzes: 10 ff.

[13] Below, p. 75.

[14] Hesych. *s.v.* *Βάτα Κάρας· δύο ταῦτα ὀνόματα* [perhaps only one, after all] *ἐπιγέγραπται δὲ ἐπὶ ἀναθήματος ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἥρας ἱερῷ οὕτω· Βάτα Κάρας Σάμιος Ἥρῃ τήνδε θήρην ἀνέθηκε.*

[15] *IGA* 385, Roberts 153, *Cat. Brit.*

in the form of deer were offered to Artemis at Patrae at the feast of Elaphebolia[1]. As late as the sixth century after Christ

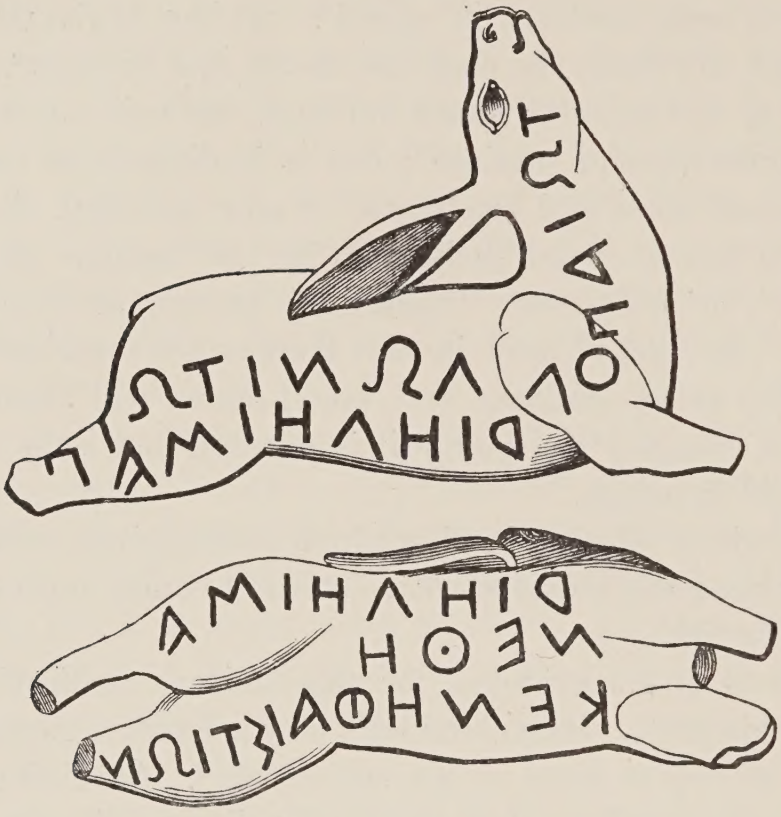

Fig. 9. Votive hare, from Priene.

a hunter in Egypt places a model of his antelope on a pillar, and dedicates it to Isis, with an inscription which he proudly claims to have carved with his own hand[2]. Others are perhaps the deer of silver or gold mentioned in the Delian inventories[3]. Many other animals are named in the lists which may have a similar origin, though it is impossible to say that they were not toys or ornaments: at Delos were two silver beasts in a wooden cage[4], at Athens a basket with ivory beasts in it[5]. There was

Mus. Br. 237: Ἀπόλλωνι τῶι Πριηνῆι μ' ἀνέθηκεν Ἡφαιστίων (date about 500). See fig. 9. The bronze hare found on the Athenian Acropolis appears to have had a handle: *Cat. Bronze Acrop. Mus.* 463.

[1] Athen. xiv. 646 E.

[2] *Classical Review* xii. 282, *Br. Mus. Inscr.* 1043, from Coptos: Ἴσιδι τάνδ' ἀνέθηκ' Ἀμάσοισα (?) δορκάδα εὐχήν· χὠ γλυφίδι γλάψας τὸν στίχον αὐτὸς ἔφυ.

[3] *BCH* vi. 34 [51].

[4] *BCH* vi. 32 [31] ζωιδάρια ἀργυρᾶ || ἐν οἰκίσκωι ξυλίνωι.

[5] *CIA* ii. 678 a II [9] κανοῦν ἵνα τὰ ἐλεφάντινα ζῶια; cp. [59].

a bronze bison's head at Delphi, dedicated by a Paeonian chief[1]. It is difficult to doubt that models of beasts of prey or the chace were often, if not generally, the hunter's gift. For such groups as the bull attacked by a lion, found at the Heraeum[2], and the stag brought down by hounds, two at least of which kind were found at Olympia[3], the explanation is practically certain; and it is likely for the figures of lions, bears, stags, hares and rabbits which have been unearthed at Olympia[4], at the shrine of Menelaus[5], at the Cabirium[6], at Calaurea[7], at Athens[8], at

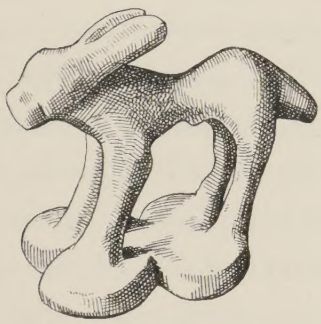

Fig. 10. Hare, from Olympia. *Bronzen* xiii. 209.

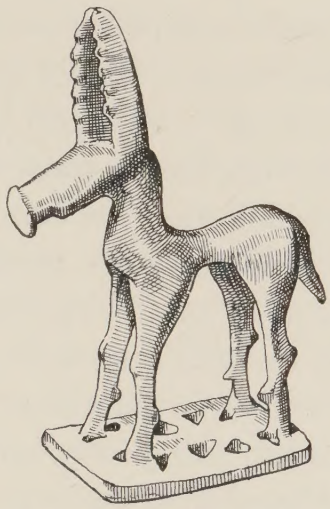

Fig. 11. Stag on stand, from Olympia. *Bronzen* xiii. 205.

Naucratis[9]. From the Argive Heraeum come the stag, the wild goat, and wild birds with long beaks, in pairs or singly[10]: these last belong to the stage of geometric decoration. Heads of lions, eagles and other creatures were probably ornamental[11].

[1] Paus. x. 13. 1.

[2] Dr Waldstein. It is worth noting that a colossal group of a bull attackt by a lion was found on the Athenian Acropolis.

[3] *Bronzen*, pl. xiv. 219, 220.

[4] *Bronzen*, pl. xi. 213 stag, 207, 207 *a* etc. roe, xiii. 208, 209 hare. See figs. 10, 11.

[5] *Rev. Arch.* xxx. 13, lions.

[6] *AM* xv. 356, hares, bears.

[7] *AM* xx. 322, hares, rabbits; cp. *BCH* xix. 171 (Boeotian shrine).

[8] *Cat. Acr. Mus. Br.* 524 deer, 463 hare; 538—43, 464—75, eagles and lions may have been parts of larger objects.

[9] Petrie and Gardner, *Naucratis* i. 14, ii. 56 lions.

[10] Bronzes: nos. 19, 21, 37 ff.

[11] Plataea *AJA* vii. 406 *βουκεφάλη*. Delos *BCH* vi. 49[191] *προτομὴ λέοντος*; Athens: see Indices.

The workman or artist might dedicate a picture or model of his work, when the work itself was not suitable for the purpose. Mandrocles, who built Darius's bridge over the Bosporus, spent part of the fee in a picture of the bridge, which he dedicated to Hera in Samos for a firstfruit[1]. A shoemaker dedicated a stone relief of a shoe to an Athenian hero[2]. I have met with no other certain example of the kind, but perhaps the models of the temple at Delos, preserved amongst its treasures, and the wooden pattern of the tiles[3], were dedicated by the master mason.

It is a pretty thought which suggests the dedication of the workman's tools, after a successful job, or when they or the owner are past work. I have found no direct evidence for this in the classical age[4]; but both legend and history prove that it was in accord with Greek ways of thought. The Argo was dedicated to Poseidon after its famous voyage[5]. Meleager, it is said, dedicated in Corinth the spear with which he slew the great boar[6]; and a story of Cimon from the year 480 implies the same idea. When the Athenians, we read, were hurrying out of the city to take refuge in Salamis, "Cimon was the first man that went with a life and jollity into the castle, carrying a bit of a bridle in his hand to consecrate unto the goddess Minerva: signifying thereby, that the city had no need of horsemen at that time, but of mariners and seamen[7]." Eighty years later, it is on record that Xenophon's men, their long march over, consecrated their

[1] Herod. iv. 88 *ἀπ' ὧν δὴ Μανδροκλέης ἀπαρχήν, ζῷα γραψάμενος πᾶσαν τὴν ζεῦξιν τοῦ Βοσπόρου, καὶ βασιλέα τε Δαρεῖον ἐν προεδρίῃ κατήμενον, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ διαβαίνοντα, ταῦτα γραψάμενος ἀνέθηκε ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον, ἐπιγράψας τάδε· Βόσπορον ἰχθυόεντα γεφυρώσας ἀνέθηκε Μανδροκλέης Ἥρῃ μνημόσυνον σχεδίης· αὐτῷ μὲν στέφανον περιθείς, Σαμίοισι δὲ κῦδος· Δαρείου βασιλέος ἐκτελέσας κατὰ νοῦν.* See *Anth. Pal.* vi. 341.

[2] Pollux vii. 89 *ἥρως Ἀθήνησιν ὁ ἐπὶ βλαύτῃ· ἀνέθηκε γάρ τις σκυτοτόμος βλαύτης λίθινον τύπον.* Cp. *CIA* iii. 411. The title doubtless refers to the hero's figure. The dedication is not early, for reliefs of this sort belong to the third century or later.

[3] *BCH* vi. p. 105, *παραδείγματα*; p. 48[172] *τύπον ξύλινον κεραμίδων τῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Κερατῶνα.* They may of course have been sent in by the contractor, and kept for reference; but if so, why were they preserved afterwards?

[4] Unless the passage of Alcman, quoted on p. 276[1], be rightly interpreted as the dedication of a plough (*φᾶρος*, schol. *ἄροτρον* in MS. and papyrus, so also Herodian ii. 942[13]; *φαροῦν· ἀροτριᾶν* Hesych.).

[5] Apollod. i. 9. 27.

[6] Paus. ii. 7. 9.

[7] Plut. *Cimon* 5; North's translation, p. 494.

staves upon a cairn which they there built where first they had caught sight of the sea[1]. These indications are too scanty to decide how far the customs recorded in later poems of the *Anthology* are true of earlier times; but in these all sorts and conditions of men seem to conform to them. The hunter hangs club and dog-collar on a plane tree in honour of Pan[2], or dedicates a spear to Pan and the Nymphs[3]. When he wants a rest, he entrusts his bow and arrows to Artemis "during the truce[4]"; when he is too old to work, he leaves his gear to Pan[5]. Traps and snares are dedicated to Hermes[6]. The fisherman dedicates rods, nets, and creels[7], trident and other tackle[8], his very boat[9], to Poseidon. The carpenter retiring from business offers to Pallas saw and axe, plane, auger, and footrule[10]. The goldsmith, gone blind with age, gives over to Hermes the file, tongs, and blowpipe of his calling[11]. A plowman dedicates his plow and all his gardening tools to Deo[12]. The lucky delver, on finding a treasure in the earth, offers to Athena his rake, shovel, pick, and axe[13]. So Lucian's Timon, when he accepts the offers of Plutus, exclaims: "O my spade, and beloved leather jerkin, now it were well to dedicate you to Pan[14]." The harpist dedicates his lyre to Phoebus[15]. Spinther the cook, on leaving service, places in the shrine of Hermes his pots and pans, pestle and mortar, chopper and ladle, fan, flesh-fork and sponge, and the key of the pig-sty[16]. The grim pedagogue superannuated remembers Hermes, and hands over his cane and tawse and skullcap[17]. Ascondas the writer, appointed tax-collector, gives his writing

[1] Xen. *Anab.* iv. 7. 26 *ἀνετίθεσαν δερμάτων πλῆθος ὠμοβοείων καὶ βακτηρίας καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα γέρρα.*

[2] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 35, 106, 107.

[3] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 6, 57, 177, cp. 176. The epigram recording the dedication of a bow and quiver (326) is clearly modelled on the well-known epigram of Mnasalcas (9); but here "my arrows are in the quarry" is ridiculous. A fine huntsman this, to waste all his shafts and bag nothing.

[4] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 121.

[5] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 73, 109.

[6] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 296.

[7] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 192, cp. 107 (Pan), 4, 5, 25—30, 38.

[8] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 11—16, 23, 24, 33.

[9] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 69, 70, cp. 90.

[10] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 103, 204, 205.

[11] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 92, 95.

[12] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 104, cp. 21 (Priapus).

[13] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 297.

[14] Lucian, *Timon*, 42.

[15] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 83.

[16] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 306.

[17] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 294.

materials to the Muses[1]. The working woman, her task at length done, consecrates to Athena shuttle and spindle, bobbins and basket[2]. The same thing is seen where a person changes his manner of living. Nicarete turns music girl, and dedicates her bobbins and quiddities to Aphrodite[3]. Bitto offers her κερκίς to Athena, having found at the age of thirty that more profitable is the cult of Aphrodite[4]. Courtesans on the same principle make free to dedicate their mirrors[5] or other articles of ornament[6] and dress to Aphrodite. The occasion is not always stated; but it is now a lawful marriage[7], or again when old age has robbed the woman of her beauty, and her day is past[8]. On the last occasion, one offers a bronze mirror, sandals, girdle, ringlets, and other symbols[9]. When Alexis the eunuch sickens of effeminate revelry, he leaves his cymbals and other gear in the shrine[10]. Cleitosthenes too can no longer use his musical instruments, so to Cybele fall the tambours and cymbals, the flutes and the knife[11]. A eunuch dying of excesses gives to Priapus his muslins and false hair, his box and his pipes[12]. After the orgies, Porphyris of Cnidus gives garlands, thyrsi, and anklet to Dionysus[13]. Many of these epigrams are only half serious, and we are now prepared to find the poet playing with the idea. The effect is pretty enough when the labouring ox, outworn with toil, is dedicated in his old age to peace and rest[14]; but one Xenophon, after making a night of it, is frankly impious:

> Bibbing Bob to Bacchus brings
> These his pious offerings,
> Empty bottle, empty pot—
> All that Bibbing Bob has got[15].

The inscriptions furnish hardly anything to bear out this custom. A hunter dedicates his club in a late inscription[16];

[1] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 295.
[2] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 39, 160, 247.
[3] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 285.
[4] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 47, 48, cp. 74.
[5] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 1, cp. 18—20, 211.
[6] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 206, 207.
[7] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 208, perhaps 206, 207, 133.
[8] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 1, of Lais.
[9] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 210 ἃ τ' οὐ φωνητὰ πρὸς ἄνδρας (Aphrodite).
[10] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 51 (Cybele).
[11] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 94.
[12] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 254.
[13] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 172.
[14] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 228.
[15] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 77.
[16] *BCH* iii. 323 λαγώς.

and in Athens we find a spool of thread dedicated by a woman[1], whilst another apparently offers a basket of soft wool[2], both perhaps given (though this is only a guess) in memory of their part in weaving the peplus[3]. Wool is also dedicated by a woman at Plataea, why or to what deity is not known[4]. It is not unlikely that the loom-weights and similar objects found in great numbers under the soil of ancient sanctuaries[5], were dedicated by work-people; two or three such loom-weights are inscribed with a woman's name[6]. Physicians at least seem to have consecrated their tools. Even if the *καθετῆρες* of Athens and Delos[7] were not such (the word may mean a necklace[8]), Medon certainly dedicated his probes[9]; and for a later date the practice is proved by a relief in stone of a whole case of surgical instruments[10]. A leaden quiver is inscribed, "These saved us from starving[11]." We meet with no other tools in the Inventories which may be confidently placed in this class; but there is a fair probability for the iron anchors and the four metal ox-goads at Delos[12], and the cow-bell dedicated to the Cabiri[13]. There are, however, a great many picks and mallets, fleshhooks, scrapers and choppers, and articles of female use and ornament, some of which were votive offerings and all may have been so[14]. It would be rash indeed to assume that every axe was dedicated by a retiring butcher, or a mirror by some lesser Lais or Rhodopis; but with this caution, we may briefly review the remains. A mirror found at Dodona was dedicated by a woman Polyxena[15]. Most of the objects are

[1] *CIA* ii. 757 Ῥόδη λίνα *ἐπὶ πηνίοις* (335–4 B.C.): Artemis?

[2] *CIA* ii. 758[38] **ἔρια** *μαλακὰ ἐν καλαθίσκωι.*

[3] As *ἐργαστῖναι*, two *τῶν ἠργασμένων τῆι Ἀθηνᾶι* **τὰ ἔρια**, *CIA* iv. 2. 477 *d*[12].

[4] *AJA* vii. 407.

[5] E.g. in the Heraeum, Athens, Crete, Tegea, Boeotia.

[6] *BCH* xi. 416 *Θεδωρὶς Ἀθανᾶι*, Elatea; *AJA* N. S. ii. 593 *Ἀρχαρέσταις*, cave of Hermes, Crete.

[7] Indices; *BCH* vi. 29.

[8] *BCH* ii. 421.

[9] *BCH* ii. 431, Delos.

[10] *BCH* i. 212 plate ix., *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1877, p. 166, no. 86.

[11] *JHS* i. 31 *ταῦτα γὰρ πεινῆν ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς.*

[12] *BCH* vi. 47[168], 48[171].

[13] *AM* xiii. pl. ix., *AA* ix. 176, *Cat. Brit. Mus. Bronzes* 318: *Πυρίας Καβίρωι καὶ παιδί. Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiquaries*, xv. 74.

[14] See Indices.

[15] Carapanos, pl. xxv. 1: *Πολυξένα ταγὲν ἀντίθητι τῶι Δὶ καὶ χρήματα* (early 5th century). So in the Heraeum.

uninscribed. They include pins, bangles, and brooches innumerable, mirrors and clasps, in the Argive Heraeum[1] and Dodona[2], rings, pins, and bracelets at Olympia[3], spindles and pins at Delos[4] and Tegea[5], pins[6], bangles[7], and brooches[8], mirrors[9], earrings[10], perfume-pots[11] and lamps[12] on the Acropolis of Athens, gold or silver girdles and cords, and earrings at Plataea, where one woman dedicates the ornaments she wore[13]. At Dodona were found spurs and horse-trappings, knives and tools[14]; at Elatea picks and mallets[15]; at Athens axes and knives[16]; at Delos are recorded ox-goads and spits[17]; while quantities of iron spits were found in the Heraeum[18].

A remarkable example of the dedication of the tool when its work is done, is the story of Pheidon king of Argos. Pheidon, we are told, was the first to coin money in Aegina; and he dedicated the metal rods, which formerly past current, in the temple of Hera in Argos[19]. It is interesting to note that large quantities of metal rods have been found there, and some iron objects of huge size, which the discoverers are

[1] Dr Waldstein; and *AJA* viii. 210, 224.

[2] Carapanos, pl. l, li.

[3] *Bronzen von Ol.* pl. xxi—xxiii., 454 ff., 474.

[4] *BCH* vi. 31[17], 46[157, 167]; *CIA* ii. 751[11], certainly votive.

[5] *AM* v. 67.

[6] *Cat. Acrop. Mus. Bronzes* 243. All these are votive, if the inscr. (no. 428) refers to them: *οἱ ταμίαι τάδε χαλκία ...συλλέξαντες, Διὸς κρατερόφρονι* **κούρηι ἀνέθεσαν**.

[7] *Cat. Acrop. Mus. Bronzes* 241—2.

[8] *Cat. Acrop. Mus. Bronzes* 244—5.

[9] *Cat. Acrop. Mus. Bronzes* 236—9.

[10] *Cat. Acrop. Mus. Bronzes* 243.

[11] *Cat. Acrop. Mus. Bronzes* 250—1.

[12] *Cat. Acrop. Mus. Bronzes* 425—7.

[13] *AJA* vii. 406 *ζώνη ἀργυρᾶ, ἀμμάτια δύο χρυσᾶ, ἐνώτιον, Ἡνιόχα τὰ ἐφ' αὑτῆς.* For a more probable explanation see below, p. 251[2].

[14] Carapanos, pl. lii., liii.

[15] *BCH* xii. 60.

[16] *Cat. Acrop. Mus. Bronzes* 319—34, 336—48.

[17] *BCH* vi. 48[171] *βουπάλινα*, 87 *note ὀβελίσκοι.*

[18] Dr Waldstein. For these however see below, chap. xiv.

[19] *Etym. Magn. s.v. ὀβελίσκος· πάντων δὲ πρῶτος Φείδων Ἀργεῖος νόμισμα ἔκοψεν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ· καὶ δοὺς τὸ νόμισμα καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς ὀβελίσκους, ἀνέθηκε τῇ ἐν Ἄργει Ἥρᾳ.* For iron currency of this sort see Ridgeway, *Origin of Coin and Weight Standards*, 214 ff. The iron *βουπόρους ὀβελοὺς* which Rhodopis sent to Delphi as a tithe were perhaps an early currency (Herod. ii. 135). Plutarch calls them 'obelisks': *De Pyth. Or.* 14. The word meant originally a long straight spit. What was the iron currency of Sparta?

inclined to explain as the largest multiple of the mint. I suggest, but with diffidence, that the same principle may explain a curious entry of twenty-one golden letters in the list of the Chalcothece at Athens[1]. Could this be the old Athenian alphabet, dedicated when Euclides changed the official script in 403[2]? The dedication of an alphabet would not be unexampled, if Newton was right in regarding one found at the temple of Apollo in Calymna as votive[3]; and an alphabet is painted on one of the Corinthian tablets dedicated to Poseidon[4].

It is a step further in artistic expression, when the devotee attempts to express by his offering the act or process which the deity has blest to his prosperity. The evidence is scanty, but quite clear. Nothing else can be meant (for a portrait-model is out of the question) by the model of a stone-ram dedicated on the Athenian Acropolis, with an inscription which admits of no mistake[5]. We may therefore interpret in the same way the bronze ram inscribed to Apollo Maleatas[6], and the rams found or recorded at Delos[7], Dodona[8], Lycosura[9], Olympia[10], and Naucratis[11]. A group such as the brood-mare suckling a foal, again, several of which were found at Athens[12] and at Olympia[13], can hardly be mistaken; or the stag brought down by hounds, also found at Olympia[14]; or the man milking a cow, from Crete[15]. This is the most likely interpretation of

[1] *CIA* ii. 721[15] *χαρακτῆρες* ΔΔΙ, cp. 720.

[2] ΑΒΓΔΕΖΗΘΙΚΛΜΝΟΠΡΣΤΥΦΧ, there being no vowel *η* (H was the aspirate), *ω*, *ξ*, or *ψ*: Roberts, *Epigraphy*, 106.

[3] 5th century: see *Inscr. Brit. Mus.* 123, Roberts, p. 19.

[4] *IGA* 20[13].

[5] Κατ. 72, *Cat. Acrop. Mus. Bronzes* 527 *τὴν ὀκείαν με τἀθηναίαι ἀνέθηκεν* (i.e. *ὀχείαν*).

[6] Collitz iii. 4536 Μαλεάτα *bis*. But it may be the sacrificial victim; below, ch. viii.

[7] *BCH* vi. 34[49]; but see above, p. 67.

[8] Carapanos, pl. xxi. 2.

[9] Frazer, *Pausanias*, iv. p. 370.

[10] *Bronzen von Ol.* xii. 195.

[11] Petrie and Gardner, *Naucratis*, i. 14.

[12] *Cat. Acr. Mus. Br.* 480, 481.

[13] *Bronzen von Ol.* xiv. 217, 218. See fig. 12.

[14] *Bronzen von Ol.* xiv. 219, 220. See fig. 13.

[15] *Mus. Ital.* ii. 727. Although this group is cast along with two others, not connected with it, in one piece, we may argue from the type equally as if it had been dedicated alone.

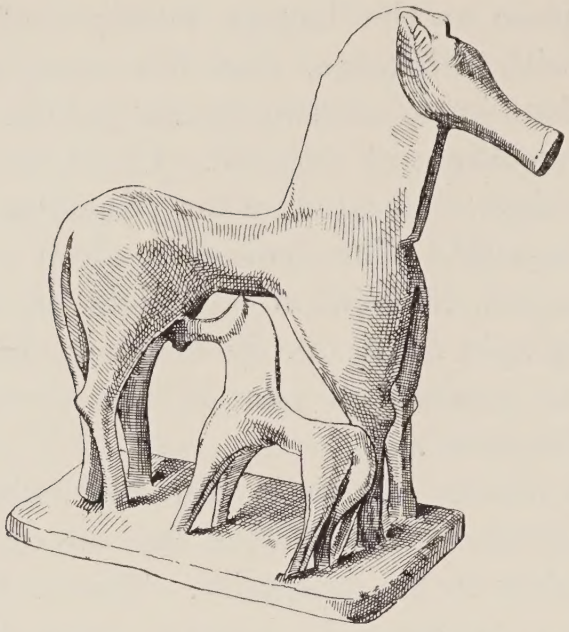

Fig. 12. Mare and Foal, from Olympia. *Bronzen* xiv. 217.

the models of stallions[1], which could not have been sacrificed; and may be the right interpretation of some creatures which

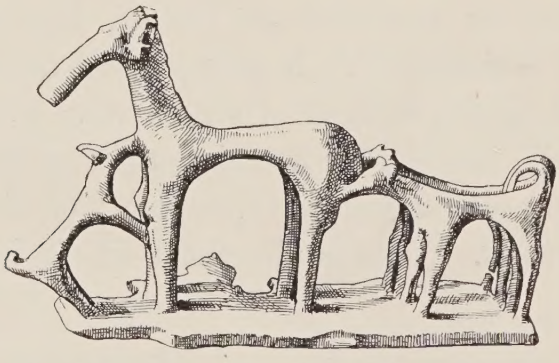

Fig. 13. Stag attacked by hounds, from Olympia. *Bronzen* xiv. 220.

could, the bulls of Argos[2], of the Cabiri[3], of Dodona[4], of Olympia[5], of Athens[6], of Crete[7], of Naucratis[8], the fine bull engraved on

[1] *Bronzen von Ol.* xii. 171, xiii. 194, perhaps xiv. 216 (bird on rump). See fig. 15. *Cat. Acr. Mus. Br.* 483—6, 493, 498. I omit the horses of Corinth (Frazer, *Pausanias*, v. 545), Crete, Delos, Therapne, the Cabirium, and other places, where the sex cannot be distinguished. This is the case with the early terra-cotta animals, innumerable and found in many places, but of form so indistinct that nothing definite can be made of them.

[2] Bronzes: 24, etc.

[3] *AM* xv. 365.

[4] Carapanos, xx. 4.

[5] *Bronzen von Ol.* xii. 187.

[6] *Cat. Acr. Mus. Br.* 517, a fine creature.

[7] *Mus. Ital.* ii. 736 (Ida), 906 (Dicte).

[8] *Naucratis*, i. 14.

a silhouette plate found near Apollo's temple at Metapontium[1], and the Athenian or Olympian boar[2]. The sire, or the dam with young, thus embodies as it were and sums up the

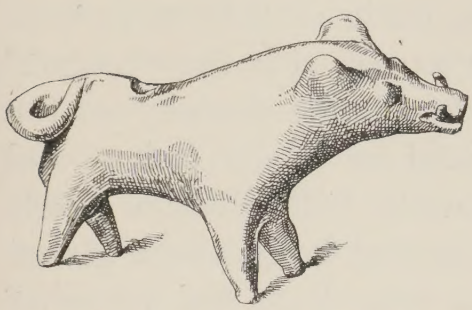

Fig. 14. Boar, from Olympia. *Bronzen* xii. 196.

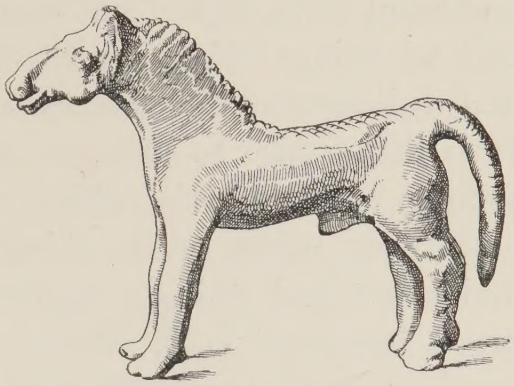

Fig. 15. Stallion, from Olympia. *Bronzen* xiii. 194.

breeder's work. A horse carrying two jars, found in Cyprus, suggests traffic in oil[3]; one laden with loaves or fruit in baskets may also have been dedicated to Cabirus by a trader[4]. Groups like the milch-cow in milking and the stag at bay represent the dedicator's work more fully; and a similar thought may have caused the dedication of a cart drawn by oxen, found in the Dictaean cave[5]. The hunter's dog was sometimes dedicated in effigy, as a late Lesbian inscription testifies[6], and a poem of the *Anthology*[7] offers a "stone dog instead of a real one." These may explain the model hounds of Lusi in Arcadia[8] and the Cabirium[9], and the model hawks of Naucratis[10].

[1] *AJA* iv. 28 ff., figured. Mr Emerson, the editor, suggests this explanation as a guess, along with a symbolical interpretation which is quite untenable. The district was noted for agriculture and breeding, as the corn and bull devices on coins of Metapontium and Thurii go to show.

[2] *Cat. Acr. Mus. Br.* 479, *Bronzen* xii. 196.

[3] Sanctuary of Golgi: Cesnola, *Cyprus*, 140.

[4] *AM* xv. 357. A horse carrying two jars was found in the prehistoric palace of Phaestus (Crete) while I was there in 1900; but whether votive or not there is nothing to show.

[5] *Annual of the British School at Athens* vi. 108, fig. 39.

[6] *IGI* ii. 514 *θεᾷ μεγάλη Ἀρτέμιδι τὴν κύνα Κλαύδιος Λουκιανὸς Ἀλαβανδεὺς ἀνέθηκεν.*

[7] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 175, 176 (Pan and Nymphs).

[8] *Jahreshefte* iv. 48, fig. 64.

[9] *AM* xv. 356.

[10] *Naucratis*, i. 14. I do not forget the connexion of hawks with Egyptian worship, but there is no reason to separate them from the other animals. Why should the sacred Egyptian bird be dedicated to a Greek deity? The assumption cannot be accepted without evidence. See also chap. xiv.

Perhaps the golden anvil of Delos[1] was another attempt in the same direction. In later days, at least, such models were common. Philostratus describes how in the temple of Dionysus on Mount Nysa, were "sickles, pruning knives, and wine-presses, and all things belonging thereunto, made of gold and silver, and dedicated to Bacchus, as to one concerned in the vintage[2]." It is fitting also to mention the "foundation deposit" of the temple at Naucratis, which consisted of model knives and axes, hoes, rakes, adzes, chisels, trowels, with libation bowls and other such things; models of a mud brick and a glazed brick, ingots of gold, silver, copper, iron, lead, and pieces of precious stone: all the tools and materials used in the building[3].

The same explanation must be given of figures representing the worshipper in some characteristic attitude. There is very little evidence for this in early times. At the Argive Heraeum was found the figure of a man cooking or something of the sort[4]; in Cyprus, a baker kneading bread[5]. From Dodona comes a youth clad in hide or frieze cloke, and carrying a hunting club[6]. At Naucratis was found a hunter's figure carrying game, and inscribed to Aphrodite[7]. Perhaps the "statue with a hare," which is recorded in the Athenian list of bronzes on the Acropolis, may have been dedicated by a hunter[8]. One statuette was found at Paestum, which I cannot explain otherwise, although I do not suggest the present explanation with any confidence. It represents a woman, draped but without distinguishing attributes, one hand raised to support a basket or some other article which has disappeared. The figure stood on a small pillar, and was dedicated by Phillo to Athena as a tithe[9]. It is impossible to suppose,

[1] *BCH* vi. 47[168] *ἄκμων*. A plow found in Boeotia has been claimed as votive, on what grounds I know not: *BCH* xvii. 80.

[2] Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* ii. 4. These are a shade less material than the dedications of real tools.

[3] *Naucratis*, i. 28.

[4] Dr Waldstein.

[5] *JHS* xii. 140. Both may be toys or *ἀγάλματα*.

[6] Carapanos, pl. xiv.

[7] *Naucratis*, ii. pl. xiii. 5.

[8] *CIA* ii. 742[13].

[9] *IGA* 542 *τἀθηνᾶι Φιλλὼ Χαρμυλίδα δεκάταν*. Not later than 500.

as Curtius does[1], that a temple official dedicates a tithe of her pay, without evidence of such pay, and without authority for such a custom. The word tithe had its proper meaning at this date, and therefore the figure cannot be the memorial of an honourable place in the ritual, the representation that is of a canephorus in some procession. It is conceivable that the figure represented a working woman or huxter ready to trade; and I can think of nothing else. An equally puzzling object is the well-known marble disc bearing the portrait of Aeneus the physician, inscribed as a "memorial of his skill[2]." Style and script suit the latter part of the sixth century; and the Aeneus mentioned is probably a physician of Cos, uncle of the great Hippocrates[3]. Where it came from is not known; but it cannot be sepulchral[4]. It may conceivably have adorned some physician's hall; if it be votive[5], it differs in formula from all others I have met with, and is the unique example of a votive portrait at so early a date[6]. Even so, however, it will be more than a portrait, and falls in here with the rest. It is at least probable, then, that a successful huntsman, artist, craftsman, trader would dedicate a figure, in character, as a thank-offering for success in his calling. Further, we have Aristotle's evidence for such a dedication as a thank-offering for good fortune. There was to be seen on the acropolis, he says, the "ancient statue" of a youth standing beside a horse, the figure (not necessarily a portrait, of course; but an image not divine) of one who by some lucky chance rose from the lowest class into that of the

[1] *AZ* xxxviii. 27, pl. 6.

[2] *CIA* iv. 1. 422[14] *μνᾶμα τόδ' Αἰνείου σοφίας ἰατροῦ ἀρίστου*, *Jahrb.* xii. pl. 1.

[3] *Jahrb.* xii. 1, Steph. Byz. *s.v.*

[4] *μνῆμα* alone is found on tombs: *CIA* iv. 1. 477 *c*, *d*; Amorgos, Roberts 158 *a*, *b*; Thespiae, *IGA* 146, 284; and others. With the abstract noun (as here *σοφίας*) it is common on votive monuments. To the exx. given in the *Jahrbuch* I add *CIA* i. 374 *μνᾶμα πόνων Ἄρεος*, Simonides in *Anth. Pal.* vi. 215 *μνάματα ναυμαχίας*. Once only have I met with this type of phrase on an early epitaph, *μνᾶμα φιλημοσύνης* *CIA* i. 472, where it suits the occasion pat, which *μνᾶμα σοφίας* does not; moreover, there *σῆμα* is coupled with it.

[5] Votive plaques of marble like this are known: *IGI* i. 700, and *Jahrb.* p. 4 note (the last from Priene).

[6] The characterised figures were not realistic portraits, so far as we know.

Knights[1]. The ancient fragment of a led horse which is among the votive offerings found there may belong to a similar monument[2].

In a picture, of course, the craft or calling can be more clearly represented; and it is certain that the practice of dedicating terra-cotta tablets was common. Its prevalence cannot be measured by the few which survive, because articles like these, of no intrinsic value, were sure to be destroyed; and those actually found appear to be the refuse of the sanctuary of Poseidon. But it so happens that a large deposit of them has been found at Corinth, and these of a high antiquity[3]. Corinth was famed for its potteries in the old days, and Corinthian vases were largely exported to Italy; amongst the tablets are a large number which refer to the potter's craft; others relate to hunting or to agriculture, others to war or the games. This single find is enough to show that votive offerings of all sorts were made to the patron deity of a city, irrespective of his later traditional character. Some of the sherds are painted on both sides, and therefore must have been meant to hang free, not against a wall. A large number represent Poseidon, with or without Amphitrite, sometimes with other figures such as Athena[4] or Homeric heroes[5]; besides the votive inscription, the names are often inscribed, and in one case the furnace[6]. With two possible exceptions, the occasion is never mentioned, nor any word said in elucidation of it, but prayers are found[7]. The figures of oxen are common, and in one case they appear to

[1] Arist. *Ath. Pol.* vii. 21 *εἰκόνα*. He quotes two lines of the inscr.: *Διφίλου Ἀνθεμίων τήνδ' ἀνέθηκε θεοῖς, θητικοῦ ἀντὶ τέλους ἱππάδ' ἀμειψάμενος*. Aristotle implies there were other figures of the kind.

[2] *Jahrb.* viii. 135, no. 697.

[3] *Antike Denkmäler* i. 7, 8, ii. 23, 24, 29, 30; *Jahrb.* xii. 9 ff.; *IGA* 20, *Kat. der Berl. Vasensammlung* (referred to below as F), pp. 48—105. More than 1000 fragments were found. The other remains are discussed by Benndorf, *Griechische und Sicilische Vasenbilder*, 8 ff. He quotes Aeneas Tacticus xxxviii. 10, who speaks of such tablets as common in hero shrines: *ἱππέα φωσφόρον ἢ ὅτι ἂν βούλει*.

[4] *IGA* 20[56].

[5] *IGA* 20[45] *Ἀχιλλεύς*; *Ant. Denk.* i. 7. 15.

[6] *κάμινος*: *Jahrb.* xii. 19, F. no. 482.

[7] *IGA* 20[62–4] *τὺ δὲ δὸς χαρίεσσαν ἀφορμάν*.

be drawing a plow[1]. The vintage is represented[2], and perhaps the grapes growing on their vines, with a predatory fox below[3].

Fig. 16. Artist at work (Corinth). *Ant. Denk.* i. pl. 8, fig. 20.

Fig. 17. Corinthian votive tablet. *Ant. Denk.* i. pl. 8, fig. 24.

One appears to record thanks after a shearing[4]. We see also the hunter and his dog[5], wild boars[6], and Poseidon with a hare[7], all which may be ascribed to the huntsman's life; perhaps some of the stray beasts[8] have the same origin. One tablet shows a statuary at work[9]. But the potter is most chiefly in evidence. Here are miners, with pads on their heads to support the baskets[10], or digging the clay underground with picks[11]; there the craftsman moulds his pot on the wheel[12], or

[1] *Jahrb.* xii. 31, F. 729; cp. 44, nos. 83—90.

[2] *Ant. Denk.* i. 8. 24. See fig. 17.

[3] *Ant. Denk.* i. 8. 2. This was originally interpreted as the fable of fox and crow, but the letters ϙο are the beginning of a name which has since been completed, *Jahrb.* xii. 34.

[4] *IGA* 20[68] *ἀνέθηκε* Ποτιδᾶνι Fάνακτι *αὐτοπόκια*; *Jahrb.* xii. 23, F. 524. Collitz reads *αὐτοπόεια*; above, p. 61[6].

[5] *Ant. Denk.* i. 8. 13 *ἀνέθηκε τῶι* Ποτειδᾶνι. See fig. 18.

[6] *Ant. Denk.* i. 8. 19, *Jahrb.* xii. 44, nos. 83—90.

[7] *Ant. Denk.* i. 8. 27.

[8] *Jahrb.* xii. 15, F. 422.

[9] *Ant. Denk.* i. 8. 20. See fig. 16.

[10] *Jahrb.* xii. 27, F. 648. See fig. 20.

[11] *Ant. Denk.* i. 8. 7.

[12] *Ant. Denk.* i. 8. 17.

gives it the finishing touches[1]. The stoker pokes up the furnace[2], the vessels are stackt within it and burnt[3], out they come and are hung up in the shop[4], and finally the ship sets sail with the articles strung in a row on the rigging[5]. The voyage safely accomplisht, comes back the merchant from Italy or "from Peiraeus[6]," and pays his offering with a prayer for future blessings[7], accompanied with adoration and solemn sacrifice[8].

Fig. 18. Votive tablet, from Corinth.
Ant. Denk. i. pl. 8, fig. 18.

An Athenian vase-painting of the fifth century shows a scene which has been interpreted as a tradesman's thanksgiving[9]. The worshipper, a bearded man with a garland upon his head, approaches a blazing altar. On the twigs of an olive tree hang three tablets, perhaps (like those of Corinth) depicting his trade; a statuette which he has dedicated stands on a

[1] *Ant. Denk.* i. 8. 14.
[2] *Ant. Denk.* i. 8. 1, 4, 12, 15, 26; *Jahrb.* xii. 44, nos. 74—80.
[3] *Ant. Denk.* i. 8. 12, 19 *b*.
[4] *Jahrb.* xii. 26, F. 640, fig. 15.
[5] *Ant. Denk.* i. 8. 3. See fig. 19.
[6] *IGA* 20[5] Περαεόθεν ἵκομες. Not the Athenian port.
[7] *IGA* 20[62–64].
[8] *Ant. Denk.* i. 7. 16.
[9] J. E. Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Early Athens*, 461.

slim pillar; to the right is Athena in the form of the armed Parthenos. Whether the reliefs, which came into fashion in

Fig. 19. Ship with Freight of Pottery, from Corinth.
Ant. Denk. i. pl. 8, fig. 3 *a*.

Fig. 20. Miners digging for potter's clay (Corinth).
Ant. Denk. i. pl. 8, fig. 7.

the fifth and especially the fourth century, ever represented the tradesman's craft, the remains are too scanty to show. One tithe dedication of an early date is affixt to the remains of a relief[1], but there is too little left to determine its character. Those which can be made out are mostly sacrificial, that is they represent and commemorate an act of cult[2]. If the tithe were habitually offered at the Chalces the relief might depict the ceremony at that feast. One relief, inscribed to the goddess, shows her standing with an altar upon her left hand, and behind a votive pillar with a sunk panel in it[3], and a fragment of a similar relief shows the worshipper, a woman in this case[4].

Reliefs to Zeus Meilichios, which show worshippers in the presence of the deity enthroned, have been found at Athens[5]; and since this deity is connected with agriculture[6], they may be placed here. The Good Spirit has the same pose and aspect

[1] *CIA* iv. 1. 373[20].

[2] See below, ch. viii.

[3] *CIA* iv. 1. 418 *i* Ἀθηναίαι ἀνέθ... This and the next, if part of hex. verses, may have read ἀπαρχήν.

[4] Sybel 3253 Ἀθηναίαι ἀνέθηκε. Cp. 5214, 5215.

[5] *Cat. Ath. Mus.* 1431, cp. 1388—9, 1408; Farnell, *Cults* i. 117, 119, pl. ii. See fig. 21.

[6] Worshipt at the Diasia: Mommsen, *Feste*; Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 146.

on another relief, from Thespiae, which is likely to be a thank-offering for prosperity[1]. Very late we have a barbarous relief to Men, Saviour and Giver of Wealth[2].

Fig. 21. Dedication to Zeus Meilichios, from Athens.

We are but little better off with Artemis. Since the goddess is typically represented in huntress garb, we cannot read any reference to the occasion into such representations of her; they were the natural offering in a shrine where she was worshipt, if the worshipper desired to offer an image[3]. Nor can we interpret so common a motive as holding a flower to the nose, to imply that she was here regarded as goddess of vegetation[4]. But sometimes a hunting scene is suggested; and it is not too fanciful to interpret as the hunter's thank-offering an Athenian relief which shows a naked figure, apparently in the act of shooting his arrow, with a dog, Artemis appearing in the background among rocks[5]. So too where the goddess is

[1] *AM* xvi. 25 Ἀγεστρότου Τιμοκράτεια, Πτωϊάλεια, Ἐμπεδονίκα Ἀγαθῶι Δαίμονι. The title was applied to the god as giver of all good, Paus. viii. 36. 5.

[2] *BCH* xxiii. 388, pl. 1: Μηνὶ Σωτῆρι καὶ Πλουτοδώτηι.

[3] Such, for example, as the Corfu statuettes: below, ch. viii.

[4] As Farnell does with an old Acropolis vase, *Cults* ii. 523.

[5] Sybel 4300.

striking the animal with arrow[1] or spear[2], especially if a male worshipper is also seen[1]. In these the deity is conceived as herself carrying out the process which she has blest. Perhaps the Macedonian relief to Fruitful Demeter is a farmer's offering[3]. Perhaps also a relief, dedicated to the river-god Hermus, is a fisherman's; on a couch a male figure reclines, holding a fish and a vase[4].

One class of relief has so obvious a reference to the celebrations of country life and the worship of the rural deities, that we may fairly bring it into connexion with the tithe and firstfruit.

These represent as a rule Pan and the Nymphs, sometimes associated with other deities. The songs and dances which accompanied their festivals have been already described. The scene is a rough cavern, in which is an altar; within the cavern, the nymphs are seen dancing, clad in flowing robes which sometimes shroud the head also. The number is usually three; they hold by each other's girdles, or some part of the dress. Occasionally Pan, or at times Hermes[5], is in the cave; otherwise Pan sits in a corner, playing for them upon the pipes. The head of a river-god is usually visible to one side, and there are sometimes small figures of worshippers in the attitude of adoration. Apollo as god of the herds is sometimes found in the same connexion. The grotto at Vari was dedicated to Apollo, Pan, and the Nymphs in common[6]; and the two deities were neighbours under the Acropolis rock, where they were worshipt far into the Roman age[7].

[1] Sybel 5995, cp. *Cat. Br. Mus. Sc.* 778. Same type, with female worshipper: *Cat. Br. Mus. Sc.* 779. See below, chap. vi.

[2] F-W. 1202.

[3] Sybel 358: ... *πτος* Κλεοπάτρας Ἀμμιανὴ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Δήμητρι καρποφόρῳ εὐχήν. Demeter with torch, burning altar.

[4] *AM* xix. 313 Ἱλαρίων Ἑρμῶι ἀνέθηκεν.

[5] For Hermes see *BCH* xiii. 467. It is impossible now to define clearly the relation of Nymphs, Graces, and Hours: see *AM* iii. 181 ff., *Die Chariten der Acropolis*. Such names as Auxo, Carpo, Thaleo, Pandrosos, Agraulos point without doubt to natural personifications; and for our purpose it is immaterial what they be called. It is very doubtful whether there were many dedications to the Graces. The authorities speak of one famous example, made by Socrates: Schol. Arist. *Clouds* 773, Paus. ix. 38. 5.

[6] *CIA* i. 423—431.

[7] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1897, 1 ff., 87 ff.

The oldest relief of this class comes from Thasos, which, though not votive, is interesting from its scheme[1]. Apollo, lyre in hand, stands on one side of a door or the opening of a cave; a female figure crowns him. On the other side of the door are Hermes and three nymphs. Of the typical scene in the cave there are many examples. In one variation, Pan plays on the pipe to three dancing nymphs, one of whom carries ears of corn in her hands[2]. Another shows the head of the river-god on one side[3]. A third, found in the grotto on Parnes, has Pan seated aloft, with goats' heads indicated on the edge of the carving; within the cave, Hermes leads the nymphs in their dance, and as before the river-god's head is visible[4]. A fourth, this from Megara, adds the figures of four worshippers[5]. Yet

Fig. 22. Pan, Hermes, and Nymphs in grotto with altar and worshippers. *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 711.

another variant is seen in the Archandrus relief[6]. Here Pan appears to be peeping out of his grotto upon the dance, whilst

[1] In the Louvre. Rayet, *Mon. de l'Art Antique*, "Bas-reliefs de Thasos"; Harrison, *Myth. and Mon.* 544. *νύμφησιν κἀπόλλωνι νυμφηγέτηι θῆλυ καὶ ἄρσεν ἅμ βούληι προσέρδειν· ὃν οὐ θέμις οὐδὲ χοῖρον, οὐ παιωνίζεται.*

[2] Sybel 317, 6961.

[3] Harrison, *Myth. and Mon.* 547: this has a hole for suspension.

[4] *Τηλεφάνης ἀνέθηκε Πανὶ καὶ Νύμφαις*: Sybel 360, cp. 387 (Megara), 1238, 3139 (Eleusis), 3753, 4212: F-W. 1839.

[5] Harrison, 546; *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 711. See fig. 22.

[6] Harrison, 548; Sybel 4040 *Ἀρχάνδρος Νύνφαις καὶ* **Πανί**. For the portrait figure see *AM* v. 206 ff. This is the oldest Attic example, 5th century.

a worshipper gazes over the altar at the nymphs, who this time are standing still. The figure of the dedicator seems intended to be a portrait. A slab found in Rome, but of Greek workmanship, shows this scene with all its meaning refined out of it. There is no cave, no Pan, but Hermes leads three very quiet nymphs towards a worshipper, and from behind a river-god looks benevolently on[1].

Three curious reliefs show a pair of Pans in the grotto. In one the Pans carry each a goad, while the nymphs dance above[2]. In another, of later date, the Pans have crescent horns[3]. The popular belief in a plurality of Pans, which was fostered by the derivation of the name from *πᾶς*[4], has been already mentioned. The dedication of this piece to Cybele reminds us that Cybele and the nymphs are associated as early as Pindar[5]. They are joined in a Tanagran relief[6], and in the deme Phlya they were worshipt together[7], as in the grotto of Archedemus at Vari[8]. A sacrificial relief to *Μήτηρ Νομαία* must belong to this class[9]. But the mass of Cybele dedications have no obvious reference to rustic celebrations. The female deity, with calathus on head, in another relief (4th century) may perhaps be Demeter; a female idol, holding two torches, meant perhaps for Hecate, is present, and a smaller male figure holds a libation-jug[10]. Another relief, even more puzzling, was found near Phalerum[11]. The slab is carved on both sides: one representing Echelus and Basile, two local heroes, in a four-horse car; in the other, the

[1] *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 709.

[2] *AM* xxi. pl. 8; another, p. 276. Cp. *Beschreibung der Glyptothek zu München*, 456.

[3] *AM* xxi. 275 *Εἰσιὰς Διοδώρου ἐκ Λαμπτρέων Μητρὶ θεῶν κατ' ἐπιταγήν. πάντα θεὸν σεμνύνομεν.*

[4] Arist. *Eccl.* 1069 *ὦ Πᾶνες*. Cp. inscr. in last note, and on the Washermen's Relief *πᾶσι θεοῖς*, p. 88[3] and p. 89 below. Note that other gods are represented double: Athena and Cybele for instance. *AM* xxi. 280, *Ἐφ.* *Ἀρχ.* 1890, pl. i.

[5] Pind. *Pyth.* iii. 77 = 137.

[6] *AM* iii. 388.

[7] Paus. i. 31. 4.

[8] *CIA* i. 423—431.

[9] *CIG* 6838 *Μόσχος Μητρὶ Νομαίαι εὐχήν.*

[10] *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 690.

[11] *AJA* ix. 203, pl. xii., *Ἐφ.* *Ἀρχ.* 1893, 128, pl. 9, 10. (A) *Ἔχελος, Βασιλή.* (B) *Ἑρμῆι καὶ Νύμφαισιν ἀ...* Echelus is the eponym of deme Echelidae, Basile is Basileia (*CIA* iv. 1. 53 *a*, Diod. iii. 27). I do not know any other votive relief with a purely mythological scene; there must be some reference to cult which has been lost.

three nymphs appear with a river-god, and the other figures are a youth and a bearded man who face one another. A rude piece from the bed of the Ilissus appears to be dedicated to the Naiads[1]; another shows Achelous, Hermes, and Heracles, the last two pouring libations to a seated god, perhaps Zeus Meilichios[2]. An interesting memorial of nymph-worship is an Athenian relief, recording a dedication of a dozen washermen and washerwomen[3]. Two scenes are represented, a space being left between for the inscription. The upper scene is a grotto of the familiar type; to the left is the head of the Achelous, towards which advances Hermes leading three nymphs; in the right Pan squats on his haunches playing upon the pipes. The lower scene represents Demeter and the Maid, facing an altar, towards which advances a bearded man leading a horse. The stature of the man shows that he is not human, and his horse also suggests that we have here some local hero. That washermen should worship the nymphs down by the Ilissus[4], who sent them water to ply their trade, is as natural as it is for the farmer and the huntsman to thank them for their winnings.

Dedications are often made to the nymphs alone. The earliest dates from the early sixth century[5]. One which is assigned to the fifth century is fragmentary, but appears to have contained the nymphs only[6]. So we find a dedication of the fourth century to them alone[7]. The groups of three dancing figures, called by some the Graces, would appear to belong to this class; and if so, they show an earlier form of the votive tablet than the cave of Pan[8]. In a piece from Naples, a female worshipper joins hands with six others of larger size, doubtless Nymphs and Graces together[9].

A series of reliefs from Thrace, of the second or third

[1] *ἀνέθηκεν* Ναιάσιν? Ναίωι Διί? *Ἐφ.* Ἀρχ. 1894, 131.

[2] *Ἐφ.* Ἀρχ. 1894, 131, pl. 7.

[3] *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 709 *οἱ πλυνῆς Νύμφαις εὐξάμενοι καὶ θεοῖς πᾶσιν*, followed by names of ten men and two women.

[4] Plato, *Phaedr.* 230 B.

[5] *Beschreibung der Glyptothek zu München*, no. 241.

[6] *AM* xxiii. 367 ...Κλεωνύθου Νύμφαις. Three Nymphs or Graces on a Samian relief: *AM* xxv. 172, no. 67.

[7] Sybel 4038. It is dated *ἐπὶ ἱερέως* Ἀσκληπιοῦ... No. 5983 is a fragment.

[8] Not inscribed. Discussed as Graces by Furtwängler: *AM* iii. 181 ff.

[9] Harrison, *Myth. and Mon.* 545, fig. 7.

century after Christ, may be here mentioned, although they show a debased feeling[1]. Four types are represented. In one (1) the three figures are nude, and stand in a cave, entwined in the attitude of the familiar group of the Graces; or they dance and wave a veil or a wrap. In another (2) they stand draped in various attitudes. A third (3) adds the figure of a priest placing incense on an altar; and a fourth (4) adds Zeus and Hera in large size, the nymphs being small. A horseman also appears. The ritual dance and sacrifice here reappear, but the representation has become artificial. In the last type, the nymphs are subordinated to Zeus and Hera; in the early examples, they are always the most important figures. We do find, however, other deities united with them. Cybele, Demeter and the Maid we have seen already[2]; Dionysus and Pan are found on another piece[3]; in the second century, Men appears by Pan's side in a grotto[4]; but the most explicit rendering of the idea that Pan is All Gods has yet to be mentioned[5]. Here a table stands in the grotto, and the river-god's head is upon it. On either side is a group of deities, seven in all; Zeus enthroned holds the centre, and amongst other figures which cannot be identified, we see the Maid holding two torches, and a male figure holding the horn of plenty. The three dancing nymphs are a subsidiary motive in a late relief dedicated to Isis, in which the central figure is a reclining male person, perhaps Achelous[6].

Again, the tithe often took the form of a statue of the friendly deity. An example in point comes from legendary times. Ulysses, we are told, being of a mind to breed horses, dedicated an image of Horse Poseidon in Pheneus[7]. Bathycles of Magnesia, who made the gold-ivory Apollo at Amyclae, his work done, dedicated statues of his patron deity Artemis and the Graces[8]. Statues appear to have been dedicated in Olympia for

[1] *BCH* xxiii. 122 ff. Νύφαις εὐχήν; one with a name and εὐχήν; κυρίαις νύνφαις; εὐχαριστήριον.

[2] Above, p. 87; another from Acropolis, *AM* ii. pl. 18.

[3] *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 687.

[4] *BCH* xx. 78 (cut).

[5] Megara: *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 679.

[6] *RM* xii. 146 Εὔνοια Εἴσιδι εὐχήν: fig. 2.

[7] Paus. viii. 14. 5.

[8] Paus. iii. 18. 9. Artemis Leucophryene was worshipt in Magnesia. It is easy to understand the Graces.

the Naxian builder who invented marble tiles[1]. In Athens, before the battle of Salamis, Phrygia the baxter dedicated a bronze statuette of Athena armed, whose shield remains still[2]; other such figures remain, one being inscribed as a tithe[3]. The word used on other Athenian tithe and firstfruit dedications is that specially applied to divine figures at this date[4]. The statue is even inscribed as a "maiden"; that is, the image of Athena herself, otherwise the offering would have no point. When further we find that a private person, and he a man, dedicates as a firstfruit[5] or tithe[6] a statue of the same type as the famous Maidens of the Acropolis, and the same type is seen on reliefs to be meant for the goddess[7], a new light is thrown on these mysterious statues. Other columns of the same shape as those which bear these inscriptions, and inscribed as the tithe or firstfruit, may well have borne similar statues[8], and they were so common that Euripides uses them for a simile[9]. Thus some of them were demonstrably the tithe or firstfruit thank-offering of a tradesman or artisan[10]; and they may all have been such, or at least we

[1] Paus. v. 10. 3 Νάξιος Εὔεργός με γένει Λητοῦς πόρε, Βύζεω παῖς, ὃς πρώτιστος τεῦξε λίθου κέραμον. He lived in the time of Alyattes. Pausanias calls the offerings ἀγάλματα, and says that Byzes dedicated them, which seems to imply that the son merely made the formal dedication.

[2] *Cat. Acr. Mus. Br.* 260, fig. 60, *JHS* xiii. 124 Φρυγία ἀνέθηκε τῇι Ἀθηναίαι ἡ ἀρτοπῶλις.

[3] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1887, 134.

[4] ἄγαλμα, now contrasted with εἰκών, 'a portrait.' It occurs in *CIA* iv. 1. 373[105], cp. [171, 218] with ἀπαρχήν, 373[202, 216] with δεκάτην. *CIA* i. 375 (perhaps therefore 351), made by Critias and Nesiotes, must have been a statue. So i. 402, 403 by Cresilas. See also Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1891, 55, pl. 6 ἀπαρχήν. Earlier, ἄγαλμα meant any ornament or precious thing: *Il.* iv. 144, Hesych. *s.v.* πᾶν ἐφ' ᾧ τις ἀγάλλεται. Of a stone basin: Κατ. 360.

[5] *CIA* iv. 1, 373[9], p. 179: τήνδε κόρην ἀνέθηκεν ἀπαρχὴν...λόχος ἄγρας ἦν οἱ ποντομέδων χρυσοτρίαιν' ἔπορεν. This is not a dedication to Poseidon, as the formula shows. *CIA* iv. 1. 373[179] Νίκυλλος ἀνέθηκεν, base, with the statue belonging to it figured in Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1887, 134. Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1886, 81 Νέαρχος ἔργων ἀπαρχήν.

[6] Several pillar-bases in the Acropolis Museum have δεκάτην, e.g. no. 150.

[7] *Acrop. Mus.* 581.

[8] *CIA* iv. 1. 373 *f*, 373[104, 197, 118]: Εὐθύδικος ὁ Θαλιάρχου ἀνέθηκεν.

[9] Eur. *Phoen.* 220.

[10] For other explanations see *BCH* xiv. 573, *AM* xiv. 493; Collignon, *Sculpt. Gr.* i. 340 ff.; Frazer, *Paus.* ii. 346. All are full of difficulty; the figures are too numerous for priestesses, and there is no evidence for the customary dedication of priestesses at this date. They were not dedicated by their makers, nor would a series of

may say that all were intended to represent the goddess and to be thankofferings of some sort. Isaeus seems to allude to these divine figures, when he speaks of the custom of dedicating firstfruits of one's substance[1]. The type is the simplest possible conception of an anthropomorphic goddess, without attributes. In this light we may interpret a similar series of Maidens found at Delos[2], although there we have not the help of inscriptions; the remains of other such elsewhere[3]; the series of so-called Apollos, which in their nakedness may often represent other gods[4]; and the figures of Zeus or other gods without attributes[5]. Indeed, as Phrygia's armed Athena proves, any figure of a deity may have been dedicated on some such occasion as these[6].

A few allegorical offerings may be mentioned. There was one at Delphi, attributed to the great Hippocrates; a moldering corpse, nothing but bones left, perhaps an articulated skeleton[7]. The people of Corcyra, who had been guided to a great haul of fish by the bellowing of a bull, dedicated an image of this animal at Olympia and another at Delphi[8]. Aelian's account of the golden sheep of Mandrobulus was that the lost treasure of the temple had been found by a sheep[9]. There was a group of Earth praying for rain on the Acropolis at Athens[10].

So far the offerings have been more or less of an ideal type; their value depending wholly or in part upon their meaning. But here as elsewhere the offering may be given for its intrinsic

masterpieces all follow one type. The word *κόρη* is used by Plato of dedications to the Nymphs; Plat. *Phaedr.* 230 B *νυμφῶν τέ τινων καὶ Ἀχελῴου ἱερὸν ἀπὸ τῶν κορῶν τε καὶ ἀγαλμάτων ἔοικεν εἶναι.* It is also applied to the goddess Persephone. See further in ch. XIV.

[1] Isaeus, *De Dicaeog. Her.* 113: *οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι...ἐν ἀκροπόλει ἀπαρχὰς τῶν ὄντων ἀναθέντες πολλοῖς, ὡς ἀπὸ ἰδίας κτήσεως, ἀγάλμασι χαλκοῖς καὶ λιθίνοις κεκοσμήκασι τὸ ἱερόν.*

[2] *BCH* xiv. 573; *AZ* xl. 326; Homolle, *De Antiquissimis Dianae Simulacris Deliacis* (Paris 1885), ch. 2, regards the Delian statues as meant for Artemis.

[3] Sicily: Kekule, *Terracotten von Sic.*, pl. 1 (life-size). Eleusis: *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1885, 179, pl. 8. Marseilles: *Gaz. Arch.* ii. 133, pl. 31.

[4] See ch. XIV.

[5] Zeus: Olympia, *Bronzen von Ol.* vii. 40.

[6] Terracotta statuettes are common in the Maiden type: see below, ch. VIII, XIV.

[7] Paus. x. 2. 6.

[8] Paus. x. 9. 3, v. 29. 9.

[9] Aelian, *Hist. An.* XII. 40.

[10] Paus. i. 24. 3.

value, and have no reference to the occasion at all. A man of Boeotia offers a sum of money, apparently in gratitude for a legacy[1]. A shrine or other building might commemorate exceptional profits or a lucky windfall. According to the legend, Danaus founded a shrine of Apollo Lycius in Argos, having got the kingdom after seeing the omen of a wolf killing a bull[2]. The Siphnians built their treasury at Delphi on the first discovery of their gold mines[3].

The tithe might be paid in money or valuables bought with money. A silver ingot found in Sicily, and dedicated to Zeus, from the names of the dedicators has been ascribed to a similar origin[4]. In the Inventories we find such entries; as Andron offered so many gold pieces as firstfruit[5]. The courtesan Rhodopis sent a tithe of her earnings to Delphi in the form of iron bars or goads, which I have already suggested may have been used for barter[6]. Offerings from Corcyra and Tenedos are more than once said to have been axes, which were another ancient unit of currency[7]. Axes of similar shape have been found in the Dictaean cave of Crete[8], at Dodona[9], in the temple of Artemis at Lusi (Arcadia)[10]. A bronze axe found in Calabria is dedicated to Hera by a butcher as tithe of his business[11].

[1] *IGS* i. 4137 Κάπιλλος Στράτωνος Ληρουμνεὸς ἀνέθεκε **τῦ Ἀπόλλωνι τῦ Πτωίυ** χαλκῶ δραχμὰς πετρακισχιλίας ἑπτακατίας **χαριστείριον**, καθὼς ἐμέριξε ὁ κλαρονόμος κὰτ τὰν **διαθείκαν**...**Διωνουσίω**.

[2] Paus. ii. 19. 3.

[3] Herod. iii. 57, Paus. x. 11. 2.

[4] *IGA* 523 Διός· Λύκα, Τρυγών.

[5] *CIA* ii. 652 B 19 (4th cent. early) Ἄνδρων Ἐλαούσιος ἀπήρξατο χρυσᾶς ⊢⊢, Θράσυλλος Εὐωνεὺς χρυσοῦν C.

[6] Herod. ii. 135, Plut. *De Pyth. Or.* 14; above, p. 74[19].

[7] Plut. *De Pyth. Or.* 12, Paus. v. 29. 9, x. 9. 3, 14. 1. The last, an offering of Periclytus, is explained by Pausanias as referring to the proverbial 'axe of Tenedos,' which he explains by a myth, as others have done before him (Aristotle to wit), and since. It is natural of course that when axes were no longer current as money the sight of them should have suggested the proverb.

[8] *Ann. Br. Sch. Ath.* vi. 109, fig. 40.

[9] Carapanos, *Dodone*, pl. 54. These are unfit for use, and they were probably *simulacra* made for exchange, as we shall see in chap. xiv.

[10] *Jahreshefte*, iv. 49, figs. 67, 68.

[11] *IGA* 543 τᾶς Ἥρας ἱερός εἰμι τᾶς ἐν πεδίωι· Φυνίσκος με ἀνέθηκε ὥρταμος βέργων δεκάταν. It is a very fine ornamental specimen, and perhaps only took that shape through traditional association.

But the most numerous dedications are vases and vessels of one kind or another[1] dedicated in the Acropolis. One appears to have been a marble sprinkling-bowl, a firstfruit[2], and a similar article, given by a washerwoman, is inscribed as a tithe[3]. A fuller dedicates a bronze vase, of which fragments remain[4]; another is a bronze patera[5].

Articles made of gold or of silver were also dedicated as trade-offerings, like the bowl of Dazos[6] or the silver tithe-saucer of Proxenus, in the Delian inventory[7]; and it is impossible to say how many of the innumerable bowls which are mentioned have the same origin. Bowls are among the offerings made by huntsmen to Pan[8], or by fishermen as a tithe to Priapus[9]. Two bowls, dedicated to Pedio, suggest a connexion with agriculture[10]. There are two little pots of gold offered at Delos by Cleino, a courtesan of the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus II.[11]

Pieces of several fictile vases were found in the Acropolis, inscribed as votive offerings, one at least with the tithe specified[12]. Vases are dedicated to Pan and the Nymphs[13]. In the *Anthology*, Eurydice learning to read in her old age, dedicates a crown to the Muses[14].

What objects stood on the base which bore a double dedication, perhaps of man and wife, for firstfruit and tithe[15]; or on

[1] Vases, such as *φιάλαι*, were stored in vast numbers in the shrines, as a convenient way of keeping bullion. They are spoken of as units of value by Nicolaus Damascenus (ed. Tauchn.) p. 11: a reward of 10 talents in gold, 10 gold phialae and 200 silver.

[2] *CIA* iv. 1, 373 *v*, p. 126, also *w*, Κατ. 362, 367, 371—3, 375, 378, 379, 381, 383, 388—390, 393. There are several others.

[3] *CIA* iv. 1. 373 [84].

[4] *Cat. Acr. Mus. Br.* 178 Πολυκλῆς ἀνέθηκεν ὁ κναφεὺς τἀθηναίαι. *φ* is written Θ, and *θ* ⊕.

[5] *Cat. Acr. Mus. Br.* 219, Κατ. xvii. ἀπαρχήν. Compare Κατ. xiv. xl. lxvii. lxviii. lxx.—lxxvii.

[6] *BCH* vi. 34 line 53 *φιάλη*, inscribed Δάζος Δαζίσκου Ἀζαντινὸς ἀφ' ὧν εἰργάσατο Ἀπόλλωνι. A 'masterpiece'?

[7] *BCH* vi. 34. 47 *κυμβίον*, Πρόξενος καὶ παῖδες δεκάτην τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι.

[8] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 35.

[9] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 33.

[10] *IGA* 519, 520 = *IGSI* 595, 596 Πεδιοῖ. A Ἥρα ἐν πεδίωι has been mentioned above, p. 92 [11].

[11] *BCH* xv. 118 χοΐδια.

[12] *CIA* iv. 1, 373. 12 *f*, cp. 12 *c*. There were thousands of uninscribed vases; for which see chap. VIII.

[13] *AM* xxi. 437.

[14] Plut. *De Educ.* 20.

[15] Two offerings stood there. *CIA* iv. 1. 373 [77].

the oblong base of the potters' offering[1]; or on the numerous pillars[2], it is impossible to guess. The boy who has gained a prize of twelve knucklebones for learning to write well dedicates a comic figure to the Muses[3]. Here, as elsewhere, there is no limit: anything may be offered.

[1] *CIA* iv. 1. 373[180], tithe.

[2] See R. Borrmann, *Stelen für Weihgeschenke auf der Acropolis zu Athen*, *Jahrb.* iii. 269.

[3] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 308 κωμικὸν Χάρητα.

III.

WAR[1].

And the Lord discomfited Sisera, and all his chariots, and all his host, with the edge of the sword before Barak.

Judges iv. 15.

THE Greek army went into battle after solemn libation and sacrifice, singing paeans to invoke the protection of the gods; and victory was celebrated by thanksgivings[2]. We need feel no surprise that the prayer for protection was often accompanied by a vow[3], and that victory was regularly followed by an offering. Indeed, inasmuch as war was the natural state of humanity in the early ages, the records of these vows and offerings form a very full series, beginning in prehistoric times and running on to the end of Greek history.

The Greeks had, however, no single and exclusive God of Battles. We are accustomed to think of Ares as such, and it is true that as early as Homer he is supposed to inspire combatants, even the very weapons they used[4]. He is fierce and furious, he laps man's blood, he is armed in panoply capapie: the personification of the lust of battle, one would call him invincible, it would seem that he alone should be prayed to by this side or that, yet the truth is far otherwise. Ares is on the

[1] In this chapter I have made use of Franciscus Ziemann's program *De Anathematis Graecis*: Regimonti Borussorum 1885.

[2] Schol. Arist. *Plutus* 636 παιὰν μὲν ὕμνος ἐστὶν εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπὶ παύσει λοιμοῦ ᾀδόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ παύσει πολέμου, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ προσδοκωμένου δεινοῦ. We need not follow him in deriving the word from παύω.

[3] Besides those recited below, I may mention the vow of Callimachus before Marathon to sacrifice as many oxen as they should slay enemies (Schol. Arist. *Knights* 660). Compare Soph. *Trach.* 240.

[4] *Il.* xvi. 615, xvii. 210.

side of Troy, yet Troy is taken; the very god of war is himself beaten in the fray. Athene causes him bitter pangs[1]; and with her aid, the mortal Diomedes wounds him, and makes him roar as loud as ten thousand men[2]. If Ares or Enyalios is sometimes invoked by the fighter[3], yet the paean belongs specially to Apollo, and no less powerful on the battlefield are Zeus the Saviour[4], or Zeus of the Rout[5], Athena, Poseidon[6], Aphrodite[7], or even the demigod Heracles[4]. Later, no doubt, some deities had special prestige in this matter, as in the Middle Ages St Peter or our Lady of Walsingham had in danger of shipwreck[8]; but the natural instinct of each tribe or each person would be, to call upon that deity who was likely to be most favourable to him in particular. This god was god of the hills, and that of the valleys[9]; and Ares was the local god of Thrace. The people of Selinus are most impartial, and ascribe their victories to Zeus, Fear, and Heracles, to Apollo, to Poseidon and the Tyndaridae, Athena and Demeter guardian of flocks, to Pasicrateia and all the other gods, but most to Zeus[10]. So when the strife was won, the victorious host would testify their gratitude by some offering to their own deity, in the chief shrine of their own city[11], or in a national sanctuary like Delphi or Olympia. Thus it is we find offerings in these national shrines made by any of the various states of Greece, and mortal enemies there meet in friendship or truce at least; whilst war spoils are found on the Acropolis of Athens dedicated to the maiden Athena, and in Samos to Hera, otherwise the goddess of peaceful wedded life. The attitude of the

[1] *Il.* v. 766.

[2] *Il.* v. 590—909.

[3] Xen. *Anab.* i. 8. 18, *Hell.* ii. 4. 17.

[4] Xen. *Anab.* vi. 5. 25 Ζεὺς Σωτήρ, Ἡρακλῆς ἡγεμών was the watchword. Cp. Paus. ix. 11. 6. Altar to Zeus Areios in Olympia, Paus. v. 14. 5. Offerings of spoils are made to Leto in *Anth. Pal.* vi. 215. Artemis: Farnell, ii. 585.

[5] There was a yearly sacrifice to Ζεὺς Τρόπαιος on Salamis Day: *CIA* ii. 467.

[6] A sacrifice to Poseidon Tropaios, Posidonius *ap.* Ath. viii. 333 D.

[7] Ath. xiii. 573 D.

[8] Erasmus, *Colloquies*: 'The Shipwreck.'

[9] Compare 1 *Kings* xx. 28.

[10] *IGA* 515. See p. 126[4] below.

[11] Soph. *Trach.* 182 μάχης ἄγοντ' ἀπαρχὰς θεοῖσι τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις. So when Messene was rebuilt, each helping tribe sacrificed to its own gods (Paus. iv. 27. 6). Compare Jonah i. 5 "Then the mariners were afraid, and cried every man unto his god."

Greek to his patron deity is clear, when we remember that he is the Champion of his city; and so Athena, and even Aphrodite, appears in full armour. Solon's temple[1] is the only historical dedication connected with war, made to Ares, until we come to the later poets of the *Anthology*[2]. It is not for nothing, then, that the gods of the Homeric pantheon take sides: the Greek always thought of his gods as taking sides, and his prayers were guided accordingly.

What vow should be made before the battle, or what offering after, depended of course on circumstances: the importance of the issue, the wealth or number of the combatants, and so forth. It did happen once or twice that a leader, confident in his cause and his own right arm, paid the vow before the battle was fought; but on most of these occasions the deity seems to have mistaken his faith for presumption, and allowed him to be defeated[3]. Legend tells how Polyneices and his Argive allies set up statues of Ares and Aphrodite before their disastrous expedition[4]. As a rule, this kind of faith did not appeal to the Greek; he waited to let the god fulfil his part of the bargain first. In some cases, however, the deity does not seem to have been displeased by an act of bravado. Aristomenes, the hero of the second Messenian War, struck terror into the Spartans by entering their city by night, and hanging up a shield in the Brazen House of Athena, inscribed with the words—"Aristomenes from the spoils of the Spartans[5]." Afterwards, like King Rameses at Lachish, he is said to have routed a body of Lacedaemonians all by himself. The hero's shield was turned to account before the battle of Leuctra. Before the battle the Thebans had sent to inquire at various oracles, amongst others of Trophonius, who returned them answer that they should set up a trophy and adorn it with this shield. Epameinondas gave orders accordingly, and the trophy was set up by Xenocrates with the shield upon it, in a place where it

[1] Below, p. 119.

[2] E.g. *Anth. Pal.* vi. 81, 163. Late in Egypt: *CIG.* 5128. King Aizanas, *ὑπὲρ δὲ εὐχαριστίας τοῦ ἐμὲ γεννήσαντος ἀνικήτου Ἄρεως ἀνέθηκα αὐτῷ ἀνδριάντα χρυσοῦν ἕνα καὶ ἀργυραῖον ἕνα καὶ χαλκοῦς γ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ.*

[3] Paus. ii. 6. 3 and iv. 25. 1.

[4] Paus. ii. 25. 1.

[5] Paus. iv. 15. 5.

could be seen of the Lacedaemonians. They knew it, and perhaps recalled the old precedent; at all events, the oracle was justified of his words[1]. The statue of Xenocrates was afterwards set up at Thebes[2]. Themistocles, again, founded a temple before the battle of Salamis[3]. So, too, Thrasybulus and his men, on setting out from Thebes to return to Athens, dedicated statues of Athena and Heracles in the Theban Heracleum[4].

It is usual to distinguish those offerings which the commander made on behalf of his army, or those made by the state, as public, from the private offerings whether of the commander made on his own behalf or of his men. The distinction is merely formal, not one of principle, and as it serves no useful purpose I have neglected it here. The offerings themselves may be broadly classified as follows:

I. Spoils: the arms of the vanquisht, or their treasure.
II. The Victor's Arms or dress.
III. Other Commemorative offerings.

I. *Spoils.* No doubt if the Greek gods had so ordained, the people would not have questioned their right wholly to dispose of the life and property of a conquered race, as was commanded in the matter of Amalek by the mouth of the prophet Samuel[5]. We know how Cypselus vowed to dedicate all the property of the citizens if he gained possession of Corinth, and with what skill he observed the letter of his vow whilst violating the spirit[6]. But in practice the gods are not grasping. As they give men the world and its fruits subject to tribute, so

[1] Paus. iv. 32. 5, ix. 39. 14.

[2] *IGS* i. 2462. See Plut. *Pelopidas* 8, *De Genio Socratis* 25, 30. The inscribed base has been found, as follows: Ξενοκράτης. Θεόπομπος. Μνασίλαος. ἀνίκα τὸ Σπάρτας ἐκράτει δόρυ τηνάκις εἶλεν Ξεινοκράτης κλάρῳ Ζηνὶ τρόπαια φέρειν, οὐ τὸν ἀπ' Εὐρώτα δείσας στόλον οὐδὲ Λάκαιναν ἀσπίδα. "Θηβαῖοι κρείσσονες ἐν πολέμῳ." καρύσσει Λεύκτροις νικαφόρα δουρὶ τρόπαια, οὐδ' Ἐπαμεινώνδα δεύτεροι ἐδράμομεν.

[3] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1885, p. 170[45]: ὃ ἱδρύσατο Θεμιστοκλῆς πρὸ τῆς περὶ Σαλαμῖνα ναυμαχίας.

[4] Paus. ix. 11. 6.

[5] 1 *Sam.* xv. 3.

[6] Arist. *Oec.* ii. 1346 *a* 32 Κύψελος εὐξάμενος τῷ Διὶ ἐὰν κύριος γένηται τῆς πόλεως τὰ ὄντα Κορινθίοις πάντα ἀναθήσειν, etc. For the very opposite Moxus the Lydian vowed a tithe: Nicolaus Damasc. (*Hist. Min. Gr.* p. 19) Μόξος ὁ Λυδὸς...τὸν Μήλην τῆς τυραννίδος καθελὼν τοῖς Λυδοῖς παρεκελεύσατο τὴν δεκάτην ἀποδοῦναι καθὰ εὔξατο τοῖς θεοῖς.

they are content to leave the conquerors what they win provided that certain dues are paid, the tithe or firstfruit of the spoils. These dues are voluntary, in the sense that a man may choose whether he do right or wrong, but to deny them would be impious. They are however gladly given for the most part; and they are rightly counted among votive offerings.

One form of this tribute is the trophy (*τρόπαιον*)[1], arms and armour of prize hung about some tree-trunk or pillar, or piled in a heap, on the foughten field: which as its name denotes is a memorial of the rout (*τροπή*), and Zeus is invoked as *τρόπαιος* by the fighting host. I do not doubt that this is an offering to the protecting deity, set up in that spot where he had proved his present power. Sometimes it is distinctly said that trophies are consecrated to the gods of battle[2], sometimes a permanent trophy is erected in a sanctuary[3]. Sacrifice was done before a trophy periodically by the Athenians both at Marathon and Salamis[4], and doubtless elsewhere[5].

In legend Pollux erects a trophy for his victory over Lynceus[6]. The trophy is recorded as far back as the eighth century in Sparta[7], the seventh century in Athens[8], and except Macedon was universal in Greek lands[9]. The trophy was so much a matter of course, that it was erected for victory even when spoils there were none[10]. Perhaps it is not too much to assume that this is the earliest form of war-dedication, independent of temples, and accepted by the protecting gods as

[1] See Pauly, *Realencycl. s.v.*

[2] Dio Cass. xlii. 48; the Theban trophy from Tolmides, to Athena (Paus. i. 27. 4); Mantinean trophy to Poseidon for victory over Agis (viii. 10. 8). Sometimes made of sacred wood: Eudocia (Flach) p. 9 *ἀνιστᾶσιν αὐτῇ* (Athena) *τρόπαια ἐκ ξύλων ἐλαϊνῶν.*

[3] Paus. x. 18. 7 (Delphi).

[4] *CIA* ii. 471[26, 71], 467[27] to Zeus Tropaios.

[5] A late vase painting shows Victory sacrificing before a trophy: Stephani, *Compte Rendu* 1869, p. 161 = *AZ* 1865, pl. 199. 3.

[6] Paus. iii. 14. 7.

[7] Paus. iii. 2. 6, when the Dorians took Amyclae. Plutarch *Ages.* 33 says that in early days the Spartans offered only a cock as *νικητήριον*, but he must surely have taken for granted the trophy and spoils.

[8] Dem. *Amat.* 1416 *Σόλων...τὸ πρὸς Μεγαρέας τρόπαιον ὑπόμνημα καταλιπών.* See for others, Herod. iii. 59, Thuc. iv. 12, vii. 23, Xen. *Hell.* ii. 3. 8.

[9] Paus. ix. 40. 7.

[10] In the bloodless battle recorded by Xenophon, *Hell.* v. 4. 53: *ἀπέθανεν μὲν οὐδείς, ὅμως δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι τρόπαιον ἐστήσαντο.*

Pan accepted the trophies of the chace hung upon some mountain pine[1].

But the usual practice was also to dedicate in some temple the choice pieces, the firstfruits, or the tithe of spoils[2], as we see in our cathedrals the flags of our ancient foes. The booty was collected, and a portion set apart for the gods; this was either dedicated all, or a part of it, the remainder being sold and the proceeds used to procure some offering of price or magnificence.

Now and then a permanent trophy made of bronze or some other material was set up in a sanctuary. The Persians, if the common report be true, intended to make one such in 490 if they had not been defeated[3]. Pausanias mentions a battle fought in the Altis at Olympia between the Eleans and the Lacedaemonians: the Eleans, who won the day, erected a bronze trophy with an inscription upon the shield, under a plane tree in the Altis[4]. A similar memorial was put up after Leuctra[5]. A bronze trophy was dedicated at Delphi by the Aetolians, after they had chastised the Gauls for their horrific treatment of Callium[6]. Trophies of Gallic arms in relief were carved on the temple of Athena at Pergamus, built in memory of the defeats of the Gauls[7]. The Mantineans, to commemorate a defeat of Agis, placed a stone trophy "over against the temple of Poseidon[8]"; the Argives, having conquered the Lacedaemonians, placed the like beside a tomb in Argos[9]. The permanent trophy at Marathon was of white marble[10].

When the practice of dedicating the tithe of spoils became general, we have no means of learning. There is no direct evidence in the Homeric poems of a systematic dedication of

[1] Above, p. 51.

[2] ἀκροθίνιον, ἀπαρχή, δεκάτη. Herodotus viii. 12 uses ἀκροθίνια and ἀριστεῖα in one sentence of the same thing, but not necessarily in the same sense.

[3] Paus. i. 33. 2; *Anth. App. Plan.* 221, 222, 226, 263.

[4] Paus. v. 20. 4, 27. 11, vi. 2. 3. Robert refers the trophy to 418 or thereabouts, when an Elean contingent aided the Argives (Thuc. v. 58—60). A miniature trophy of bronze, perhaps Etruscan, is in the Antiquarium at Berlin.

[5] Cic. *De Inv.* ii. 23. He tells us it was not the custom to erect a permanent trophy when Greek met Greek.

[6] Paus. x. 18. 7, 22. 3.

[7] Paus. i. 4. 6, with Frazer's note.

[8] Paus. viii. 10. 5.

[9] Paus. ii. 21. 8.

[10] Paus. i. 32. 5.

arms or tithe by the conquerors, or of any vow made against the taking of Troy[1]. When Pausanias relates that Polyneices made an offering before attacking Thebes, this is evidence only that the later Greeks believed the practice of their own day to be as old as the heroic age. The inference that it was really so is, however, not unreasonable, in view of the practice of single warriors. Hector, when about to fight with Ajax, vows to dedicate the spoil in Athena's temple at Troy[2]. Ulysses, being out of reach of the temples of his native land, hangs the bloody armour of Dolon "upon the poop of a ship, to make a shrine for Athena[3]." Menelaus dedicated the spoils of Euphorbus in the Argive Heraeum; where Pythagoras, who claimed that the soul of the hero breathed in him, proved his claim by recognising the arms he once had borne[4]. In the caves of Dicte and Ida in Crete lance-heads and shields have been found which belong to the Dorian period[5]. We know how Alcaeus' shield was captured by the Athenians in 606 and hung up in Athena's shrine[6]. Aeschylus speaks of arms and foemen's dresses pierced with the spear-point as hung in temples[7], Euripides of the spoils of the Amazons dedicated by Heracles at Delphi[8], and Pindar of the dedication of choice prize[9].

[1] Hecuba does however vow to offer a precious robe to Athena if Troy is not taken, *Il.* vi. 269. Compare Hector's offering, ii. 82 ff.

[2] *Il.* vii. 82 foll.

[3] *Il.* x. 460 *καὶ τά γ' Ἀθηναίῃ λητιδι δῖος Ὀδυσσεὺς ὑψόσ' ἀνέσχεθε.* The phrase Athena of the Spoils shows how these epithets do no more than represent one aspect of a deity's power.

[4] Paus. ii. 17. 3, Hor. *Odes* i. 28. 11.

[5] In the Museum of Candia. *Mus. Ital.* ii. 696, 906; *AJA* iv. 430, pl. xvi—xx.; *Annual of the British School at Athens* vi. 110. So elsewhere. In the temple of Ningirsu, at Tello, Babylonia, a bronze spear-head was found inscribed with a king's name: *AJA* N.S. ii. 105. Appius Claudius was said to have first dedicated shields in Rome as a private person, which implies that public dedication was earlier: Pliny, *NH* xxxv. 3. 12. The sword of Goliath will be remembered: 1 *Sam.* xxi. 9.

[6] Alc. 32 (Strabo xiii. 600, Herod. v. 95) *σῶς Ἀλκαῖος Ἄρῃ, ἔντεα δ' οὔ· κύτος ἀνάκτορον ἐς Γλαυκώπω ἱρὸν ὀνεκρέμασαν Ἀττικοί.*

[7] Aesch. *Sept.* 265.

[8] Eurip. *Ion* 1143 *πτέρυγα περιβάλλει πέπλων, ἀνάθημα Δίου παιδός, οὓς Ἡρακλέης Ἀμαζόνων σκυλεύματ' ἤνεγκεν θεῷ.* Cp. *Phoen.* 856 *τόνδε χρυσοῦν στέφανον, ὡς ὁρᾷς, ἔχω λαβὼν ἀπαρχὰς πολεμίων σκυλευμάτων.*

[9] Pind. *Ol.* ii. 4 *Ὀλυμπιάδα δ' ἔστασεν Ἡρακλέης ἀκρόθινα πολέμου*: xi. 56 *τὰν πολέμοιο δόσιν ἀκρόθινα διελὼν ἔθυε.*

There are dedications of the war-tithe at Apollonia[1], Athens[2], Branchidae[3], Crete[4], Mantinea[5], Megara[6], Boeotia[7], and Sparta[8]; at Delphi by Athenians[9], Caphyes[10], Cnidians[11], Liparians[12], Spartans[13], and Tarentines[14]; at Olympia by Cleitorians[15], Eleans[16], Messenians[17], Spartans[18], Thurians[19]. But it must be remembered that all dedications of war-spoils are either tithe or firstfruit.

If cattle formed part of the booty, a part of these would be sacrified[20]. The tithe of captives was also reserved, and sent to Delphi or some other sanctuary: at first for sacrifice[21], doubtless, or to be temple slaves[22], which happened to the daughter of Teiresias[23]; but by softening of manners they were later sent forth to found colonies. The Dryopians, conquered by Heracles, and dedicated, went forth to found Asine[24]. But the Greeks were more merciful than their own Apollo, who hung up the very skin of Marsyas in a cave[25]. Thebes was "decimated" by the Greeks for its defection to the Persian side; and the writers use the phrase in a way which shows it needed no explanation[26]. For other reasons, a tithe of men

[1] Paus. v. 22. 3.
[2] Paus. i. 28. 2, x. 10. 1.
[3] Newton, p. 777.
[4] *Mon. Ant.* iii. 402—4.
[5] *IGA* 100, Collitz i. 1198.
[6] *IGS* i. 37.
[7] *IGA* 191; *AJA* N.S. ii. 250.
[8] Paus. iii. 18. 7.
[9] Paus. x. 13. 9.
[10] *BCH* xviii. 177.
[11] *BCH* xxii. 592.
[12] Diod. v. 9.
[13] Plut. *Ages.* 9, Xen. *An.* v. 3. 4.
[14] Paus. x. 13. 10.
[15] Paus. v. 23. 7.
[16] Paus. vi. 24. 4.
[17] *Inschr. von Ol.* 259.
[18] Paus. v. 10. 4.
[19] Below, p. 106[10].
[20] Soph. *Trach.* 760 *ταυροκτονεῖ μὲν δώδεκ' ἐντελεῖς ἔχων, λείας ἀπαρχήν, βοῦς.*
[21] The Delphic oracle was not shy of human sacrifice in early times, as the story of Aristodemus shows: Paus. iv. 9, see also vii. 19. 4. So at Dodona: Paus. vii. 21. 3.
[22] Eur. *Ion* 309 *τοῦ θεοῦ καλοῦμαι δοῦλος...ἀνάθημα πόλεως, ἤ τινος πραθεὶς ὕπο;* Compare the captives in the *Trachiniae*, and verse 245.
[23] Diod. iv. 66 *οἱ μὲν ἐπίγονοι τὴν πόλιν ἐλόντες διήρπασαν καὶ τῆς Τειρεσίου θυγατρὸς Δάφνης ἐγκρατεῖς γενόμενοι, ταύτην ἀνέθεσαν εἰς Δελφούς, κατά τινα εὐχήν, ἀκροθίνιον τῷ θεῷ.* She became a prophetess.
[24] Paus. ii. 35. 2, iv. 34. 6; Diod. iv. 37; Apollod. ii. 2. 7 (Pauly). Compare Plut. *Thes.* 16, Plato, *Laws* x. 919, Strabo vi. 257.
[25] Xen. *Anab.* i. 2. 8. The skins of sacrilegious Danes are to be seen on church doors, as at Tewkesbury.
[26] Herod. vii. 132 *τὸ δὲ ὅρκιον ὧδε εἶχε· ὅσοι τῷ Πέρσῃ ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς*

was dedicated by Chalcis[1], and firstfruits of men by Crete[2]. The tithe of ransom was also dedicated[3]. In historical times the consecration of the war-tithe was a matter of course[4], and applied not only to the enlisted hosts but to privateers[5].

We may now pass in review the chief instances of the dedication of spoils, in historical order: and first the enemy's weapons, armour, and equipment, the material of war.

The earliest recorded naval memorial comes from the war waged between Athens and Megara for the possession of Salamis. The Megarians commemorated one victory (which must have taken place about B.C. 600, before Solon aroused the Athenians to reconquer the island) by placing the bronze beak of a prize ship in the Olympieum at Megara[6]. Another such was erected by the Aeginetans, who somewhere about 520 conquered a colony of Samians settled at Cydonia in Crete. The beaks of their ships, which were boars' heads, they hung up in the temple of Athena in Aegina[7]. The beak became the regular token of the captured galley, as we shall see later[8]. It is worth mentioning that the roof of the Odeum at Athens was made from the masts and timbers of Persian ships[9].

The great struggle in Sicily between Carthaginian and Greek left, as might have been expected, many traces. Amongst them are the spoils which Pausanias declares to have been dedicated by Gelo and the Syracusans for some victory gained by sea or land[10]: three linen corselets, doubtless

"Ελληνες ἐόντες, μὴ ἀναγκασθέντες,... τούτους δεκατεῦσαι τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ. Lycurg. *Leocr.* 193, Diod. xi. 3. 29, Polyb. ix. 39. 5, Xen. *Hell.* vi. 3. 20. I see no reason why the word should not mean what it says, although Stengel (in Pauly) and others take it to mean devastation of the whole race.

[1] Strabo vi. 257.

[2] Arist. *ap.* Plut. *Thes.* 16.

[3] Herod. v. 77 τῶν λύτρων τὴν δεκάτην.

[4] Xen. *Hell.* iii. 3. 31, iv. 3. 21; cp. Dem. *Timocr.* 741 ἀποστερῶν τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων πολεμίων δεκάτας...ἐν ἀκροπόλει τὰ ἀριστεῖα τῆς πόλεως, ἃ ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων.

[5] Lys. *Polystr.* 686 ἐληιζόμην καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους κακῶς ἐποίουν, ὥστε τῇ θεῷ τὰς δεκάτας ἐξαιρεθῆναι πλέον ἢ τριάκοντα μνᾶς.

[6] Paus. i. 40. 5 (Zeus).

[7] Herod. iii. 59 καπρίους ἐχουσέων τὰς πρῴρας.

[8] So in Rome, the column of Duilius, the Rostra, etc.

[9] Plut. *Pericles* 13.

[10] Paus. vi. 19. 7.

taken from the dead bodies of their foes. The spoils are generally assigned to the battle of Himera, B.C. 480; but we shall see cause to think that they really belong to an unknown victory of much earlier date[1]. A more interesting relic, from the battle of Cumae in 474, when Hiero defeated the Tyrrhenians and his victory was sung by Pindar himself[2], was found at Olympia. It is a bronze helmet, much battered, and inscribed in what appears to be a rude attempt at verse[3]. Two other articles of the same batch of spoils have been found, the remains doubtless of a larger sending.

In the early years of the fifth century an obscure war between the Phocians and the Thessalians seems to have given cause for votive offerings on both sides. The Phocians we know to have been victorious in one affair, when Tellias of Elis whitewashed six hundred men, who so struck terror into their adversaries that they slew no less than four thousand[4]. For their victory the Phocians sent half the captured shields to Delphi and half to Abae. The effect of the stratagem, though it was intended merely to help recognition, reminds us of Lord Dundonald, when in command of a crazy cockboat he kept the whole Biscay coast on a flutter. He once blacked the faces of his whole crew, including doctor and supernumeraries, and launched upon the deck of a Spanish ship of war every man who had legs to walk; before the enemy discovered that these yelling monsters were not devils, the Englishmen had won the ship.

When we come to the Persian Wars, there is some confusion in the accounts of thank-offerings on the Greek side, because Marathon came later to overshadow all other victories in the popular imagination. Whether because this victory was won without any outside help save the Plataeans, or for whatever reason, votive offerings were attracted to it as jokes to Sydney Smith, or Psalms to King David[5]. There are a number of bronze weapons in the Acropolis Museum at Athens, which

[1] See below, p. 123.

[2] Pind. *Pyth.* i. 137 and Scholiast.

[3] *CIG* 16, *IGA* 510, etc. Ἱάρων ὁ Δεινομένεος καὶ τοὶ Συρακόσιοι τῶι Δὶ Τυράν' ἀπὸ Κύμας. *Cat. Br. Mus. Br.* 250.

[4] Herod. viii. 27.

[5] See on this subject the judicious remarks of Brunn, *Gesch. der gr. Künstler*, i. 162; and Paus. i. 14. 5.

must be earlier than 480, and may well have come from Marathon; but there is nothing to prove it[1]. Amongst them are helmets, one inscribed to Athena[2]; shields, but not all these have had to do with war[3]; heads and butts of lances, some inscribed with Athena's name[4]; and swords[5]. Plutarch records[6] that one Lycomedes, who captured the first prize at Artemisium, dedicated the ensign or figurehead of this ship to Apollo Daphnephoros at Athens. After Salamis, the Greeks in general dedicated amongst other things three Phoenician triremes: one at the Isthmus, which Herodotus saw; one at Sunium; and one to Ajax at Salamis[7]. The Athenians consecrated in the Erechtheum Masistius' golden cuirass and the sword of Mardonius[8]. In 447 Tolmides led a rash expedition into Boeotia to quell a rising of exiles, and was slain: the Thebans afterwards erected a trophy on Mount Helicon to Athena Itonia[9].

All these may be regarded as public offerings; but there are not wanting private ones from the same period. Themistocles, we learn, sent a part of his own spoils to Delphi; but the Pythia told him to take them home again. It is hard to say why Apollo, after accepting so many treasures of the vile barbarians, should boggle at this; unless the sender found means himself to procure the answer. The explanation suggested by Pausanias, that the god knew Themistocles would end his days in Persia, and did not wish to make the Persian king hate him, does credit to someone's ingenuity. Perhaps

[1] De Ridder, *Catalogue des Bronzes trouvés sur l'Acropole d'Athènes*. The letter M seen on some of them is not at all likely to be the first letter of the Median name, as some have imagined (*JHS* xiii. 53); it is doubtless, like other letters of the alphabet, placed there as the ticket of a shelf or division. No. 307 in de Ridder has M, with 'Αθηναίας beneath; 308 and 309 have A. For other examples of letters so used see 283, 284, 289, 290. Compare chapter xiii.

[2] *Cat.* 252 'Αθηναίαι.

[3] *Cat.* 263 mentions several fragments of large shields. For the baker-woman's shield, which belonged to a statuette of Athena, see above, p. 90.

[4] *Cat.* 266 ff., 282 'Αθηναίαι, 287 'Αθηναίας.

[5] *Cat.* 316 ff.

[6] Plut. *Themistocles* 15 τὰ παράσημα περικόψας; cp. Herod. viii. 11.

[7] Herod. viii. 121.

[8] Herod. ix. 20—24; Paus. i. 27. 1.

[9] Paus. i. 27. 4; Plut. *Agesilaus* 19; Thuc. i. 103, 108, 113.

it was an afterthought of the oracle[1]. An Athenian Callias also sent thither a horse, which he had taken in the Persian Wars[2]. Sailors dedicate prize arms to Leto[3].

After the Eurymedon (469), the southern wall of the Acropolis of Athens was built with the proceeds of the spoils[4]; and Cimon, we are told, adorned this wall with "the spoils of Mycale and the rebellious islands[5]." The Athenians sent also a tithe of these to Delphi[6].

Other dedications of arms are of less certain date. At Dodona[7] a bronze tablet was found, bearing a legend which declares it to belong to Peloponnesian spoils. The shapes of the letters suggest that it dates from the middle of the fifth century; it has consequently been assigned to the great sea-fight off Aegina in 460, where the Corinthians, Epidaurians, and Aeginetans were defeated[8]. The arms named on the much-talked-of Colonnade of the Athenians at Delphi may have come from the same battle[9]. After the sack of Thurii, the Tarentines appear to have sent captured arms to Olympia. There three spearheads were found, inscribed as spoils from Thurii[10]. Arms taken from the Spartans by the Methoneans, and found in the same place, are ascribed by Ziemann[11] to the period 440—420.

[1] Paus. x. 14. 5, 6, who gives the words of the oracle.

[2] Paus. x. 18. 1.

[3] Simonides 134 (Bergk); Plutarch, *De Herod. Mal.* 39; *Anth. Pal.* vi. 215.

[4] Plut. *Cimon* 13; see Frazer on Paus. i. 28. 3.

[5] Plut. *Cimon* 2.

[6] Diod. xi. 62 *ὁ δὲ δῆμος τῶν Ἀθηναίων, δεκάτην ἐξελόμενος ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων, ἀνέθηκε τῷ θεῷ, καὶ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἐπὶ τὸ κατασκευασθὲν ἀνάθημα ἐπέγραψε τήνδε· ἐξ οὗ γ' Εὐρώπην Ἀσίας δίχα πόντος ἔνειμε, καὶ πόλιας θνητῶν θοῦρος Ἄρης ἐπέχει, οὐδέν πω τοιοῦτον ἐπιχθονίων γένετ' ἀνδρῶν ἔργον ἐν ἠπείρῳ καὶ κατὰ πόντον ἅμα. οἵδε γὰρ ἐν γαίῃ Μήδων πολλοὺς ὀλέσαντες, Φοινίκων ἑκατὸν ναῦς ἕλον ἐν πελάγει, ἀνδρῶν πληθούσας, μέγα δ' ἔστενεν Ἀσὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν πληγεῖσ' ἀμφοτέραις χερσί, κράτει πολέμου.* I take *γαίῃ Μήδων* for *Κύπρῳ Μήδους* from Aristides iii. p. 260.

[7] Carapanos, *Dodone et ses ruines*, p. 47, pl. xxvi. 2; *IGA* 5 *Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Πελοποννησίων ναυμαχίαι νικήσαντες ἀνέθεσαν.* Phormio's victories, which have been suggested (*BCH* v. 18), are too late for the script.

[8] Thuc. i. 105; *JHS* i. 107. A list of the fallen is given in *CIA* i. 433.

[9] *IGA* 3 *a*, p. 169. See below, p. 107[1].

[10] *IGA* 548 *σκῦλα ἀπὸ Θουρίων Ταραντῖνοι ἀνέθηκαν Διὶ Ὀλυμπίωι.*

Cp. also Hicks, *Gr. Hist. Inscr.* 321. 163; Collitz iii. 4615. See Strabo vi. 264.

[11] *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

Phormio, after his brilliant victories in the Gulf of Corinth (429), seems to have dedicated a quantity of arms at Delphi[1], and the Peloponnesians on their part offered a prize-ship in Poseidon's temple at Rhium not far from the battle-scene[2]. The signal success of Demosthenes over the Ambraciots in 426 secured an immense booty. The general's own share of the spoils was no fewer than three hundred panoplies, which were dedicated in the Athenian temples[3]. The shields of the Spartans captured at Sphacteria (425) were hung in the Painted Colonnade[4]. By their side were afterwards hung the shields of the Scionaeans[5], when their revolt had been quelled in 423. When the Syracusans in 413 annihilated the Athenian army, they must have followed the usual custom; for in Plutarch's day we learn that a shield magnificently adorned was still shown in one of the Syracusan temples as that of Nicias[6].

Passing on to the fourth century, we first meet with a memorial of Iphicrates, who in 392 did a brilliant feat of arms by annihilating a Spartan regiment. It is natural to assign to this victory a gilt shield which he dedicated on the Acropolis[7]. After Leuctra (371), the Thebans hung up the Spartan shields which they had taken in the temple of Demeter at Thebes[8]. Timoleon's victory of the Crimesus (343) may have been commemorated by the offering of a two-horse car, if an inscription of the fourth century (which is sadly mutilated) be rightly restored[9]. We know there were war-wagons in the Carthaginian host, and that the victor dedicated the best of the spoils[10]. Be that how it might, there is record of a trophy set up by

[1] Paus. x. 11. 6. His mistake in attributing to him the Colonnade of the Athenians may be due to the fact that these arms were placed there.

[2] Thuc. ii. 92. 5. For the temple see Strabo, p. 335.

[3] Thuc. iii. 114.

[4] Paus. i. 15. 4; Arist. *Knights* 849.

[5] Thuc. iv. 120, v. 32; Paus. i. 15. 4.

[6] Plut. *Nicias* 28. He did not see it himself.

[7] *ἀσπὶς ἐπίχρυσος ἣν Ἰφικράτης ἀνέθηκεν*: *CIA* ii. 733[14], restored with the aid of 735.

[8] Paus. ix. 16. 3.

[9] *AM* xx. 483. The words *ἀπὸ Καρχηδονίων*, *τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι*, and *ζεῦγος ἔσταθι* are certain; but nothing remains of the name, restored as Timoleon, save the last two letters.

[10] Plut. *Timoleon* 27.

Mamercus tyrant of Catana, who making common cause with Carthage slew a body of Timoleon's mercenaries. He dedicated their shields, and proud of his poetic skill, himself composed the following epigram, worthy of the latter-day music halls[1]:

τάσδ' ὀστρειογραφεῖς καὶ χρυσελεφαντηλέκτρους
ἀσπίδας ἀσπιδίοις εἵλομεν εὐτελέσιν.

Alexander the Great, after the battle of the Granicus (334), sent to Athens three hundred suits of Persian mail; some of the shields were hung on the architrave of the Parthenon[2]. When he defeated Porus (326), he sent the royal elephant to the Temple of the Sun at Taxila[3]. It is doubtless a mere accident that we hear of no other spoils offered by this magnificent person, who was Greek of the Greeks in his religious practices, and spread Grecian customs over half Asia.

Greece now comes in contact with east and west, yet the practice of dedicating spoils continues. Shields of the Gaulish barbarians, after their repulse in 280, were dedicated at Delphi[4]. Pyrrhus, after his return from Rome, defeated Antigonus at the head of a mixt force of Gauls and Macedonians (274). The arms of the Gauls he offered to Athena Itonia at her temple between Pherae and Larissa; the Macedonian arms he sent to Dodona[5]. Some of the arms found at Dodona by M. Carapanos, and now in his private museum at Athens, may have been part of this offering. Pyrrhus also made a dedication to Zeus of the Waters at Dodona, for some victory gained over the Romans[6]. In 272 Pyrrhus was killed in the streets of Argos; and his shield was hung up in the temple of Demeter there[7]. Demetrius Poliorcetes also sent shields to Delphi[8].

Foreign potentates followed the same fashion. The long

[1] Plut. *Timoleon* 31.

[2] Plut. *Alexander* 16; Arrian, *Hist. An.* i. 16. 7: Ἀλέξανδρος Φιλίππου καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικούντων.

[3] Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.* ii. 12.

[4] Paus. x. 19. 4.

[5] Paus. i. 13. 2, where the inscriptions are given; Plut. *Pyrrhus* 26; *Anth. Pal.* vi. 130. It should be noted that Athena Itonia was invoked by the Thessalians in this battle, Paus. x. 1. 10.

[6] Νάϊος: the inscr. in Hicks, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 162; Collitz ii. 1368.

[7] Paus. ii. 21. 4.

[8] Plut. *Demetrius* 13.

struggle between kings of Pergamus and the Gauls seems to have been specially commemorated by Attalus II in his own name and his predecessors'; and in the splendid memorial pile built for this purpose, the Gallic spoils were displayed[1]. No tribe so obscure that it did not follow this custom[2]. So Mummius, after the custom which also prevailed in his own country, but himself the first Roman to dedicate war-spoils in a Grecian temple, sent to Olympia a number of the shields captured at Corinth (146)[3].

The ancient caves of Crete contained, as I have said, arms of offence and defensive armour[4]. In the great sanctuaries of Delphi, Olympia, and Dodona, at Athens, and elsewhere weapons of war have been amongst the finds. At Olympia a large number of bronze shields were found, most of them entire[5]. Sometimes it is possible, as in the case of Hiero's helmet, to identify them; more often they are without inscriptions, or if inscribed, give no clue to the dedicator. We have, for example, inscribed spear-heads from Olympia[6], and one from the Peloponnese bearing what is clearly a private dedication[7]. Spear-heads and lance-butts from the Acropolis of Athens have been mentioned already[8]; in the same place were found bronze arrow-heads, though none inscribed[9]. At Athens were also found swords, knives, an axe-head, and helmets[10]; at Olympia shields, greaves and corselets, the last engraved with scenes in the geometric style[11]. A helmet once actually used in war, and dedicated by the Argives, is now in the British Museum[12]; another very old helmet, found in the Alpheus, is inscribed of Zeus[13]. Yet another, found in South

[1] Paus. i. 4. 6. See below for the other offerings, p. 122, 132.

[2] Paus. vi. 19. 4, the Myanians. So the Arvernians hang a captured sword in a temple: Plut. *Caes.* 26.

[3] Paus. v. 10. 5.

[4] Above, p. 101.

[5] *Bronzen von Ol.* p. 6.

[6] *IGA* 565 Ὀλυνπίου Διός; shield 33 τἀργεῖοι ἀνέθεν.

[7] *IGA* 564 Θεόδωρος ἀνέθηκε βασιλεῖ; cp. *IGS* 2735.

[8] *Cat. Bronzes* 282, 287, 298, 307. Thucydides speaks of σκῦλα Μηδικὰ on the Acropolis, ii. 13.

[9] *Cat.* 310.

[10] *Cat.* 310, 336, 319, 252.

[11] *Bronzen von Ol.* lviii—lx.

[12] τἀργεῖοι ἀνέθεν, *JHS* ii. 67.

[13] *JHS* ii. 68, plate xi.; *IGA* 123 Ζηνὸς Ὀλυνπίου.

Italy, is dedicated to Persephone[1]. Shields, bow, and quiver appear in the Delian treasure-lists; but it is doubtful whether the bow and quiver were not models in the precious metals[2]. In Delos was also a Heracleote bow and quiver, inlaid with gold[3], an iron spear[4], helmets, one being silvered, cavalry swords and sheaths, an *ἐχίνη στρατιωτικὴ* (be that what it may)[5], a ship's beak and anchors[6]. A spear-head was found at Acraephia (Boeotia) dedicated to Apollo[7]. Iron lance-heads have been found at Orchomenus[8], and there was a Sarmatian corselet in the Asclepieum at Athens[9]. A cuirass, said to have come from Epidaurus, is inscribed to Zeus Cronion[10]. To the same class we must assign a marble base found at Delos, which once bore a four-horse chariot dedicated to Apollo "from the spoils[11]." Perhaps the tithe offered to Athena at Megara by a company of persons, whose names have been lost, was a private dedication[12].

Scanning the Athenian lists[13] we see in the Hecatompedos shields[14], missiles of many kinds[15], spears[16], breast-plates[17], helmets[18], swords and cavalry sabres[19], greaves[20], horse-trappings[21], and a panoply[22]. A spear-stump occurs in the fragmentary Eleusinian list[23]. It is not certain that all were votive, although most were so.

[1] *IGA* 538 Πηριφόναι **ἀνέθηκέ** με Ξεναγέτας.

[2] *BCH* ii. 325 **τόξον σκυθικὸν** καὶ φαρέτραν: θυρεὸν πεζικόν (long round shield); another is said to be gilt, and was therefore no doubt a real shield.

[3] *BCH* vi. 32 φαρέτρα Ἡρακλεωτικὴ χρυσοποίκιλτος τόξον ἔχουσα.

[4] *BCH* vi. 47, line 171: δόρυ σιδηροῦν.

[5] *BCH* vi. p. 130 κῶνος, περικεφαλαία σιδηρᾶ περιηργυρωμένη, μάχαιρα ἱππική, κολεὸν μαχαίρας ἱππικῆς, ἀκροστόλιον.

[6] *BCH* vi. p. 47 νεὼς ἔμβολον.

[7] *IGS* i. 2735 τῶ Πτωϊεῖος ἰαρόν.

[8] *BCH* xix. 208.

[9] Paus. i. 21. 5.

[10] *RM* iv. 71 **ἀνέθηκε** Δὶ Κρονίωνι (early 5th cent.). This is the only dedication to Zeus Cronion I have met with.

[11] *BCH* iii. 471 Πεισίστρατος Ἀριστολόχου Ῥόδιος ναυαρχήσας καὶ τοὶ συστρατευόμενοι **ἀπὸ** τῶν λαφύρων Ἀπόλλωνι.

[12] *IGS* i. 37 τοίδ' ἀπὸ λαίας τὰν δεκάταν ἀνέθηκαν Ἀθάναι, archaic.

[13] *CIA* i. 117—175.

[14] ἀσπίς, πέλτη.

[15] βέλος, βέλη καταπαλτῶν, βελῶν τοξικῶν ἀκίδες.

[16] δόρυ, δοράτιον.

[17] θώραξ.

[18] κράνος, κράνος ὠμοβοϊνόν, κρανίδιον, κυνῆ.

[19] μάχαιρα, μ. ἱππική, ξιφομάχαιρα.

[20] κνημίς.

[21] κεκρύφαλος ἱππικός.

[22] πανοπλία.

[23] *CIA* ii. 682 *c*, iv. 225 *f*, 225 *b* στυράκιον δόρατος.

Thus we have a continuous tradition of the dedication of foemen's arms from the heroic age down to the loss of Greek independence; and it would be easy to trace it further. Less commonly heard of is another custom, by which the victor dedicates the arms which helped him to win the victory; or the old warrior no longer fit for the fight, his outworn weapons of war. The thought seems to us so natural, and is indeed so frequently exemplified in later days, that we are surprised at first in meeting with so little evidence before the days of Alexander the Great. Perhaps rightly considered it involves a self-consciousness not suited to earlier and more simple times. Simonides gave it the noblest expression, and he could hardly have been drawing on his imagination when he wrote[1]—

τόξα τάδε πτολέμοιο πεπαυμένα δακρυόεντος
νηῷ Ἀθηναίης κεῖται ὑπωρόφια,
πολλάκι δὴ στονόεντα κατὰ κλόνον ἐν δαΐ φωτῶν
Περσῶν ἱππομάχων αἵματι λουσάμενα.

Meleager elaborated the same thought from another side, in the lines[2]—

τίς τάδε μοι θνητῶν τὰ περὶ θριγκοῖσιν ἀνῆψεν
σκῦλα, παναισχίστην τέρψιν Ἐνυαλίου;
οὔτε γὰρ αἰγανέαι περιαγέες οὔτε τι πήληξ
ἄλλοφος οὔτε φόνῳ χρανθὲν ἄρηρε σάκος·
ἀλλ' αὔτως γανόωντα καὶ ἀστυφέλικτα σιδάρῳ,
οἷά περ οὐκ ἐνοπᾶς, ἀλλὰ χορῶν ἔναρα.
οἷς θάλαμον κοσμεῖτε γαμήλιον· ὅπλα δὲ λύθρῳ
λειβόμενα βροτέῳ σηκὸς Ἄρηος ἔχοι.

But there are indications that the custom was not unknown in very early times. I say nothing of the weapons of Homeric heroes, for they were no doubt spurious, and in any case the dedicator generally remains unknown[3]. But Aristomenes the Messenian, who had lost his shield in the victory he gained

[1] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 2.
[2] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 163.
[3] See below, chapter x.

single-handed over a Spartan regiment, on recovering it dedicated it to Trophonius at Lebadea[1]. Simonides celebrates a spear grown old in warfare[2]; and Anyte, if we may venture to suppose this fine poetess to belong to an earlier age than the third century, may also be brought in evidence[3]. The story of Cimon and the bridle, already related[4], points in the same direction. Herodotus mentions that King Nekôs, after taking Cadytis, dedicated to Apollo at Branchidae the costume he wore on that occasion[5]. There is a spear-head from Sicyon, with the inscription Σεκυωνίων upon it in very ancient letters, which if dedicated must belong to this class[6]. But these few examples exhaust the list of those recorded before the fourth century.

From the fourth century come a few more. The shield of Asopichus, a friend of Epameinondas, who did brave deeds, was dedicated in Delphi, but by whom does not appear[7]. Alexander the Great seems to have been struck by the idea, and on visiting Troy he left his armour there in the temple, taking thence in exchange some which was reputed to have belonged to heroes of the great siege[8]; a sacred shield was afterwards carried before him when he went to battle[9]. If we may draw an inference from this, and from the cuirass and spear which he dedicated to Asclepius in the Arcadian Gortys, he may have shed his arms frequently as he marched along his conquering way[10]. His example was followed by his namesake the son

[1] Paus. iv. 16. 7. This partakes also of the class of spoils.

[2] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 52.

[3] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 123.

[4] Plut. *Cimon* 5; above, p. 70.

[5] Herod. ii. 159 ἐσθής. Cp. Paus. i. 21. 7 "linen corselets may be seen dedicated in various sanctuaries, particularly at Gryneum (to Apollo)." They are worn by Homeric heroes (*Il.* ii. 529), by Persians (Xen. *Cyrop.* vi. 4. 2), and are mentioned in the armoury of Alcaeus (frag. 15). See Frazer on Paus. *l.c.*

[6] *IGA* 27 *a*, p. 171.

[7] Theopompus *ap.* Ath. xiii. 605 A θαυμαστῶς αὐτὸν κινδυνεύειν· ἀνακεῖσθαι δὲ τὴν ἀσπίδα ταύτην ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐν τῇ στοᾷ. The word ἀνακεῖσθαι is so loosely used in this age that it may mean nothing more than preservation as a curiosity.

[8] Arrian, *Anab. Alex.* i. 11.

[9] *Ib.* ii. 9.

[10] Paus. viii. 28. 1. The epigram *Anth. P.* vi. 97 professes to be inspired by an inscribed spear dedicated by Alexander somewhere to Artemis, which he vowed in the fight, and 128 has a shield under the same name.

of Polyperchron, whose panoply is attested by an inscription[1] to have been once on the Acropolis of Athens. A barbarian, probably in the fourth century, dedicated his helmet at Olympia[2]. On the same principle, the shield of Leocritus, who was the first to leap into the Museum at Athens, and fell gloriously, when Olympiodorus drove out thence the Macedonian garrison in 288, was inscribed with his name and deed and dedicated to Zeus Eleutherios[3]. So also Cydias the Athenian, who distinguisht himself in the repulse of the Gauls from Delphi (280), was honoured in like manner[4]. Lastly, in the Roman age, Flamininus, after his defeat of Philip in 197, sent his own shield inscribed to Delphi[5]. So another Roman, perhaps one who fought against Mithradates, dedicated his shield "to the gods" at Syme[6]. An impious offering was that of Alexander tyrant of Pherae, who dedicated the spear which he used to murder his own uncle Polyphron, about the year 370[7]. He was wont in fact to wreathe it about with garlands, and to worship it as a god.

In the *Anthology* we meet with the principle of dedicating tools which were to be used no longer, under many forms; but examples of weapons are not many. In a daring epigram Mnasalcas (about 200 B.C.) imitates his master Simonides, and just overshoots the sublime[8]:

> σοὶ μὲν καμπύλα τόξα καὶ ἰοχέαιρα φαρέτρα,
> δῶρα παρὰ Προμάχου, Φοῖβε, τάδε κρέμαται·
> ἰοὺς δὲ πτερόεντας ἀνὰ κλόνον ἄνδρες ἔχουσιν
> ἐν κραδίαις, ὀλοὰ ξείνια δυσμενέων.

Paulus Silentiarius makes his Lysimachus dedicate shield,

[1] *CIA* ii. 723 πανοπλία ἣν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Πολυπέρχοντος ἀνέθηκεν.

[2] *Inschr. von Ol.* 695 Φέρζαν Γράβωνος· Φέρζαντός εἰμι.

[3] Paus. i. 26. 2.

[4] Paus. x. 21. 5.

[5] Plut. *Flamin.* 12 (Dioscuri). King Arthur dedicates his sword in a church: Malory, *Morte* 14.

[6] *IGI* iii. 7.

[7] Plut. *Pelopidas* 29.

[8] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 9. Compare 91. This very epigram is imitated and overshot in another, no. 326, which is mere bathos.

spear, and cuirass to Ares, when he is too old to fight more[1]; and his Nicagoras dedicates the battered remnants of a shield to Zeus[2]. Echecratidas the Cretan, in an epigram of Anyte which has all her simple strength, dedicates his spear to Athena[3]; Timanor to Pallas the shield which has protected him in many battles[4]. The very war-trumpets come in for their turn[5]. A whole armoury is offered in two other epigrams, one of which is of a degraded style, a vulgar slang, giving only single syllables for whole words[6]. The votive epigram here becomes the means of breaking a paltry jest. But the lowest level is reached in that which celebrates the lover's triumph over Sochares the Cynic, whom he had captivated, and now dedicates over the lintel his staff, slippers and flask, and his wallet stuft full of wisdom[7].

Occasionally an offering was specially made in a shape which had direct reference to the spoils of war. Gilded shields have been mentioned already; but sometimes shields were made all of silver or gold, and hung up to adorn the temples. There were golden shields hung on the architrave of the Delphic temple, which Pausanias assigns to Marathon[8], but if Aeschines[9] be right in telling us that they were inscribed as spoils of the Medes and Thebans together, they must belong to Plataea. In 457 the Lacedaemonians defeated the Athenians at Tanagra, and in memory of the fight they sent a golden shield to Olympia, where it was hung on the gable just under the statue of Victory[10]. Flamininus sent silver targets to

[1] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 81.

[2] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 84.

[3] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 123, cp. 122.

[4] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 124, cp. 141, 264.

[5] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 159 *σάλπιγξ*: cp. 151, 195, *αὐλός*.

[6] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 85, 86. In the former we have *τὸν θῶ, καὶ τὰς κνῆ, τάν τ' ἀσπίδα, καὶ δόρυ, καὶ κρᾶ*.

[7] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 293, cp. 298.

[8] Paus. x. 19. 5.

[9] Aesch. *Ctes.* 409 *τὰς χρυσᾶς ἀσπίδας ἀνέθεμεν... καὶ ἐπεγράψαμεν, Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Μήδων καὶ Θηβαίων, ὅτε τἀναντία τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐμάχοντο*; see Brunn, *Geschichte der griechischen Künstler*, 163.

[10] Paus. v. 10. 4 *ναὸς μὲν φιάλαν χρυσέαν ἔχει, ἐκ δὲ Τανάγρας τοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι συμμαχία τ' ἀνέθεν δῶρον ἀπ' Ἀργείων καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἰώνων, τὰν δεκάταν νίκας εἵνεκα τῶ πολέμω*. The shield stood on a block, which was fixt on the top of the gable. Three bits of it have been found, bearing parts of each line: Olympia, *Ergebnisse*, *Die Inschriften*, no. 253. They agree with Pausanias, except in giving *τοῦ* instead

Delphi[1]. A marble model of a shield was dedicated by a general in Cos[2]; others in Camirus[3].

On the same principle a four-horse chariot of bronze was made about the years 509—505. The Athenians had defeated a Boeotian force, and on the same day crossed over to Chalcis and gained a second victory. Several hundreds of prisoners were taken, and kept in chains; but these being afterwards ransomed, their chains were hung up on the Acropolis, and a tithe of the ransom money was used in preparing the chariot, whose base has been found on the spot. There remain a few fragments of the original inscription, which Herodotus (who tells the story) preserves complete[4]. Perhaps the chariot mentioned above[5] was also made, like this, for the purpose of dedicating.

Another offering of the same class is a group of horses and captive women, made by Ageladas in bronze, which was sent to Olympia by the Tarentines, as victors over the Messapians in a border war (473)[6]. Pausanias mentions "another tithe of the Tarentines, from the spoils of the barbarous Peucetians," sent to Delphi: being images of footmen and horsemen by Onatas, amongst them Opis king of the Iapygians who fought for the barbaric foe[7]. Some time before the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, the Athenian Knights won a victory which was commemorated by the statue of a horse, set up on the Acropolis. Their leaders were Lacedaemonius son of Cimon, who was

of the Doric τῶ. Pausanias speaks as though the inscr. were on the shield, as such often were; and perhaps the stone has a later copy made for some reason.

[1] Plut. *Flamininus* 12.

[2] Collitz iii. 3655 στραταγήσας θεοῖς =Paton and Hicks, *Inscr. of Cos*, 66, 67.

[3] *IGI* i. 701—3.

[4] Herod. v. 77 ἔθνεα Βοιωτῶν καὶ Χαλκιδέων δαμάσαντες παῖδες Ἀθηναίων ἔργμασιν ἐν πολέμου, δεσμῶι ἐν ἀχλυόεντι σιδηρέωι ἔσβεσαν ὕβριν· τῶν ἵππους δεκάτην Παλλάδι τάσδ' ἔθεσαν. Paus. i. 28. 2. The inscr. seems to have been re-cut in the Periclean age, and the first and third lines are transposed: *CIA* i. 334, iv. 1, p. 78, 334 *a*. Doubtless the monument was destroyed by Xerxes and afterwards restored with this change. This explanation is preferable to that of Hicks, *Gr. Hist. Inscr.* 27, who supposes the money voted for the dedication to have been first employed by Pericles about 445.

[5] Page 107.

[6] Paus. x. 10. 3. An inscription δεκάταν has been found on a supporting wall close to the spot where Pausanias saw it, which M. Homolle conjectures to have belonged to the Tarentine trophy: *BCH* xviii. 187.

[7] Paus. x. 13. 10.

killed at Potidaea in 429, Xenophon, and another[1]. It is not likely that the statues of men-at-arms, which are found in shrines, were meant for captives.

It is usually said that mock arms were sometimes made for soldiers to dedicate, but I have not found early evidence in support of this[2]. There was a thin shield found at Olympia, which the Argives dedicated, useless as it stands; but it may have been merely a bronze casing for a substantial frame[3]. The same must be said of the bronze casings from the Idaean Cave[4]. A terra-cotta lance-head in Olympia, if it really be meant for a lance-head, is unique[5]. Miniature models in the precious metals are not unknown. Lysander sent to Delphi a trireme of gold and silver, which Cyrus had given him in honour of Aegospotami[6], and there was another such at Delos[7]. Silver shields are known at Athens and Delos[8]. Some of these shields were buttons or ornaments[9], but it is impossible to say that none were dedicated by soldiers. There have also been found at Olympia knives, axes, helmets, and shields[10], and at Delos lance-heads and arrow-heads[11]; shields, cuirasses, and axes in Crete and Lusi[12], small and of thin foil, which have no use and appear to have had no value. These are usually explained as soldiers' offerings, but as such they would be very mean. It is true that the Greeks were familiar with the idea of dedicating a valueless model, especially models of beasts[13], but also models of tripods[14]: it is therefore conceivable that a soldier might have dedicated such trifles as these. On the other hand, he ought to have given part of his spoil, if he won any; and the things would have no meaning as models of anything but spoil, his own arms.

[1] *CIA* iv. 1, p. 184, 418 *h*: *οἱ ἱππῆς ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἱππαρχούντων Λακεδαιμονίου Ξενοφῶντος Προν....*

[2] Pausanias says shields were hung in a gymnasium *θέας ἕνεκα καὶ οὐκ εἰς ἔργον πολέμου*, vi. 23. 7.

[3] *IGA* 33.

[4] Above, p. 101.

[5] *Bronzen von Ol.* 1041.

[6] Plut. *Lysander* 18.

[7] *BCH* vi.

[8] *ἀσπὶς ἀργυρᾶ*; see lists and *BCH* iii. 125.

[9] *ἀσπίδιον, ἀσπιδίσκη*; *ἀσπιδίσκαι ὀνύχιναι BCH* vi. 32.

[10] *Bronzen von Ol.* 520—27, 530, 1002—5, 1021.

[11] *AZ* xl 333.

[12] Below, ch. xiv.; *Mus. Ital.* ii. 712.

[13] Chapters viii., xiv.

[14] Below, p. 145, and chap. xiv.

for example. It is not likely that toys would be dedicated at Olympia or Delos, and some of them, the axes at any rate, are so old that they are not likely to have been toys; for such toys belong to a somewhat advanced stage of culture. I have another explanation to offer of these anon[1]; and am fain to leave the question open.

Choice prize, not arms only, was commonly dedicated. Sthenelus is said to have dedicated at Larissa a three-eyed Zeus, taken by him at the sack of Troy[2]. Pausanias saw in temples at Elis and Argos statues taken at the sack of Tiryns[3]. Croesus sent to Apollo of Branchidae spoils taken from "an enemy" who had plotted against him[4]. At Olympia stood a group of suppliant boys, taken by the Agrigentines out of the spoils of Motye, a "barbarian city" of Sicily[5]. Xerxes' silver-footed throne was placed on the Acropolis of Athens after Salamis[6]; and the Tegeans dedicated to their Athena Alea a bronze manger which they found in Mardonius' tent on the Plataean battle-field[7]. Callias sent a horse to Olympia as part of the spoil taken by himself in the Persian war[8]. After the sack of Thebes, Alexander consecrated to Apollo at Cyme a hanging lamp which Pliny describes[9]. The statue of the jumper which Pausanias saw at Olympia was dedicated by the Thracian Mende, at an unknown date, after the sack of Sipte, as firstfruits of the spoils[10]. Whether the "statues" (*ἀνδριάντες*) dedicated by the Liparians after conquering Tyrrhenian pirates[11] were part of the spoil, or part of a group of victors or vanquisht, does not appear; but we learn that they sent many remarkable tithes to Delphi from their perennial feud[12]. Perhaps the statue of Athena, sent to Delphi by the Achaeans after the sack of Phana in Aetolia, was part of the spoils of

[1] Below, chap. xiv.

[2] Paus. ii. 24. 3.

[3] Paus. viii. 46. 3.

[4] Herod. i. 92.

[5] Paus. v. 25. 5, with Frazer's note.

[6] Herod. ix. 20—24, Paus. i. 27. 1, Demosth. *Timocr.* 741; Harpocration *s.v.* *Ἀργυρόπεζα* says it was kept in the Parthenon.

[7] Herod. ix. 70 *φάτνη χαλκέη*. Called *ἀκροθίνια*, Herod. viii. 121.

[8] Paus. x. 18. 1.

[9] Pliny, *NH* xxxiv. 8. 14.

[10] Paus. v. 27. 12, inscribed.

[11] Paus. x. 11. 3.

[12] Diodorus v. 9.

war[1]. King Prusias II of Bithynia sent to Branchidae a number of articles which he seems to have taken in his sack of Pergamos (156)[2]. There is some reason to think that the veil of the temple at Jerusalem was dedicated at Olympia[3].

III. *Other Commemorative Offerings.*

It would be commonplace merely to dedicate to a god the money gained by selling his share of the booty, although such a gift doubtless had its charm for the recipients. Moreover this left no memorial, and was therefore unsatisfactory from the victor's point of view; hence Agesilaus stands almost alone in our records when he sends a hundred talents of gold to Delphi as the tithe of his Asian spoils[4]. Others may have done it, and the deed thought unworthy of record, especially if the sum were small. Votive coins indeed meet us by thousands in the treasure lists, but there is generally no clue to the occasion. It is however worth while to point out, that some of the magnificent Syracusan medallions bear on the exergue of the reverse a trophy of arms[5]: these then may have been struck out of military spoils, and in particular from the spoils of the Athenian army in 413. If the view be right that the panoply represents a prize in the games, yet these games were instituted to commemorate victories, and these very prizes may have been arms taken from the enemy.

But the tithe-proceeds usually went to procure some permanent offering. Sometimes the offering had value chiefly or wholly for itself, as the sacred couches made out of captured iron and bronze, and dedicated to Hera by the Lacedaemonians who had destroyed Plataea[6]. Sometimes the value lay in its meaning, as in the case of pictorial tablets. Usually there is something of both, as there is in the dedication of captured

[1] Paus. x. 18. 1.

[2] *CIG* 2855 *φιάλη...ἐκ τῆς ἀποστα-λείσης ἀπαρχῆς ὑπὸ βασιλέως Προυσίου.* Both he and his queen send other articles.

[3] Frazer, *Pausanias*, iii. p. 545.

[4] Plut. *Agesilaus* 9.

[5] Head, *Historia Numorum*, 154; Evans, *Syracusan Medallions*, 8, 142, etc. Victory crowns the charioteer on earlier coins of the required date (p. 153); they are usually interpreted as being connected with races.

[6] Thuc. iii. 68. There is more of propitiation than thank-offering here.

arms[1]. We shall take first those in which material value predominates, the others second.

1. *Buildings.* When the tithe was large enough, or the giver sufficiently grateful, a temple or shrine was often built; and a certain number of these buildings were ascribed by tradition to this origin. Thus Heracles, after conquering Hippocrates and his sons, is said to have built a shrine to Athena Axiopoina and Hera Aigophagos[2]; after conquering Elis, another to Apollo Pythian in Arcadia[3]; and a third to Delphian Apollo, after conquering Phylas and the Dryopes[4]. Theseus followed his example after he had vanquisht Asterion, son of Minos, in Crete, by dedicating a temple to Athena the Saviour[5]. Where the Amazons ceased their forward march, near the town of Pyrrhichus in Laconia, a temple was built to Artemis of the War-host[6].

Similar traditions, which may be true, but there is nothing to prove it, come from the borderland between history and fable. When the Dorians swarmed into the Peloponnese, they commemorated a victory near Sparta over the Achaeans and Amyclaeans by founding a temple to Zeus of the Rout[7]. In historical times Solon built a temple to Ares after taking Salamis[8]. We have also the temple of Artemis of Good Fame at Athens, built from the spoils of the Medes[9]; and the shrine of Pan in the cave on the Acropolis. It will be remembered that as Pheidippides the runner was sent to Sparta to appeal for help against the invader, Pan is said to have appeared in his path, upbraiding the Athenians for their neglect, in spite of many good deeds done them in the past, and more which he promised for the future. When the battle of Marathon was won, the runner's tale was remembered; and "the shrine of Pan was founded beneath the Acropolis," where the Athenians henceforth honoured him with yearly sacrifices

[1] The victor's arms belong to the second class.

[2] Paus. iii. 15. 6, 9.

[3] Paus. viii. 15. 5.

[4] Paus. iv. 34. 6.

[5] Paus. ii. 31. 1.

[6] Paus. iii. 25. 2 *Ἀστράτεια.*

[7] Paus. iii. 12. 9 *τρόπαιος.*

[8] Plut. *Solon* 9.

[9] Paus. i. 14. 5; Plut. *Aristides* 20; *CIG* 467.

and a torch-race[1]. At Salamis, a serpent appeared among the ships, and was interpreted to be the hero Cychreus; accordingly after the battle the Athenians erected a shrine to Cychreus, and a trophy of the battle, on that island[2]. Themistocles built in Melite a shrine to Artemis of Good Counsel[3], and one at Peiraeus to Aphrodite[4]. The temple of Athena Areia at Plataea was rebuilt and refurnisht with eighty talents, which the Plataeans had received as the prize of valour at the battle of 479[5]. The Athenians erected a shrine by the Ilissus to Boreas, because he blew with his wind, and the ships of the Persians were scattered[6]. We have also temples erected from the spoils of the Carthaginians at Himera, to Demeter and the Maid, two at Syracuse and one at Etna[7]. The great temple and image of Zeus at Olympia are said by Pausanias[8] to have been built from the spoils of Pisa, which was destroyed by Elis in the sixth century; but a variety of considerations[9] go to fix the date of this temple between 480 and 457: if, as seems likely enough, war spoils did give the occasion and the means for building it, they probably came from a later war, perhaps that mentioned by Herodotus and Strabo[10]. The beautiful temple of Wingless Victory on the Acropolis of Athens must commemorate some feat of arms; it cannot commemorate the capture of Sphacteria (425) and the Peace of Nicias, since the decree which directs the building of it goes to prove that the temple is older than the Propylaea, and it must belong to some earlier battle, Oenophyta for instance, or Oenoe[11].

The tithe of spoils won by Xenophon's army of Greeks was allotted to Apollo and Ephesian Artemis, each general taking a portion of it into his charge. What Xenophon did with

[1] Herod. vi. 105 *ἱδρύσαντο ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλι Πανὸς ἱρόν*; Paus. i. 28. 4, with Frazer's note.

[2] Paus. i. 36. 1.

[3] Plut. *Themistocles* 22 *ἀριστοβούλη*. His own statue was in it.

[4] Schol. on Hermogenes (Walz, *Rhetores Graeci*, vi. 393), quoting Ammonius. An inscr. of Roman date probably alludes to this shrine, but says it was dedicated before the battle. This is unlikely; but see Frazer on Pausanias i. 1. 3.

[5] Plut. *Aristides* 20.

[6] Herod. vii. 189.

[7] Diodorus xi. 36.

[8] Paus. v. 10. 1.

[9] Summarized by Frazer in his note on Pausanias v. 10. 2.

[10] Herod. iv. 148, Strabo viii. p. 355.

[11] Hiller von Gärtringen, *Arch. Anz.* xiii. 124 ff., *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1897, 177.

Apollo's share he does not state; it was not used for a temple[1]. But the share of the goddess he took with him to Greece, and at Scyllus bought with it a plot of ground upon which he built a temple, which, to compare small with great, was as like as possible to the Ephesian, with a grove about it, and there held annual feasts[2].

Conon, after defeating the Persian fleet at Cnidus (394), dedicated a temple to Zeus the Saviour at Athens[3], and one to Aphrodite at Peiraeus beside the sea[4]. This was probably Aphrodite of the Fair Voyage, under which title she was worshipt at Cnidus. In some feud between Elis and Arcadia, the Eleans founded a temple of Eileithyia and Sosipolis at Olympia[5], and in Elis a shrine to Sosipolis alone[6]. For material magnificence probably no votive shrine could vie with those which commemorated the victories of the kings of Pergamus over the Gauls[7]. Eumenes II (197—159), we learn from Strabo[8], adorned the city and temples in many ways, and offered up thank-offerings for his successes; while

[1] Xen. *Anab.* v. 3. 5 *ἀνάθημα ποιησάμενος ἀνατίθησιν εἰς τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων θησαυρόν.*

[2] Xen. *Anab.* v. 3. 11 *ἔνι δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ χώρῳ καὶ λειμὼν καὶ ἄλση καὶ ὄρη δένδρων μεστά, ἱκανὰ καὶ σῦς καὶ αἶγας καὶ βοῦς τρέφειν καὶ ἵππους, ὥστε καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐς τὴν ἑορτὴν ἰόντων ὑποζύγια εὐωχεῖσθαι. περὶ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν ναὸν ἄλσος ἡμέρων δένδρων ἐφυτεύθη ὅσα ἐστὶ τρωκτὰ ὡραῖα. ὁ δὲ ναὸς ὡς μικρὸς μεγάλῳ τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ εἴκασται, καὶ τὸ ξόανον ἔοικεν ὡς κυπαρίσσινον χρυσῷ ὄντι τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. καὶ στήλη ἕστηκε παρὰ τὸν ναὸν γράμματα ἔχουσα· Ἱερὸς ὁ χῶρος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος. τὸν ἔχοντα καὶ καρπούμενον τὴν μὲν δεκάτην καταθύειν ἑκάστου ἔτους. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ περιττοῦ τὸν ναὸν ἐπισκευάζειν. ἂν δέ τις μὴ ποιῇ ταῦτα τῇ θεῷ μελήσει.* A pious person of Ithaca, emulous of Xenophon, dedicated a like precinct in his native isle, with the same inscription: *IGS* iii. 1. 654 (2nd cent. after Christ).

[3] Isocr. *Euagr.* 57.

[4] Paus. i. 1. 3. A dedication to *Ἀφροδίτη Εὐπλοία* has been found at the Peiraeus, *CIA* ii. 1206; and there was another temple of Aphrodite there, founded by Themistocles (above, p. 98). Aphrodite appears as guardian of seafarers in later times: see below, ch. v.

[5] Paus. vi. 20. 5. Sosipolis is a title, like Soter, here personified; it is applied to Zeus in Magnesia: Strabo xiv. p. 648.

[6] Paus. vi. 25. 4. Purgold (*Festschrift für E. Curtius z.* 70. *Geburtstag*, 1884, *Olympische Weihgeschenke*) assigns others to this date, amongst them the Hermes of Praxiteles, but without cogent reasons.

[7] See the records of the excavations; and Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, *s.v. Pergamon*, for references: Paus. i. 4. 6, 25. 2.

[8] Strabo, p. 624.

Attalus II seems to have commemorated his predecessors' victories as well as his own, according to the inscription discovered on the spot[1]. The temple of Athena was rebuilt, and a great altar was erected to Zeus; the temple was adorned by trophies of arms carved upon it, and the altar with the battle of gods and giants, a "heroic precedent." It remains to mention that after Actium (31), the Mantineans, who fought on Octavius' side, dedicated a temple to Aphrodite Symmachia[2]: this goddess being no doubt chosen because of the legendary connexion of Aeneas with Rome[3]. So, in modern times, after the repulse of the Turks from Rhodes in 1480, d'Aubusson built a chapel to Notre Dame de la Victoire, whose image is still in the Latin chapel at Rhodes[4].

A distinct class of votive buildings is formed by the Treasuries and Colonnades, which were erected at great national shrines. The Treasuries are cell-like buildings, much of a shape with temples but on a small scale, being a cella with a foreroom, opening through a couple of pillars between antae. The foundations of twelve have been found at Olympia[5]; Pausanias[6] mentions seven at Delphi, and there were besides five others, making the same total; at Delos again several are known to have existed[7]. These buildings were used as show-houses for the display of votive offerings. The first we can assign to a victory in war is the Megarian Treasury at Olympia, built with the spoils of some victory we cannot identify. Pausanias[8] gives it an absurdly high date, but the evidence of the remains is conclusive for the later part of the sixth century. To the gable was affixt a shield, which bore an inscription

[1] *βασιλεὺς Ἄτταλος βασιλέως Ἀττάλου Διὶ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶι νικηφόρωι χαριστήριον τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ἀγώνων*, quoted by Frazer; Baumeister, *Denkm.* 1222.

[2] Paus. viii. 9. 6. The list might be carried further, if it were my purpose to go down into Roman times. The latest I have met with is a shrine dedicated to Zeus by Jovianus, about 363 A.D., when he restored the pagan worship, *Ἑλλήνων τεμένη καὶ βωμοὺς ἐξαλαπάξας*: *IGS* iii. 1. 721.

[3] Should the Philippeum, built by Philip after Chaeronea, be added? Paus. v. 20. 10.

[4] Biliotti, *History of Rhodes*, p. 266.

[5] Pausanias mentions ten; but before his day two were destroyed.

[6] Paus. x. 11. 1 ff. *Θησαυροί.*

[7] *BCH* vi. 88 *Δηλίων οἶκος*, *Ναξίων οἶκος*; 158 *Ἀνδρίων οἶκος*; 178 *Πώρινος οἶκος.*

[8] Paus. vi. 19. 2.

telling that the building had been made from Corinthian spoils. Not much later is the Treasury built by the Syracusans, commonly called of Carthage. It contained a colossal image of Zeus and three linen corslets, which Pausanias declares to have been the offering of Gelo the Syracusan for some victory either by sea or land. The words of Pausanias are not clear to decide whether the Treasury itself was to be of the same dedication, but I think he did mean this, and that its common title, Treasury of the Carthaginians, refers to its origin[1]. The spoils are generally assigned to the battle of Himera (480), but this date is many years too late for the building. It is possible that both building and spoils were dedicated, as Pausanias says, by Gelo, after some victory we know nothing of, when he may have been in command though not yet tyrant; or it may be the spoils belong to Himera, and the building to this earlier victory, by whomsoever dedicated; or the treasury may have been dedicated by the Syracusans before Gelo came on the scene. Style of architecture and sculpture, and the alphabet used in the inscription, alike point to the years 510—500 at latest; and there are indications[2] that the cities of eastern Sicily did about that time wage a dire struggle with Carthage, in which they were victorious[3]. The Athenian Treasury at Delphi was built out of the spoils of Marathon[4], and on the metopes were carved the Battle of Gods and Giants, with the deeds of Heracles and Theseus[5]: clearly a heroic precedent like those of Pergamus. "Brasidas and the Acanthians" used the Athenian spoils to build another of these cells in the same place[6]. When the Athenian empire went to wreck in Sicily,

[1] For other views see Frazer's note on Paus. vi. 19. 7.

[2] See Herod. vii. 158.

[3] See Freeman's *Sicily* ii. 98, App. viii. pp. 478—9. The Treasury may be used as another argument in support of his suggestion.

[4] Paus. x. 11. 5. The remains of the inscription cannot be fitted in with his words: *BCH* xx. 608 Ἀθηναῖοι τωι Ἀπόλλωνι ἀπὸ Μήδων ἀκροθίνια τῆς Μαραθῶνι μάχης.

[5] See Frazer's note, and *BCH* xvii. 217 ff., 612, xviii. 169. A terrace next this building bears the inscription, which has been cut or re-cut in the third century, Ἀθηναῖοι τἀπόλλωνι ἀκροτίνια τῆς Μαραθῶνος: the explanation is unknown (Cecil Smith, in Frazer, *l.c.*).

[6] It contained a statue of Lysander. Plut. *Lysander* 1, *De Pythiae Oraculis* 14, 15; cp. Thuc. v. 10.

the Syracusans built their Treasury at Delphi (413)[1]. After the battle of Leuctra (371) the Theban Treasury was founded there also[1]. As to the other Treasuries, it is fair to conjecture that some of those whose origin is not attested were built from war-spoils. This is probable for the one which Cypselus, tyrant of Corinth in the seventh century, erected at Delphi[2], and for the Sicyonian Treasury there, which belongs to the early sixth century[3]. Others are mentioned, dedicated by Croesus and Gyges[4], by Massilia[5], and by the city of Spina on the Adriatic coast[6]. The Cnidian Treasury, in spite of Pausanias' statement, seems to have been built from a tithe of war[7].

Occasionally the victor preferred to build a colonnade from war-spoil. Thus the Spartans built in their own city what was called the Persian Colonnade, in which were statues of Mardonius, Queen Artemisia, and others, "from the Persian spoils[8]": statues of Persians in their barbaric dress supported the roof in place of pillars[9]. A colonnade of the Athenians at Delphi has given rise to much controversy[10]. The inscription, which is complete, still remains on the spot where it was placed[11]. The alphabet is puzzling, some of the letters pointing forward in time and some back. Röhl assigns it to the time of Peisistratus, U. Köhler to a victory won over the Aeginetans about 490; Pausanias again gives the victory to Phormio[12], which is impossible, not only from the antiquity of the script, but because Phormio's victories, though brilliant, were not considerable

[1] Paus. x. 11. 5.

[2] Herod. i. 14; Paus. x. 13. 5.

[3] *BCH* xviii. 187 ff.; Paus. x. 11. 1.

[4] Strabo ix. p. 471.

[5] Diodorus xiv. 93.

[6] Strabo v. p. 214, ix. p. 421; Pliny, *NH* iii. 120. The last reference I take from Frazer on Pausanias x. 13. 5.

[7] Paus. x. 11. 5; *BCH* xxii. 592 **Κνίδιοι ἀνέθηκαν** *τὸν θησαυρὸν καὶ τἀγάλματα* **Ἀπόλλωνι** *Πυθίωι δεκάταν* **ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων.**

[8] Paus. iii. 11. 3.

[9] Vitruvius i. 1. 6. So the bowl, adorned with Persian heads, which Ctesylis dedicated at Delphi (*BCH* vi. 152), would have been appropriate to the great war; but there is no reason for assuming any connexion.

[10] Hicks, *Gr. Hist. Inscr.* 20; Paus. x. 11. 6 with Frazer's note, where the rival theories are stated.

[11] *IGA* 3 *a*, p. 169: *Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνέθεσαν τὴν στοὰν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τἀκρωτήρια ἑλόντες τῶν πολεμίων.*

[12] Paus. x. 11. 6. Some of Phormio's spoils may have been added later, as I have suggested (p. 107[1]).

enough to have afforded so rich a booty. The probabilities are in favour of some victory between 490 and the mid-century, such as the sea-fight of Cecryphalea off Aegina in 460. Another colonnade, called Myropolis, was built by Aristodemus, who was tyrant of Megalopolis before the Achaean league, after defeating Acrotatus and his Lacedaemonian soldiers of fortune[1]. There was also a colonnade in Elis built from spoils of Corcyra[2]. Some kind of building appears to have been dedicated at Athens by the Tarentines during the period of their alliance (280—279), perhaps for the victory of Heraclea[3]. Colonnades were amongst the buildings erected by Attalus II[4].

To the same category belongs an altar which is connected with Plataea After the battle of 479, the united Greeks decreed exalted honours to the city, promising them eternal independence and protection[5]; and there they built an altar to Zeus Eleutherios[6], with an inscription by Simonides[7]. This is the only altar I have noticed as dedicated for a feat of war, until we come to the end of Greek history, when Mummius dedicates an altar to the gods at Thebes[8]. But perhaps the altar of the Chians at Delphi was one such[9]. The altar, however, was not an obvious offering nor a thing beautiful in itself; it was not necessarily built at all, and it was often made of the ashes of immemorial sacrifices[10].

2. *Divine statues.* An obvious dedicatory offering was the statue (*ἄγαλμα*) of the protecting deity, and examples are many[11]. Cypselus having vowed to dedicate the goods of the

[1] Paus. viii. 30. 7.

[2] Paus. vi. 25. 1.

[3] Hicks, *Gr. Hist. Inscr.* 163: *Ταραντῖνοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνέθεσαν.*

[4] Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, 1222: above, p. 122[1].

[5] Thuc. ii. 71.

[6] Plut. *Aristides* 19.

[7] *Anth. P.* vi. 50.

[8] Hicks, *Gr. Hist. Inscr.* 199. But altars were made to Peace and sacrifices offered after the peace of 374: Nepos, *Timotheus*, 2.

[9] Herod. ii. 135. The inscr. which has been found belongs to the fifth century: *Χῖοι Ἀπόλλωνι τὸν βωμόν. BCH* xx. 617.

[10] See Paus. v. 13. 8, 11, 14. 8, 10, 15. 9, ix. 11. 7. Also of unhewn stones vii. 22. 5; of unburnt brick vi. 20. 11.

[11] One statue, perhaps of Zeus, at Olympia, bore an inscr. unique in form: *ϝαλείων περὶ Ὁμονοίαϝ, Inschr. von Ol.* 260 (? cp. Paus. v. 24. 4).

Corinthians if he won Corinth, used the money to procure a golden Zeus which he sent to Delphi[1]. At the beginning of the second Messenian War (685—668) the Spartans are said to have dedicated a statue of Zeus which Pausanias saw at Olympia, thus inscribed:

δέξο, ϝάναξ Κρονίδα, Ζεῦ Ὀλύνπιε, καλὸν ἄγαλμα
ἱλήϝωι θυμῶι τοῖλ Λακεδαιμονίοις.

The base of this statue has been found, and is a useful proof of the uncertainty of these early traditions: the alphabet is of the sixth rather than the seventh century, and the inscription has even been claimed for the Messenian revolt of 464[2]. Some warlike feat must be commemorated by the great statues found on the Sacred Way in Branchidae, for nothing else surely could have so magnificent a tithe[3]. The oldest of many memorials of the great struggle between Carthaginian and Greek in Sicily, is an inscription of Selinus, which belongs to the middle of the sixth century; this appears to record a vow made before the fight, that when peace was made statues of gold should be erected to guardian deities; but the fragmentary state of it makes certainty impossible[4]. From the same struggle we have an Apollo dedicated by the Massaliots at Delphi, as the firstfruits of the sea-fight with the Carthaginians[5]. Gelo's thank-offering after Himera included a colossal

[1] Paus. v. 2. 3 and Frazer's note; Strabo viii. 353, 378; Plato, *Phaedrus* 236 E; Suidas and Photius *s.v.* Κυψελιδῶν ἀνάθημα.

[2] Paus. v. 24. 3; *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, no. 252; Röhl, *IGA*, no. 75.

[3] Newton, *Branchidae*, inscr. no. 66, p. 777: τὰ ἀγάλματα τάδε ἀνέθεσαν οἱ Πύθωνος παῖδες τοῦ ἀρχηγοῦ, Θαλῆς καὶ Πασικλῆς καὶ Ἡγήσανδρος καὶ Λύκιος καὶ Ἀναξίλεως, δεκάτην τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι. British Museum: assigned to the 6th century. See also 780, 781, nos. 67, 68.

[4] *IGSI* 268, *IGA* 515, Collitz iii. 3046. As restored, it runs thus: διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς τούσδε νικῶντι τοὶ Σελινούντιοι· διὰ τὸν Δία νικῶμες καὶ διὰ τὸν Φόβον καὶ διὰ Ἡρακλέα καὶ δι' Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ διὰ Ποτειδᾶνα καὶ διὰ Τυνδαρίδας καὶ δι' Ἀθανάαν καὶ διὰ Μαλοφόρον καὶ διὰ Πασικράτειαν καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἄλλους θεούς, διὰ δὲ Δία μάλιστα. φιλίας δὲ γενομένας ἐγ χρυσέωι ἐλάσαντας, τὰ δ' ὀνύματα ταῦτα κολάψαντας ἐς τὸ Ἀπολλώνιον καθθέμεν, τὸ Διὸς προγράψαντες· τὸ δὲ χρυσίον ἑξήκοντα ταλάντων εἶμεν. Hicks, *Gr. Hist. Inscr.* 25, assigns this to the fifth century, and the struggle between Selinus and Egesta.

[5] Paus. x. 18. 3.

Zeus[1]. There was a standing feud between Thessaly and Phocis; and when fortune looked with favour on the Thessalians, they dedicated a Zeus at Olympia[2]. The Lipari had much ado to protect themselves against Tyrrhenian pirates, and many a victory sent its tithe to Delphi[3]. Once the Pythia, it is said, told them to put to sea with as few ships as possible; they accordingly sent out a squadron of five. The Tyrrhenians, with more romantic pride than one would expect of pirates, thought shame to meet them with a larger number. The five pirates were defeated and taken, and a like fate befel three other squadrons of five ships each which followed. The victors then sent to Delphi an Apollo for each captured ship[4]. Miltiades, as we have seen, had special cause to be grateful to Pan; he consequently dedicates a statue of Pan, perhaps in the Acropolis cave, and Simonides writes him the epigram[5]. The famous bronze Athena Champion, which stood in front of the Parthenon, was said to have been made by Pheidias from the Marathonian tithe[6]; no doubt it was set up at the close of the Persian Wars[7], and called after Marathon by the loose convention already spoken of[8]. After Salamis, a colossal image of Apollo was erected at Delphi, and one of Zeus at Olympia, by the Greeks in common[9]. The tithe of Plataea was used to purchase two colossi: one of Poseidon to be placed on the Isthmus, its face set towards the rising sun; and one of Zeus for Olympia[10]. Another Zeus was given to the same place by the Argive Epidaurians, out of Median spoils[11]; and a third, this colossal, by the Clitorians as a "tithe from many cities[12]." Deliverance from a wandering horde of Mardonius's men was

[1] Paus. vi. 19. 7.

[2] Paus. v. 24. 1, x. 1. 3—11: the occasion is not known.

[3] Diod. v. 9, Strabo vi. 275.

[4] Paus. x. 16. 8.

[5] *Anth. App. Plan.* xvi. 232; Bergk, *Poetae Lyr. Gr.* iii. 1163.

[6] Paus. i. 28. 2 Πρόμαχος. The base is identified with *CIA* i. 333.

[7] So says expressly the Schol. on Aristides (iii. 320 Dind.).

[8] Demosthenes says it was an ἀριστεῖον paid by the Greeks; xix. p. 478. He is alone in this view and probably wrong.

[9] Paus. x. 14. 5.

[10] Herod. ix. 80; Paus. v. 23. 1, x. 13. 9.

[11] Paus. x. 15. 1.

[12] Paus. v. 23. 7. At Olympia was another Zeus, dedicated by the Eleans for their victory over Arcadia: Paus. vi. 24. 3. Another from the Psophidii, v. 24. 4.

the occasion for dedicating the Saviour Artemis at Megara[1]. Later, in 445, the Megarians revolted from Athens, and slew most of the Athenian garrison; in memory of which they sent an Apollo to Delphi[2]. After the Sacred War (346), the Amphictyons set up an Apollo at Delphi, and the Thebans a Heracles[3]. There was a bronze Apollo in the Pythium at Athens, dedicated as a war-tithe about the middle of the fourth century[4]. The people of Patrae, who had helpt the Aetolians to fight the Gauls, set up a statue of Apollo in their own capital[5]. The Colossus of Rhodes was procured with the money got by selling the siege-engines of Demetrius Poliorcetes, who gave them to the Rhodians when he was forced to raise the siege (303)[6]. Mummius set up at Olympia two bronze statues of Zeus[7]; and after Actium, one Nicippe dedicated a statue of Aphrodite in the temple then built for her honour[8].

We know of one divine statue dedicated by a private person for success in war: Hegelochus the alien did this at Athens in the fifth century[9]. It may be that some of the archaic 'Apollos' discovered in Boeotia or other places are images of the deity, Apollo or who not, dedicated for this cause. One bronze figure of this type at least is inscribed as a tithe[10]; and there is no indication that it was a trade-tithe. A fuller discussion will be found in a succeeding chapter[11].

Two items call for remark. Cimon, after his victory on the Strymon (477), was allowed as a special honour to set up two Hermae in the Street of Hermae, but without inscribing his name upon them[12]. I do not know whether he regarded Hermes as the source of his good luck, or whether the motive was

[1] Paus. i. 40. 2.

[2] Paus. x. 15. 1.

[3] Paus. x. 13. 1, 15. 1.

[4] *CIA* ii. 1154, 1204.

[5] Paus. vii. 20. 3.

[6] Eudocia says it commemorated victories by sea (no. 994).

[7] Paus. v. 24. 4.

[8] Paus. viii. 9. 6; see above, p. 122.

[9] *CIA* i. 374 παρθένωι Ἐκφάντου με πατὴρ ἀνέθηκε καὶ υἱὸς ἐνθάδ' Ἀθηναίηι μνῆμα πόνων Ἄρεος Ἡγέλοχος. μεγάλην δὲ φιλοξενίης ἀρετῆς τε πάσης μοῖραν ἔχων τήνδε πόλιν νέμεται. Κρίτιος καὶ Νησιώτης ἐποησάτην.

[10] *AJA* N.S. ii. 50 Μάντικλός μ' ἀνέθεικε ϝεκαβόλωι ἀργυροτόξωι τᾶς δεκάτας· τὺ δὲ Φοῖβε δίδοι χαρίϝετταν ἀμοιϝαν. Archaic.

[11] Chapters VIII. and XIV.

[12] Plut. *Cimon* 7. Inscribed herms in *Jahrb.* ii. 228—30, one inscr.= *Anth. Pal.* vi. 144.

pride[1]. The other is the dedication of the Saviour Demigods, the Dioscuri no doubt[2], to Poseidon at Elatea, in memory of some signal deliverance[3]. The inscription dates from the fourth century; and I cannot believe with M. Paris[4] that the lines have been recut and that the dedication belongs to an earlier age, perhaps to the affray when Tellias struck terror into his adversaries by means of a coat of whitewash[5], because the dedication of the statue of a deity to whom gratitude is due is always made to that deity himself while Greek religion is sincere[6].

3. *Artistic representation of the human act blest by the god.* To set up a divine statue was one way of acknowledging his power; and although we are not often told what the figure lookt like, we know that the plastic genius of Greece often exprest this power by clothing him in attributes, such as armour, and by placing weapons in his hand. As the faculty of artistic expression grew, attempts were made to depict in some way the effect of that power, or more precisely the event wherein he had shown it. The *Odes* of Pindar show us how the Greek mind would naturally regard human life in relation to higher things; and as he seeks out heroic or mythological precedent for the feats which he celebrates, so victories in war were sometimes commemorated by a mythological or allegorical group. So is explained the scene on the Aegina pediment, so the metopes of the Parthenon. In the offerings which we have first to do with, there is no realism. At most along with the divine and heroic figures, mortal man whose strong arm has helpt may sometimes be found.

[1] Dem. *Lept.* 491 cites an inscr. in this street as a chief mark of honour in olden days: *ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ εἰργασμένοι τινὲς οὐδενὸς ἠξιοῦντο τοιούτου, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητῶς ἐπιγράμματος ἐν τοῖς ἑρμαῖς ἔτυχον.*

[2] There was a *ϝανακεῖον* at Elatea: *IGS* iii. 1. 129.

[3] *BCH* x. 367; *IGS* iii. pt. 1. 130 *ποντίωι ἱπποµέδοντι Ποσειδῶνι χρόνου υἱεῖ ἡ πόλις εὐξαµένη τούσδ' ἀνέθηκε θεῶι, ἡµιθέους σωτῆρας ὑπὲρ προγόνων τε καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ γῆς καὶ τεκέων καὶ σφετέρων ἀλόχων.* The stone reads XPONOΥIEI in the first line.

[4] P. Paris, *Elatée*, 10, 223.

[5] Herod. viii. 27.

[6] For this point see ch. xiv. It is true that if the dedication refers to peril at sea, there would be some fitness from a latter-day standpoint; but it has yet to be proved that this was true of the great age. If these figures were a group in action they may be older; see next section.

This is the meaning of the group sent to Olympia by the Argives for their victory at Oenoe: the seven who fought against Thebes and the Epigoni, together with the chariot of Amphiaraus and his charioteer Baton[1]. At Olympia also, upon a great pedestal, stood Zeus, Thetis, and the Day, with a number of Homeric heroes in fighting pairs, the group being the tithe of Abantis sent by the city of Apollonia on the Ionian sea[2]. A group of Heracles and Apollo, striving for the tripod, was dedicated at Delphi by the Phocians after their defeat of the Thessalians[3]. Attalus I commemorated his Gallic victories by several groups on the Acropolis of Athens: battles of the gods and giants, of the Athenians with the Amazons, and the battle of Marathon, then held of equal importance with the great deeds of legend[4]. Perhaps the cedar-wood group of the struggle of Heracles with Achelous, in the Megarian treasury at Delphi, was meant in the same way[5]. At some date unknown, the citizens of Heraclea Pontica, having conquered a barbaric tribe, the Mariandyni, sent to Olympia a group representing the Labours of Heracles: the Lion, the Hydra, Cerberus, and the Erymanthian Boar[6]. The same principle must also explain an Argive offering at Delphi, a bronze copy of the Wooden Horse of Troy, bought from Lacedaemonian spoils. This should belong to the successful raid of Argives into the Thyreatis in 414, when they took booty to the amount of five-and-twenty talents[7]. Perhaps the "Wooden Horse" of bronze on the Athenian acropolis had a similar origin[8].

[1] Paus. i. 15. 1 with Frazer's note; x. 10. 4. C. Robert (*Hermes* xxv. 412) places the battle between 463 and 458; this date is supported by *IGA* 165, where the sculptors of the group, Hypatodorus and Aristogeiton, are named in an inscr. assigned to the early 5th century. Others place the date in the 4th century.

[2] Paus. v. 22. 6.

[3] Herod. viii. 27; Paus. x. 1. 8, 13. 6.

[4] Paus. i. 25. 2; Plut. *Antonius* 60. Ten existing statues are identified as originals or copies from these groups; Frazer on Paus. *l.c.*

[5] Paus. vi. 19. 12. It should be noted that the gable had the war of gods and giants, and the building was ascribed to a victory.

[6] Paus. v. 26. 7.

[7] Paus. x. 10. 9; Thuc. vi. 95; Brunn, *Gesch. der gr. Künstler*, i. 283. Pausanias appears to refer it to their well-known victory of a hundred and fifty years before; but Antiphanes, the founder of the Horse, was not earlier than the Peloponnesian War.

[8] Schol. Aristoph. *Birds* 1128; Paus. i. 23. 8; *CIA* i. 406 Χαιρέδημος Εὐαγ-

Another expression of the same idea is a group including the protecting deities, together with personifications of the dedicating states, either in the form of the local heroes or otherwise, sometimes also the commander or anyone who had rendered signal help in the event. The Phocians, after the successful stratagem of Tellias the soothsayer, sent figures of their local heroes to Delphi and Abae, with Tellias and their generals, Rhoeus and Daiphantes[1]. Another group was sent by the Athenians to Delphi after the Persian Wars[2]: in the presence of Apollo and Athena stood Erechtheus, Cecrops, Pandion, Leos, Antiochus son of Heracles, Aegeus, and Acamas, all tribal eponyms; Codrus, Theseus, and Phyleus, ancient chiefs; and the general Miltiades. The three remaining eponyms, Ajax, Hippothoon, and Oeneus, must surely have formed part of the original dedication; but when Pausanias saw the group, these three statues had been dubbed with the names of Antigonus, Demetrius, and Ptolemy[3], who had given their names to later Athenian tribes[4]. After Salamis, a colossal statue was set up at Delphi, holding in one hand a ship's beak[5]; the word *ἀνδριάς*, used by Herodotus, cannot apply to the Apollo mentioned by Pausanias[6], and it was probably a local personification of Aegina, or Salamis. The Arcadians, after ravaging Laconia, probably under Epaminondas (370–69), sent to Delphi a large group: images of Apollo and Victory, of Callisto mother of Arcas by Apollo, of

γέλου ἐκ Κοίλης ἀνέθηκεν. But this appears to be a private dedication.

[1] Herod. viii. 27; Paus. x. 1. 8, 13. 6.

[2] Pausanias says (1) the sculptor was Pheidias, (2) the group was really and truly part of the Marathon battle-tithe. It is hard to reconcile these statements, unless we suppose that the money was kept unused for a long time. It should be noted that Miltiades soon fell into ill odour, and so the date is likely to be after his death.

[3] Paus. x. 10. 1. If the three last had been new statues, there was no reason for taking away the three which are missing, and I therefore assume that only the names were changed.

[4] E. Curtius, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, ii. 365.

[5] Herod. viii. 121.

[6] Paus. x. 14. 5. Hero statues were so called: Arist. *Peace* 1183 *τὸν ἀνδριάντα τὸν Παυδίονος*. We read also of one of gold, not described, bought with Median spoils: *Epist. Philippi* 179 (speaking of Amphipolis) *Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ προγόνου κατασχόντος τὸν τόπον ὅθεν καὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων Μήδων ἀπαρχὴν ἀνδριάντα χρυσοῦν ἀνέστησεν εἰς Δελφούς*.

Arcas, and his sons[1]. Tolmides and his soothsayer stood on the acropolis of Athens, as part of a group with Erechtheus fighting against Eumolpus[2]. This should refer to the raid on the Peloponnese in 455, when Gythium was burned and Cythera taken[3]. Similarly Aetolia was placed at Delphi amidst a group of protecting deities, Apollo, Artemis, and Athena, and the generals Polyarchus and Eurydamus, when the Aetolians conquered the Gauls (280)[4]. A type of Aetolian coins struck after this date seems to have been copied from this figure; whence it would appear that she was seated upon a pile of arms[5].

Lysander's oriental ostentation was doubtless to blame for the tone of his group dedicated after Aegospotami. There stood Zeus, Apollo, Artemis, Poseidon, and the Dioscuri, there stood Lysander and all his admirals, his pilot, and his priest; and Poseidon was placing a crown on Lysander's head[6].

The event itself might be more realistically presented. A group dedicated by the Tarentines at Olympia consisted of a number of horsemen and footmen, with King Opis coming to help the Peucetii; he is dying, and over him stand the heroes Taras and Phalantheus, and a dolphin is near. It is inscribed as a tithe of the Peucetian spoils[7].

Attalus I added a group representing his Gallic victory to the great historic fights mentioned above[8].

Groups representing a man Phormis, a Maenalian, fighting with various foes were dedicated by a friend, Lycortas the Syracusan, in Olympia[9].

[1] Paus. x. 9. 5 and Frazer, *AM* xiv. 15—40.

[2] Paus. i. 27. 4.

[3] Thuc. i. 103, 108, 114.

[4] Paus. x. 15. 2, 16. 4, 6, 18. 7, 19. 4. The same principle may explain other mythological groups. Hercules fighting Achelous, whom Ares helps, with Zeus and Deianira (Megar. Treas. Ol., Paus. vi. 19. 12). It is to be noted that the Sardinians sent a statue of their eponym to Delphi (Paus. x. 17. 1). Pausanias calls them barbarians, but this was perhaps a superficial view (cp. Ridgeway, *Early Age*, 70).

[5] P. Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. xii. 40; Head, *Hist. Num.*, 283 f.

[6] Plut. *Lys.* 18; Paus. x. 9. 7. Pedestals and inscrr. have been found, but are not yet publisht.

[7] Paus. x. 13. 10.

[8] Paus. i. 25. 2; above, p. 130.

[9] Paus. v. 27. 7. At Aegira was another group; a warrior who had died fighting bravely, his father in the

Towards the end of the fifth century, reliefs began to be commonly used for dedication; and a few of them suggest war. Some indeed are inscribed; there is no doubt about the battle-scene dedicated by a cavalry commander at Eleusis, which belongs to the fifth century: horsemen are chasing and cutting down the enemy[1]. Others, though not inscribed, show warlike subjects: Victory and a trophy[2], warriors armed or wounded men[3], or a ship[4]. Now a battle-scene on land seems to be represented[5], now a sea-fight[6]. A Roman copy of a Greek original has Victory holding a ship's taffrail-ornament (*ἄφλαστον*), and an armed warrior beside a pillar wreathed with a snake[7]. So perhaps the reliefs where Athena stands by a trophy of arms hung on a tree[8]; or she stands armed, a Victory in her hand, between an armed and an unarmed man, the latter holding up one hand in the attitude of worship[9]. The warrior pouring a libation may represent the thank-offering after battle[10]. That the relief or picture was familiar in the fourth century we learn from the story of Charon, a Theban, who helpt Epaminondas and Pelopidas to free the country, and afterwards won the victory in a cavalry fight shortly before Leuctra (371). Androcydes of Cyzicus was just then at work on a relief or painting (*πίναξ*) of some other battle, which when the revolution took place was all but done. This had been preserved, and Menecleidas, being jealous of the two chief movers, persuaded

attitude of mourning, three sisters doffing their trinkets in token of mourning, and three brothers. Pausanias (vii. 26. 9) does not say that it stood in a temple, but "in a building."

[1] *CIA* iv. 1. 422[17], p. 184: ...s Ἐπιζήλου ἱππαρχήσας ἀνέθηκεν or the like. See *AM* xiv. 398, pl. xii. *CIA* iv. 1. p. 84, 373[63] reads ἱππαρχ... ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων? The relief of a horseman and prostrate foe, Sybel 3140, may be a tombstone, like that of Dexileos.

[2] Sybel 368. So on bases: Sybel 6418 (5th century), 6743 Victory and trophy on a relief of Roman date in Samos Museum, no. 54, see *AM* xxv. 174.

[3] Sybel 6623, 6711.

[4] Sybel 1379.

[5] Sybel 379.

[6] Sybel 370.

[7] *AA* ix. 171, restored from Louvre replica; Müller-Wieseler, *Denkm. der ant. Kunst*, i. pl. 14, 48. Other exx. in O. Jahn, *Arch. Beitr.* 210. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke* 202[2], guesses that the original may have been dedicated by Nicias.

[8] Sybel 4239.

[9] Schöne 85. Victory appears to be holding out a wreath to the latter.

[10] F-W. 1197.

the people to add Charon's name to it, and to dedicate it in memory of the victory aforesaid[1]. In the Lamian war (323) Leosthenes the Athenian defeated the Lacedaemonians in Boeotia and at Thermopylae, and shut up the garrison in Lamia, where he fell; a picture was put up in the joint temple of Athena and Zeus at Peiraeus, showing Leosthenes and his sons engaged in the fight[2]. Olympiodorus, who raised the siege of Elatea (298), was honoured by a painting in Eleusis, perhaps votive[3]. Porus is said to have dedicated in some Indian temple bronze tablets portraying the feats of Alexander[4]. It will be remembered that Queen Matilda is supposed to have dedicated the famous tapestry in Bayeux cathedral after the conquest of England.

A fragment of a war scene in bronze repoussé was found at Dodona[5], but I hesitate to place it here as it was probably part of the bronze case of some other object. Similar friezes at Olympia bear warriors fighting[6]. A war galley comes from Crete[7].

In Corinth, where painted pottery was made from an early day, the poor man seems to have had the means to make a dedication of this sort. At least, some of the sherds amongst the refuse of Poseidon's temple fall in place here quite naturally. There are pictures of Poseidon and Amphitrite, with other deities, common enough, although giving no clue to the occasion; but others represent Homeric combats, one of the motives as we have seen of the warriors' heroic precedents[8]. Others again bear armed warriors, or two or more men fighting[9], or a battle-ship[10]. These date from the sixth century or earlier, and there is no reason to suppose that they were not matcht at other places, such as Athens, where such things could be made. Archaic reliefs of warriors, in terra-cotta, come from Praesus in Crete[11], one leading a captive[12].

[1] Plut. *Pelopidas* 25.
[2] Paus. i. 3. 4.
[3] Paus. i. 26. 3 "to his memory."
[4] Philostr. *Apoll.* ii. 9.
[5] Carapanos, *Dodone*, xvii. 1.
[6] *Bronzen von Ol.* xxxvii. 709.
[7] Above, p. 65, fig. 8.
[8] *Antike Denkmäler* i. 7. 15.
[9] *Antike Denkmäler* i. 8. 13, ii. 23. 14 *b*, 24. 24; *Gaz. Arch.* vi. 107; *Jahrb.* xii. 16 no. 521, 579, cp. 589, 593.
[10] *Jahrb.* no. 621, 647, 650, 654.
[11] *AJA* N.S. v. 390, 392, figs. 19, 25, plate xii. 3.
[12] *AJA* N.S. v. 390, 392, figs. 19, 25, plate xii. 4.

The following I would also interpret as a representation of the event. After Salamis, the Aeginetans dedicated at Delphi a bronze mast with three golden stars upon it. I can only suppose that St Elmo's fire had been seen on the ships, and that it was thus commemorated as a good omen[1]. One of Lysander's many offerings after Aegospotami was a pair of golden stars by him sent to Delphi, which may have had a similar origin[2]. Plutarch, who for a sceptical observer was singularly awake to portents, notes that these stars mysteriously disappeared before the battle of Leuctra.

Further, the story of the Corinthian women should be explained in the same way. It is said that when the Persians invaded Greece, the courtesans of Corinth went to Aphrodite's temple and prayed for the preservation of Greece. After the triumph the people dedicated a picture or a bronze group of the women in the same place, which we are to suppose was not a row of portraits, but the women in act of supplication[3].

We have seen in sundry of the groups described, how the victorious general stood in the high company of gods and heroes. The sentiment which caused him to be included is not quite simple, and as the ancients have not themselves analyzed it we should be rash to jump to conclusions. There was a desire, no doubt, to show honour; but this was certainly not the main motive, as it was in honorific statues of later days. Demosthenes[4] recognises the distinction quite clearly, when he

[1] Herod. viii. 122. He says nothing of the Dioscuri, but later writers of course identified the stars with them. They do not explain why there were three, or what the mast meant. As a fact, the stars are not known as symbols of the Dioscuri until much later.

[2] Plut. *Lys.* 18. Plutarch interprets them as signifying the Dioscuri. It is true the Dioscuri were special patrons of Sparta, but see last note. Lysander must have known of the older offering.

[3] Theopompus and Timaeus *ap.* Ath. xiii. 573 ...Σιμωνίδης, ἀναθέντων τῶν Κορινθίων πίνακα τῇ θεῷ, τὸν ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένοντα, καὶ τὰς ἑταίρας ἰδίᾳ γραψάντων, τὰς τότε ποιησαμένας τὴν ἱκετείαν, καὶ ὕστερον παρούσας, συνέθηκε τόδε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα· Αἴδ' ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ εὐθυμάχων πολιητᾶν ἔσταθεν εὔχεσθαι Κύπριδι δαιμονίᾳ. οὐ γὰρ τοξοφόροισιν ἐμήσατο δῖ' Ἀφροδίτη Πέρσαις Ἑλλήνων ἀκρόπολιν προδόμεν. Plut. *De Herod. Malign.* 39 says bronze statues.

[4] Demosth. *Aristocr.* 686 ἐκεῖνοι Θεμιστοκλέα, τὸν τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν νικήσαντα, καὶ Μιλτιάδην τὸν ἡγούμενον Μαραθῶνι, καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους, οὐκ ἴσα τοῖς νῦν στρατηγοῖς ἀγαθὰ εἰργασμένους, οὐ χαλκοῦς ἵστασαν οὐδ' ὑπερηγάπων. οὐκ ἄρα τοῖς ἑαυτοὺς ἀγαθόν τι

says that Miltiades and Themistocles did not expect the honour claimed by latter-day captains; no bronze portrait statues were set up to them. The victory was not the captain's but belonged to the Athenian people; and a memorial portrait would have been out of place. And yet Miltiades was one of that Marathonian group which stood at Delphi; yet the figure was recognisable for the man. If then this figure is to be distinguisht from an ordinary portrait, the distinction lies not in the form but in the motive of dedication. Perhaps we may regard him as partly the personification of the fighting force, the armed conflict being as it were summed up in its leader appropriately arrayed; partly the intermediate instrument through which the god worked. The statue was a memorial, not an honour; just as the bronze ass, dedicated by the Ambraciots at Delphi, was to remind all men, how the god had used him as a humble instrument by his braying to reveal the ambush of their Molossian foes[1]. But the essence of the moving idea was exprest by the group, and the single statues had no meaning.

If Miltiades then, and Tellias, Rhoeus and Daiphantes were to be seen in Delphi, the figures were not placed there as the portraits of great men. By the same principle we must judge of human statues when dedicated alone in the great age of Greece. Statues of Scyllis the renowned diver, and his daughter Hydra, who at the battle of Artemisium were said to have dived under the sea, and cut the Persian cables, sending their ships adrift to destruction, were dedicated in Delphi by the Amphictyons[2].

ποιοῦσιν χάριν εἶχον; σφόδρα γε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἀπεδίδοσάν γε καὶ αὐτῶν κἀκείνων ἀξίαν· ὄντες γὰρ πολλοῦ πάντες ἄξιοι, προὔκρινον ἐκείνους αὑτῶν ἡγεῖσθαι. ἔστι δὲ σώφροσιν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν βουλομένοις σκοπεῖν, πολὺ μείζων τιμὴ τῆς χαλκῆς εἰκόνος τὸ καλῶν κἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν κεκρίσθαι πρώτους. καὶ γάρ τοι τῶν ἔργων τῶν τότε οὐδενὸς ἀπεστέρησαν ἑαυτούς· οὐδ' ἔστιν οὐδεὶς ὅστις ἂν εἴποι τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν Θεμιστοκλέους, ἀλλ' Ἀθηναίων, οὐδὲ τὴν Μαραθῶνι μάχην Μιλτιάδου, ἀλλὰ τῆς πόλεως. νῦν δὲ πολλοὶ τοῦτο λέγουσιν, ὡς Κέρκυραν εἶλε Τιμόθεος, καὶ τὴν μόραν κατέκοψεν Ἰφικράτης, καὶ τὴν περὶ Νάξον ἐνίκα ναυμαχίαν Χαβρίας. When Pausanias claimed the victory of Plataea as his own, the Greeks would not have it: below, p. 147.

[1] Paus. x. 18. 4.

[2] Paus. x. 19. 1. Ziemann, p. 16, speaks of a statue of Euchidas, who ran to Delphi and back in one day for the sacred fire, and fell dead on the spot, quoting Plutarch, *Arist.* 20. But Plutarch says nothing of a statue, only that they buried him (ἔθαψαν) in the precinct of Artemis Eucleia.

The only possible memorial of this deed in the round were the figures of the divers, characterised no doubt in some way as doers of the deed. The same is true of any man who might be thought to have done more than a single man could do; and yet it is doubtful whether Greeks, with their keen sense of the fitting, would have done at that time what the Lydians did, in dedicating to Artemis a statue of one Adrastus, who fought against Xerxes as a volunteer in the Greek army, and fell fighting valiantly[1]. Arimnestus it is true, who led the Plataean men-at-arms at Marathon and Plataea, was to be seen in the temple of Athena at Plataea[2], and he seems to have stood alone; if he was dedicated alone, it would seem that the centre of interest was shifting already, and that the great change was begun which in the next century was to make these dedications morally worthless. Why the statue of Phormio was dedicated, whether for his feats in the Gulf or for something else, is not stated[3].

Apart from these I can find no evidence for the dedication of the victorious general alone in the fifth century. But once human statues were dedicated for whatever cause, the motive of compliment was bound to come in sooner or later; and Lysander gives us the first distinct proof that the change had begun. When Poseidon is made to crown his figure in the memorial of Aegospotami, the human agent not the god becomes the centre of the composition. In the fourth century there are many statues of generals and other such on record. A portrait of Thrasybulus, soothsayer of the Mantineans when they fought against Agis, stood at Olympia[4]. Iphicrates was set up by his grateful country, but not until long after his celebrated feat of arms[5]. This distinguisht honour became cheap with Alexander, if (as seems likely) he dedicated the statues he had caused to be made of four and thirty Greeks who fell at the Granicus (334)[6]. About the year 300 we find the statue of a certain

[1] Paus. vii. 6. 6.

[2] Paus. ix. 4. 2.

[3] Paus. i. 23. 10.

[4] Paus. vi. 2. 4.

[5] 372/1: Dionys. Hal. *De Lysia iudicium* 12; Demosth. *Aristocr.* 663; Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1397 *b*; Paus. i. 24. 7 with Frazer's note, from whom I borrow these references.

[6] Plut. *Alexander* 16; but the word used is *ἀνασταθῆναι*.

Timagoras, who had commanded in a victorious sea-fight, dedicated at Astypalaea, nominally by Ares himself[1]. Olympiodorus the Athenian, who raised the siege of Elatea when beset by Cassander (298), was honoured probably at this time by a bronze statue, which the Phocians dedicated at Delphi[2]. There was also a statue of the same man on the Acropolis, and another in the Prytaneum, the former at least votive, dedicated no doubt after he had got rid of the Macedonian garrison in 288[3]. The Phocian allies put up there also a statue of their own leader, Aleximachus, who in fighting against the invading Gauls (280) did all that valour could do, and fell[4]. In 207 Philopoemen defeated and slew Machanidas, tyrant of Lacedaemon; for which deed the Achaeans dedicated a bronze statue of him in Delphi[5]. In later days the dedication of a commander was a compliment for ordinary services, like that of an honorific crown[6]. The base of a statue, dedicated by Hermolycus, son of Diitrephes, "as a firstfruit," has been found[7]; this cannot commemorate the wanton and horrible raid of Diitrephes mentioned by Thucydides[8], but must belong to some other event.

It is to be noted that none of the generals, not even Lysander, dedicates his own statue[9]; that combination of vanity and impiety was reserved for creatures of Nero's kidney. It is not to be conceived, however, that they made no private acknowledgment of their victory or their deliverance; or that the private soldier, whose safety was not less momentous to

[1] *IGA* iii. 211 *κόσμον Ἄρης πατρίδι στῆσε ἐνθάδε παῖδα Πίδωνος Τιμαγόραν νίκης ναύμαχον ἡγεμόνα.*

[2] Paus. i. 26. 3.

[3] Paus. i. 26. 3, 25. 2.

[4] Paus. x. 23. 3.

[5] Plut. *Philopoemen* 11.

[6] *IGI* i. 41 Rhodes *στρατευσάμενον ἔν τε ταῖς ἀφράκτοις καὶ ταῖς καταφράκτοις ναυσὶ κατὰ πόλεμον.* Cf. 40, 42, 43, 56; and Demosth. quoted p. 135, note 4. It has been too readily assumed that the statue was that of Diitrephes; but it probably was that of the wounded man mentioned by Pliny, *NH* xxxiv. 74 Cresilas [fecit] vulneratum deficientem.

[7] *Ἑρμόλυκος Διιτρέφους ἀπαρχήν. Κρεσίλας ἐπόησεν. CIA* i. 402, but the editor of the Corpus gives reason for thinking it is not the same.

[8] Thuc. vii. 29; Paus. i. 23. 3. He held a command in Thrace 411 B.C. (see Frazer, on Paus. *l.c.*).

[9] Paus. vi. 16. 5. But in later days, Philonides, a quartermaster or 'stepper' of Alexander the Great, seems to have dedicated his own statue at Olympia. Hicks, *Gr. Hist. Inscr.* 129 *βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου ἡμεροδρόμας καὶ βηματιστὴς τῆς Ἀσίας Φιλωνίδης Ζώτου Κρὴς Χερσονάσιος ἀνέθηκε Διὶ Ὀλυμπίωι.*

himself than that of any captain who ever lived, should offer no thanks for this great event beyond a sacrifice at the altar. We do not know how far a private soldier felt bound to tithe his share of spoils which had been tithed in common; but if he was grateful enough he would not stop to count obols[1]. The question now arises, What is the meaning of those figures of armed warriors so often found in ancient shrines: were they meant for the divinity, or for what?

We must first clear our minds of a misconception. The attributes of a Deity were not fixt by immutable laws; they express the conception in the worshipper's mind, which within certain limits might vary[2]. If the deity be conceived as a protector, he will naturally be armed, as the heroes are, now with spears, now swords, now in panoply as Aphrodite and Athena. Although Zeus is from early times armed with the thunderbolt[3], yet he bears a helmet in Phrygia[4] and a battle-axe in Caria[5], and there is no reason in the nature of things why he too should not have been represented in the panoply. If armed warrior figures, then, are dedicated to male deities, they may be meant for those deities. But the question takes a different turn when we see that such dedications are found in the shrines of female divinities, as of Athena and Aphrodite. Take this in conjunction with the rare figures in hunter costume[6], and with those of athletes[7], and it is clear that we may lawfully deny the warrior figures to be meant for the god.

It does not follow, however, that they were meant as portraits of the worshipper[8]. The facts given in the last section go to show that for a worshipper to dedicate his portrait would be the height of arrogance. Moreover, one of

[1] After the 4th cent. at least soldiers' dedications are certain. *CIA* ii. 962 *οἱ ἱππεῖς τῇι Σαλαμῖνι ἀνέθεσαν* for defeat of Pleistarchus; Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1898, 16, no. 10 *οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ Ἀθηναίων* in wreath.

[2] See on this point more fully in ch. XIV.

[3] *Bronzen von Ol.* vii. 45, viii. 44. But the votive statuettes of this type in Dodona are not early.

[4] Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.* pl. I. 1. *c.*

[5] Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* 45.

[6] Above, p. 78.

[7] Below, pp. 168—9.

[8] I am indebted to Dr Waldstein for a hint which brought these figures into their proper place.

these figures is dedicated by two men together. Neither can we fairly interpret them as a personification of the spirit of war, which, if not over-subtile, would at least fail to meet the case. We are supposing that the warrior wishes to commemorate his success in war as the act of his protecting deity; and his artistic expression being unequal to the task, he embodies the idea of successful war in the concrete figure of an armed warrior in act to strike. These figures are then less and more than portraits: they attempt to express the act which divine protection has blest.

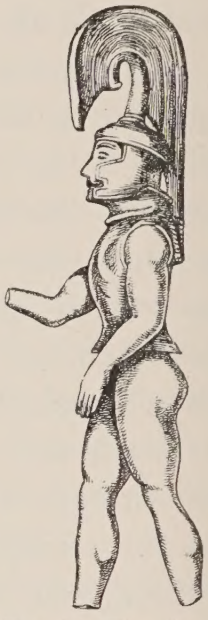

Fig. 23. Warrior, from Olympia. *Bronzen* vii. 41.

The footman armed capapie is represented by a fine bronze statuette from Dodona, assigned to the year 600 or thereabouts[1]. Another, but lacking the cuirass, was found in the precinct of Apollo Ptoan[2]. Two warriors were unearthed in Olympia[3], and one at Selinus in Laconia, armed in the panoply[4]: the last is dedicated to Apollo Meleatas[5]. Another represents a naked bearded man, the hand uplifted to hold some weapon, and is dedicated by two persons in common to Apollo Ismenian[6]. On the Acropolis of Athens were found several ancient figures of armed warriors[7], and statuettes of warriors were in Cyprus dedicated to the Paphian goddess[8], to Artemis[9], to Apollo at Golgi[10], and to deities unknown[11]. Besides these clearly characterised figures, others of rude make and probably older still were found at Olympia[12], one in terra-cotta[13]; others in the

[1] *AZ* 1882, pl. 1, Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, fig. 2091.

[2] *BCH* xi. 360, pl. ix., and also pl. x. probably.

[3] *Bronzen von Ol.* pl. xxv. *a*. 1, xxiii. 2; xxvii. 3, vii. 41, 42. See fig. 23.

[4] *AM* iii. 14, pl. i.

[5] *IGA* 57; Collitz iii. 4525 Κάριλος(?) ἀνέθηκε τῶι Μαλεάται.

[6] *IGS* i. 2455 Πτωΐων Μάστος τῶι Ἰσμεινίωι ἀνέθεαν; Roberts, p. 214, no. 202; *AM* i. 97, pl. v. Berlin Antiquarium, Bronze Case VIII. A, T. 7100.

[7] *Cat. Acr. Mus. Br.* 741–5, cp. 748 (? parts of some other object).

[8] *Cat. Cypr. Mus.* 5347.

[9] *Cat. Cypr. Mus.* 5541—2.

[10] Cesnola, *Cyprus*, 150. There were also rows of larger figures of the same sort.

[11] *Cat. Cypr. Mus.* 6001—5.

[12] *Bronzen von Ol.* xv. 247, xvi. 242, 243, etc.

[13] *Bronzen von Ol.* xvii. 288.

Idaean cave in Crete[1], and in the shrine of Therapnae[2]. Armed riders are also known from the Temple of Athena in Calaurea[3], and some of the Cyprian examples were mounted in chariots[4]. It is perhaps worth while suggesting the question whether some of the Olympian chariots may not have been war-offerings.

The same principle will explain a series of votive statues found on the Acropolis of Athens, which belong to the time of the Peisistratids. These are the so-called "Persian horsemen," clad in oriental costume, with soft cap and hose fitting tight to the leg. It has been pointed out that the costume is as much Scythian as Persian, and that the style is too early for the Persian wars[5]. It is more likely that they have to do with the rule of Miltiades and his family in the Thracian Chersonese. The romantic story of the first Miltiades, a Greek Rajah Brooke, his victories over the savages, and his marriage with a Scythian girl, seems to have caused intense excitement in Athens; Scythian caps became all the wear, and amongst other signs of the public interest we have the Miltiades plate, now at Oxford[6], with a figure almost exactly like the Acropolis horsemen. The adventurers would naturally wear the dress of the natives, which was better suited than their own to the climate. The elder Miltiades we know commemorated one of his exploits by a dedication at Olympia[7]. Similarly these Horsemen may have been dedicated by some of the Scythian adventurers, perhaps in gratitude for a fortune gained in that flourishing colony. One base has been found with a fragmentary inscription[8] placed on the small end, showing that the sculpture

[1] *Mus. It.* ii. 731.

[2] *Rev. Arch.* xxx. 13; above, p. 15. Warrior figures, apparently dedicated, come from Etruria (Baumeister, pl. lxxxix.). One from Orvieto is in my own possession. Many warrior statuettes have been found in Sardinia: *Gaz. Arch.* x. 177 ff.; and others were found in a large votive deposit at Este (*Notizie*, 1888, pl. vii. ff.). The interpretation suggested in the text is confirmed by the fact, that at Este were found warriors not merely alone but in pairs or in rows, both on foot and mounted, in relief or repoussé or silhouette.

[3] *AM* xx. 315.

[4] *Cat. Cypr. Mus.* 6001—5.

[5] Studniczka would assign them to a Marathonian trophy: *Jahrb.* vi. 239.

[6] See W. Klein, *Die gr. Vasen mit Lieblingsinschr.* (Wien 1890), pl. 1.

[7] Paus. vi. 19. 6.

[8] Προκ(?)λείδης ἀνέθηκε | τοῦ Διοκλέους τἀθηναίαι.

upon it was something of the shape of a horse, not a group; and in fact the base would fit the "Persian horseman[1]." A similar dedication was made about 446 by a body of knights, who offered the statue of a horse or more probably a horseman out of the spoils[2].

A step further leads to personification of an abstract idea; and one expression of it, the statue of Victory, was especially common as a war-dedication, and is never before the fourth century found dedicated alone for anything else[3].

Hiero sent a gold Victory to Delphi after the battle of Himera, and Gelo did the like[4]. Diodorus[5] relates that Hiero dedicated another for the Cumaean victory which has been already spoken of, but this may be the same statue. The most famous example of this class is the Victory of Paeonius, which was found at Olympia[6]. The Messenians themselves declared it to be a thank-offering for their part in the capture of Sphacteria (425), and that the name was omitted from fear of the Spartans[7]. Mr Frazer suggests that it may have been erected after the Peace of Nicias (421), so that it should refer to the general result of the first period of the war: in that case, however, fear of Sparta would hardly have caused the omission of the name. The Athenians took a great pride in the capture of Sphacteria, and we need not wonder at finding that

[1] See Winter, *Archäische Reiterbilder von der Acropolis*: *Jahrbuch* viii. 135. These are the chief fragments (illustrations of most are given): pieces of horses once part of a quadriga, Museum, nos. 575—580; pieces of a horseman, no. 590; a horseman, no. 1359; another, no. 700 (Collignon, *Sculpt. Gr.* p. 358); the "Persian horseman," no. 606.

[2] *CIA* iv. 1, p. 184 *οἱ ἱππῆς ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἱπταρχούντων Λακεδαιμονίου Ξενοφῶντος Προ.....Λύκιος ἐποίησεν Ἐλευθερεὺς Μύρωνος.*

[3] But in later days a silver or gold Victory seems to have been offered as a customary dedication to Apollo Prostates at Olbia, by the five strategi: *CIG* 2069, 2073–4.

[4] Athenaeus vi. p. 231, quoting Theopompus and Phanias. See below, p. 146[5], for the discovery of the base.

[5] Diod. xi. 51.

[6] It is inscribed *Μεσσάνιοι καὶ Ναυπάκτιοι ἀνέθεν Διὶ Ὀλυμπίωι δεκάταν ἀπὸ τῶμ πολεμίων. Παιώνιος ἐποίησε Μενδαῖος, καὶ τἀκρώτηρια ποιῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐνίκα.*

[7] Paus. v. 26; Thuc. iv. 9, 32, 36, 41. Pausanias would place it some thirty years earlier, when the Messenians of Naupactus sackt Oeniadae. Schubring, *AZ* xxxv. 59, recounts all possible victories, and supports Pylos. So Collitz iii. 4637.

they dedicated a bronze Victory on the Acropolis[1]. If the wingless Victory, sent to Olympia by the Mantineans, was the work of Calamis, as Pausanias says, it cannot belong to this period, but otherwise it would be possible[2]. The magnificent Victory of Samothrace, now in the Louvre, was dedicated by Demetrius Poliorcetes for his victory of Salamis[3]: she stands poised on the prow of a great stone galley. Lysander commemorated his victories at Ephesus and Aegospotami by presenting two eagles with statues of Victory upon them to the temple of Athena the Worker at Sparta[4]. The ancient winged Victory by Archermus was dedicated in Delos by the Chians; on what occasion is not specified; probably, like all the rest, for a feat of war[5].

The Athenian temple lists frequently mention golden Victories[6]. There were in Pericles' time no less than ten of these, each weighing about two talents; and it would seem these should have been made at some time when Athens was at the zenith of her power. It is fanciful to suggest, perhaps, that they were part of the imperial tribute, preserved thus against any time of need, and their shape determined by that abiding sense of victory over the barbarian which the Delian League kept ever fresh. Certainly they were most of them melted down before the end of the war. One was melted in 407[7], and at the beginning of the next century only two of the old ones remain, but a new one appears, perhaps, as is suggested, made out of the goods of the thirty Tyrants[8]. We have no hint of the occasion of these Victories; but although Eutychides and Timodemus are mentioned as dedicators, it seems unlikely that they can be really private offerings. The official who had to do with their casting might

[1] Paus. iv. 36. 6.

[2] Paus. v. 26. 6.

[3] *Revue Archéologique* xxxix. pl. ii.

[4] Ἀθηνᾶ Ἐργάνη: Paus. iii. 17. 4. The epithet must be meant in a wide sense as the accomplisher.

[5] *AM* xiii. 149 Μικκιάδης τόδ' ἄγαλμα καλὸν πετεεινὸν ἔτευξεν Ἀρχέρμου σοφίησιν· Ἑκηβόλωι αὖτ' ἀνέθηκαν οἱ Χῖοι, Μέλανος πατρώιον ἄστυ νεμόντες.

[6] These are treated in the paper, *Les Victoires en or de l'Acropole*, *BCH* xii. 283 ff. They are mentioned in *CIA* i. 32 B, iv. p. 12, p. 63: 435 B.C. ἐπιστάται τοῖν νίκαιν are spoken of.

[7] *BCH* xii. 288. Compare Demetrius, Περὶ Ἑρμ. 281.

[8] *BCH* xii. 292.

be said to dedicate them[1]. On the other hand, the small bronze Victories of the Acropolis[2] may well have been private; and we are justified in counting them amongst dedications of war, for the reason given above.

Another aspect of the event is personified in the great statue of Nemesis at Rhamnus, carved (if the common tale be true) out of the very block which the Persians had intended for a statue of Victory[3].

A third personification is the Lion. Heracles is said to have dedicated a stone lion which stood before the temple of Artemis Eucleia at Thebes, in commemoration of a victory over Orchomenus[4]. A stone lion was one of the statues found at Branchidae, which can hardly be but a war-tithe[5]. The Elateans, when Cassander was driven away from their walls by timely help (298), sent a bronze lion to Delphi[6]. The lion, placed on a cliff, overlooking the place where the battle of Cnidus was fought, probably marks the tomb where slain heroes rest; like the great lion of Chaeronea, which still guards the bones of those whom Philip slew[7], or that other in Ceos which covers unknown dead[8]. It would appear from these instances that the lion laid stress not so much on the victory, as the courage of brave men, whether victors or vanquished; and the symbol has thus a pathos and nobility of its own, which sets it above the records of mere triumph and pride.

There is more than personification, there is a complete allegory, in what the Athenians sent to Delphi after the Eurymedon (469): a palm tree of bronze, with fruit upon it, a gilt Athena and a couple of owls being apparently percht on the branches[9]. This must surely imply that Athena and her

[1] As the *ταμίαι* did with the old bronzes, *Cat. Acr. Mus. Br.* 428.

[2] *AM* xi. 373.

[3] Paus. i. 32. 2; *Anth. App. Plan.* 221, 222, 226, 263.

[4] Paus. ix. 17. 2.

[5] Newton, *Italia*, 777[66]: *τὰ ἀγάλματα τάδε ἀνέθεσαν οἱ* Πύθωνος *παῖδες τοῦ ἀρχηγοῦ,* Θαλῆς *καὶ* Πασικλῆς *καὶ* Ἡγήσανδρος *καὶ* Λύκιος *καὶ* Ἀναξίλεως, *δεκάτην τῷι* Ἀπόλλωνι.

[6] Paus. x. 187.

[7] Paus. ix. 40. 10.

[8] Bent, *Cyclades*, 453; Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1898, col. 231, plate 14.

[9] Paus. x. 15. 4; Plut. *Nic.* 13. There was a palm tree with frogs and watersnakes at the foot, in the Corinthian treasury, but nothing is known of its origin: Plut. *Pyth. Or.*

favourite city were now possessors of the east and its riches. Plutarch notes that just before the Sicilian disaster, crows peckt off the fruit. So perhaps the horn of Amalthea, sent by Miltiades the elder to Olympia, after taking a city[1]. Pausanias explains on a like principle why the Corcyreans and the Eretrians sent to Olympia[2], the Plataeans and the Carystians to Delphi[3], each a bronze ox, after the Persian wars; because, says he, they were now able to plow in peace. It would be more satisfactory to have the givers' word for it, but the thing is not impossible. The Council of the Areopagus dedicated a bronze bull on the Acropolis, which, if it belongs to the same period, may have a similar reference to stock-breeding[4]. But all five may be memorials of sacrifice. A distinct example of the sacrificial model is known as a war dedication. Orneae, having conquered Sicyon, in the heat of gratitude rashly vowed to institute in the god's honour a daily procession at Delphi, and to sacrifice such and such victims; but this proving a burden upon them, they dedicated a bronze representation of the whole procession, victims and all, instead[5].

Tripods form a large class of war-dedications, and I have reserved them for this place because the motive of choice differs in different ages[6]. Originally they are dedicated for their value; and this explains why in the first Messenian War (743—724), when the Messenians shut up in Ithome enquired of the Delphic oracle what they must do to prevail, the reply was, That whichever side should first dedicate a hundred tripods to Zeus of Ithome was to possess the Messenian land. The Messenians being too poor to make these of bronze in due

399 F. Another in Delos: Ath. xi. 502 B Σῆμος δ' ἐν Δήλῳ ἀνακεῖσθαί φησι χαλκοῦν φοίνικα Ναξίων ἀνάθημα καὶ καρυωτὰς φιάλας χρυσᾶς.

[1] Paus. vi. 19. 6 Ζηνί μ' ἄγαλμ' ἀνέθηκαν Ὀλυμπίῳ ἐκ Χερονήσου τεῖχος ἑλόντες Ἀράτου· ἐπῆρχε δὲ Μιλτιάδης σφίν.

[2] Paus. v. 29. 7: the base of one of them, and one ear, remain: *Inschr. von Ol.* 248 Ἐρετριῆς τῶι Δί.

[3] Paus. x. 16. 6.

[4] Paus. i. 24. 2; see *AZ* xviii. 37. It does not help us to know that Hera was worshipt in both places, and that a cow or bull is seen on coins of Carystus (Head, *HN* 294, 302).

[5] Paus. vi. 18. 5.

[6] For the history of the tripod see ch. xiv.

form, proceeded to make images of them in wood; but meanwhile Oebalus a Spartan, a man of no mark but shrewd enough, made him a hundred tripods of clay, and having by stratagem got within the walls of Ithome, set these up before the god at dead of night[1]. In this way the Spartans were victorious; and at the close of the war they used part of the spoils to procure three tripods, each having a statue beneath it, of Aphrodite, Artemis, and the Maid, which they dedicated to Apollo of Amyclae[2].

But in course of time the tripod became a traditional form of dedication, which endured long after the bronze article ceased to circulate. The beauty of its shape no doubt helpt to keep the type in use; but that tradition had more to do with it, is clear from the miniature mock tripods and kettles which were found in great numbers at Olympia, some cut out of thin foil, others in model[3]. But when they are made of gold the ornamental side becomes important. Tripods of gold were sent to Delphi after Himera by Hiero and Gelo both[4]. An epigram by Simonides mentions the four brothers; and as four tripod bases have been found together, two of which are those of Hiero and Gelo, it is likely that all four did dedicate tripods, and that the first two eclipst the more modest offerings of the others[5]. A tripod of Hiero's, sent to Delphi after the battle of Cumae (474), is also mentioned[6]. Most famous of all votive tripods, and perhaps of all dedications, was the golden tripod

[1] Paus. iv. 12. 9.

[2] Paus. iv. 14. 2, with Frazer's note. Either date or artist's name is probably wrong. Pausanias may have mixt up the different Messenian wars. For a statue beneath a tripod see Paus. i. 20. 1.

[3] *Bronzen von Ol.* xxvii. 536, 540, etc.

[4] Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* i. 155 *Φημὶ Γέλων' Ἱέρωνα Πολύζηλον Θρασύβουλον, παῖδας Δεινομένους, τοὺς τρίποδας θέμεναι, βάρβαρα νικήσαντας ἔθνη, πολλὴν δὲ παρασχεῖν σύμμαχον Ἕλλησιν χεῖρ' ἐς ἐλευθερίην.* *Anth. Pal.* vi. 244, the last two lines of which are probably spurious. See Freeman, *Sicily*, ii. 190, 206; T. Homolle, cited in next note.

[5] T. Homolle, *Mélanges Henri Weil*, 212, who discusses the whole question. Inscrr. on the bases: (1) *Γέλων ὁ Δεινομένεος ἀνέθηκε τῶπόλλωνι Συρακόσιος· τὸν τρίποδα καὶ τὴν νίκην ἐργάσατο Βίων Διοδώρου υἱὸς Μιλήσιος*; (2) *Ἱάρων ὁ Δεινομένεος ἀνέθηκε*, with *ἑπτὰ μναῖ* at end as part of the weight (fragm.). Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* i. 151 says Gelon offered three, *ἕνα μὲν δι' ἑαυτόν, δύο δὲ διὰ τοὺς ἀδελφούς*: the discrepancy may be explained if we suppose that Hiero's was independent.

[6] Diod. xi. 21.

bought from the Persian spoils, and set up at Delphi after Plataea had been fought and won[1]. It stood on a bronze pedestal made of three snakes intertwining, and this seems to have been supported on a stone base which was found in the recent excavations. Pausanias had a couplet composed by Simonides, and engraved upon the base, as follows[2]:

Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπεὶ στρατὸν ὤλεσε Μήδων,
Παυσανίας Φοίβῳ μνῆμ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε.

The Amphictyonic Council, incensed at his arrogance in claiming the victory of Greece for his own deed, caused this inscription to be erased, and the following to be put in its place[3]:

Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόρου σωτῆρες τόνδ' ἀνέθηκαν
δουλυσύνης στυγερᾶς ῥυσάμενοι πόλιας.

At the same time they engraved on the writhing snakes the names of all those Greek states which had fought at Plataea or Salamis, thus changing the character of the monument which was originally a memorial of Plataea only[4]. The golden part of the monument[5] was carried off by the Phocians in the Sacred War; and the bronze column, which Pausanias saw on the spot, was taken by Constantine to his new city, where it still stands in the Hippodrome, broken and defaced. To the same period we may assign the marble group of Persians supporting a bronze tripod, which Pausanias saw in the Olympieum at Athens[6]. A remarkable group of tripods is associated with Plataea. We have seen how great importance the Greeks attached to this victory, and how yearly sacrifices were decreed in memory of it. Part of the ceremony may have been the dedication of a magnificent tripod; but whether that be true of the fifth century or not, it appears that in the fourth and third centuries a board of seven magistrates was elected for the purpose of

[1] Herod. ix. 80; Paus. v. 23. 1, x. 13. 9; Diod. xi. 33 says δεκάτη, Thuc. i. 132. 2 ἀκροθίνιον, Dem. *Neaera* § 97 ἀριστεῖον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἀνέθηκαν. See also *Jahrb.* i. 176.

[2] Thuc. i. 132; *Anth. Pal.* vi. 197.

[3] Diod. xi. 33.

[4] For list of states see *IGA* 70, where references are given for the history of the monument. The heads of the serpents were broken off by the Turks, but one is in the Museum at Constantinople.

[5] Some think that the framework was of bronze: see Frazer on Pausanias, *l.c.*

[6] Paus. i. 18. 8; Ziemann, p. 17.

performing certain ceremonies[1], at the end of which they dedicated a tripod. Three of these dedications have been found, dedicating the tripod to Zeus Eleutherios at Plataea[2]; one at Thespiae to the Muses[3]; seven at Acraephiae to Apollo Ptoan[4]; one at Orchomenus to the Graces[5]. As the formula in each shows the dedication to be made in the name of the Boeotian community, we may perhaps fairly assume that the occasion was one, and that the place, and consequently the deity, varied for political reasons[6]. To assume further that the memory of Plataea was the occasion, is to go beyond the evidence; but in default of a better explanation I would suggest it. Three tripods are mentioned as dedicated by Phormio on some occasion unknown, perhaps for one of his victories[7]. Two bronze tripods were dedicated at Amyclae from the spoils of Aegospotami[8]. Some Knights of Thespiae, sent home in 330 by Alexander, dedicated a tripod to Zeus, the inscription of which is preserved in the *Anthology*[9]. Perhaps the Knights of Orchomenus, their companions, made the same offering to Zeus the Saviour, but it is not described[10].

One very artificial offering remains to be mentioned. Aristonous wrote a paean in commemoration of the repulse of the Gauls from Delphi, which was performed at the Soteria, a yearly festival of thanksgiving for the deliverance. This was engraved on a slab and set up in the Athenian treasury there, together with a list of honours decreed to the successful poet[11]. This dedication has wandered far from the simple piety or thankfulness of earlier use, and is a mere method of self-glorification.

[1] *ἀφεδριατεύειν*, as interpreted by the editor of the Corpus, W. Dittenberger.

[2] *IGS* i. 1672—4.

[3] *IGS* i. 1795.

[4] *IGS* i. 2723—4, 2724 *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*.

[5] *IGS* i. 3207.

[6] *IGS* i. 1672 Βοιωτοὶ Διὶ Ἐλευθερίωι τὸν **τρίποδα** *κατὰ τὰν μαντείαν τῶ* Ἀπόλλωνος.

[7] Cratinus, frag. 456 Kock, quoted by Zonaras 1366: *Φορμίων τρεῖς ἔφη στήσειν τρίποδας, ἔπειτα ἔθηκεν ἕνα μολύβδινον.* Some adjective of metal, gold, silver, or bronze, must have been added to the *τρίποδας* in the original.

[8] Paus. iii. 18. 8.

[9] *BCH* iii. 457; *Anth. Pal.* vi. 344.

[10] *BCH* iii. 453 **τοὶ ἱππέες τοὶ** *ἐν τὰν* Ἀσίαν *στρατευσάμενοι* **βασιλίος** Ἀλεξάνδρω *στραταγίοντος*..... Θεοδώρω *φιλιάρχοντος*, Διὶ Σωτῆρι *ἀνέθεσαν*.

[11] *BCH* xvii. 561 ff. The slab has been found.

IV.

GAMES AND CONTESTS[1].

κακῶν γὰρ ὄντων μυρίων καθ' Ἑλλάδα
οὐδὲν κάκιόν ἐστιν ἀθλητῶν γένος.
EURIPIDES, *Frag.* 282.

ATHLETIC games, races, and contests of other kinds are found amongst the Greeks from very early times. In Homer a chariot-race is spoken of as the natural thing to celebrate the death of a warrior[2]. Hesiod visited the Games of Amphidamas in Chalcis, where many prizes were given, and himself won a tripod for victory in song[3]. In the historical period we find this competitive spirit exprest in the four great Games, which later sprouted into innumerable off-shoots[4]; whilst many cities had their own special games, as Athens had the Panathenaea. It is not our purpose to discuss the history of these ceremonials, but merely to consider how they were commemorated by votive dedications.

The prizes at these games were, according to the earliest records, articles of recognized value, but of many different kinds. Homer speaks of tripods, kettles, and slave-women as prizes[5]. Besides these, Pindar mentions vessels of gold[6] and

[1] In this chapter I have used Emil Reisch's *Griechische Weihgeschenke* (*Abh. des Arch-Ep. Sem. der Univ. Wien*, viii.): Wien 1890. I acknowledge special obligations for the sections on musical and dramatic contests.

[2] *Il.* xxii. 162—4.

[3] Hes. *Op.* 654—7 *ἔνθα μέ φημι ὕμνῳ νικήσαντα φέρειν τρίποδ' ὠτώεντα.*

[4] See list of local Olympia in Smith's *Dict. Ant., s.v.* These games, according to legend, were originally sepulchral.

[5] *Il.* xxii. 162—4, xxiii. 264; cp. xi. 701; Hesiod, *Shield*, 312 (golden tripod).

[6] Pind. *Isthm.* i. 18 *ἔν τ' ἀέθλοισι θίγον πλείστων ἀγώνων, καὶ τριπόδεσσιν ἐκόσμησαν δόμον καὶ λεβήτεσσι φιάλαισί τε χρυσοῦ.*

silver[1], articles of bronze[2]. Bronze tripods were given in the Games of Heracles at Thebes[3]; a bronze shield at the Argive Heraea[4], bronze articles in the Arcadian feast of Lycaean Zeus[5], a kettle often[6], a crater at the Games of Aeacus in Aegina[7]; silver cups at the Heraclea of Marathon[8]; a cloke or frieze jerkin at Pellene[9]. One of the oldest inscriptions of Troezen records the winning of a tripod at Thebes[10]. A prize kettle for the long race is commemorated by an epigram in the *Anthology*[11]. Apparently a cuirass was also given at Argos, if we may judge from a mutilated inscription[12]. At the Panathenaea the prize was so many jars of oil made from the sacred olives, which only victors were allowed to take out of the country[13]. It will be noted that at Athens, Pellene, and Argos the prize was an article of local make[14]. The others, whether of local make or not, were given for their own value, not for any hidden meaning supposed to be implied by them; and the tripod must

[1] Pind. *Nem.* ix. 51 *ἀργυρέαισι...φιάλαισι...ἅς ποθ' ἵπποι κτησάμεναι*, etc.; x. 43 *Σικυωνόθε δ' ἀργυρωθέντες σὺν οἰνηραῖς φιάλαις ἐπέβαν.*

[2] Pind. *Nem.* x. 22 *ἀγὼν χάλκεος.*

[3] Schol. Pind. *Ol.* vii. 152 *ἐδίδοτο τοῖς νικήσασι τρίπους χαλκοῦς.*

[4] Schol. Pind. *Ol.* vii. 152 *χαλκῆ ἀσπὶς καὶ στέφανος ἐκ μυρσίνης.*

[5] Schol. Pind. *Ol.* vii. 152 *σκεύεσι χαλκοῖς.* A bronze basin from Cumae is inscribed *ἐπὶ τοῖς Ὀνομάστου τοῦ Φειδώλεω ἄθλοις ἐθέθην*: Roberts, no. 174, *Cat. Br. Mus. Bronzes* 257. Bather interprets two Athenian inscriptions in the same sense: *JHS* xiii. 233.

[6] Schol. Pind. *Nem.* x. 84 *λέβητα...ἐν πολλοῖς τῶν ἀγώνων.*

[7] Schol. Pind. *Ol.* vii. 176 *κρατήρ.*

[8] Schol. Pind. *Ol.* xii. 155 *ἀργυραῖ φιάλαι.*

[9] Pind. *Nem.* x. 44 *ἐκ δὲ Πελλάνας ἐπιεσσάμενοι νῶτον μαλακαῖσι κρόκαις*; Schol. *ad loc. τίθεται δὲ παχέα ἱμάτια ἐν Μελλήνῃ ἄγναφα.* So Schol. Pind. *Ol.* xiii. 155. Also called *διφθέρα.*

[10] *BCH* xvii. 85 on a column : *Δαμοτίμωι τόδε σᾶμα φίλα ϝεργάσατο μάτηρ Ἀμφιδάμα· οὐ γὰρ παῖδες ἐνὶ μεγάροις ἐγένοντο καὶ τρίπος ὃν Θήβασσι θεοῦ ἤνεικε.....τέχνης μνῆμ' ἀγαθῆς· ἐπέθεικε δὲ παιδί.* This is of course an epitaph.

[11] *Anth. Pal.* xiii. 8 *ἐκ δολίχου τόνδε σφυρήλατον, ὡς τάχει κρατήσας, υἱὸς Ἀριστομάχειος ἀνείλετο χαλκέον λέβητα.*

[12] *CIA* iii. 116.

[13] Schol. Pind. *Nem.* x. 64 *τίθενται γὰρ Ἀθήναις ἐν ἐπάθλου τάξει ὑδρίαι πλήρεις ἐλαίου*, quoting Callimachus frag. 122 *καὶ γὰρ Ἀθηναίοις παρ' ἐπὶ στέγος ἱερὸν ἦνται καλπίδες, οὐ κόσμου σύμβολον, ἀλλὰ πάλης.* On 57 he says *ἀμφιφορεῦσι χαλκοῖς*; but Pindar himself *γαίᾳ δὲ καυθείσᾳ πυρὶ καρπὸς ἐλαίας ...ἐν ἀγγέων ἔρκεσιν παμποικίλοις. CIA* ii. 965 gives so many *ἀμφορῆς ἐλαίου* as the prize for athletic events, a *ὑδρία* for the torch-race. For the *μορίαι* see Schol. Arist. *Clouds* 1005.

[14] Schol. Arist. *Birds* 1421 *χλαῖναι δὲ διαφέρουσαι ἐν Πελλήνῃ γίνονται.*

be included, for as we shall see below[1], it is not confined to one deity or one occasion. It is in fact given for wrestling in the *Iliad*[2], and appears on a Corinthian tablet between two men-at-arms[3]; on vase-paintings it stands as the prize for chariot-races[4] and other races[5], and for boxing and wrestling[6]. The tripod continued to be given as the traditional prize for the lyrical chorus at Athens[7], long after its origin was forgotten. It was also given at the Panathenaea[8]. In the great games no prizes were given but the wreath of glory; but in local games prizes of value continued to be the rule. Money was given at the Salaminian boat-race[9], weapons and other articles at Delos[10]; at the Panathenaea a gold crown for the harpist, a hydria for the torch-racer, an ox for the pyrrhic chorus[11]; at the Pythia a gold crown for the city which sent the finest sacrificial ox[12]; fine arms and armour or golden crowns for soldiers' sports[13]: these are a few examples.

We may divide the offerings in this chapter into three classes: (1) The Prize, (2) The Instrument, (3) Other Commemorative Offerings.

1. *The Prize.*

On the same principle which suggested the consecration of war-spoils, the victor often made an offering of his prize. There is no trace of this custom in Homer, although one of the Delphic tripods was traditionally ascribed to Diomede, who should have won it at the funeral games of Patroclus[14]. Hesiod however brings back his prize from Chalcis and dedicates

[1] See chap. xiv.

[2] *Il.* xxiii. 702.

[3] Cor. Tablet, no. 697.

[4] Dipylon vase (*Mon. dell' Inst.* ix. pl. 39. 2); Corinthian (*ibid.* x. pl. 4. 5); the François vase and elsewhere (Reisch).

[5] Vases: Berlin 1655, 1712; Gerhard, *Auserles. Vasenbilder* iv. 17, pl. 247, 256 (Reisch).

[6] Amphora by Nicosthenes: Klein, *Meistersig.* 31 (Reisch). Bather in *JHS* xiii. 267[18] gives references to two vases, chest of Cypselus, throne of Apollo, and Hesiod, *Shield*, 302, 313.

[7] So at Delos: *CIA* ii. 814[32], p. 279.

[8] Base of Bryaxis. *BCH* xv. 369, xvi. 550, pl. iii., vii.; *CIA* iv. 2. 1305 *b*; cp. Gerhard, *Auserles. Vasenb.* iv. 17, pl. 247.

[9] *BCH* xvi. 797; cp. *CIG* 2758.

[10] *CIG* 2360.

[11] *CIA* ii. 965.

[12] Xen. *Hell.* iv. 4. 9.

[13] Xen. *Hell.* iii. 4. 8, iv. 2. 7.

[14] Phanias *ap.* Ath. vi. 232 c *ἐπὶ δὲ τρίποδος, ὃς ἦν εἷς τῶν ἐπὶ Πατρόκλῳ ἄθλων τεθέντων· χάλκεός εἰμι τρίπους, Πυθοῖ δ' ἀνάκειμαι ἄγαλμα, καί μ' ἐπὶ Πατρόκλῳ θῆκεν πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς. Τυδείδης δ' ἀνέθηκε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης νικήσας ἵπποισι παρὰ πλατὺν Ἑλλήσποντον.*

it appropriately enough to the Muses of Helicon, where they first made him master of the singer's craft[1]. In the temple on Helicon Hesiod's reputed tripod was to be seen, and perhaps the obviously spurious epigram, preserved in the *Anthology*, was engraved upon it[2]. Others were there also, some of which may have been prizes[3]. In the first Pythian Games prizes appear to have been given; and a tripod (perhaps one of them) was dedicated to Heracles at Thebes by the Arcadian musician Echembrotus[4]. Of the sixth century, or earlier, is the Athenian dedication of a tripod won for tumbling or juggling[5]. A bronze kettle, of which a fragment was found on the Acropolis, appears to have been dedicated as a prize; this comes probably from the sixth century[6]: and a tripod is named in another dedication[7]. From the fifth century we have a tripod dedicated at Dodona by a rhapsode Terpsicles[8]. Herodotus mentions a tripod at Thebes the offering of a victorious pugilist[9]. By Herodotus' day it was a matter of course with victors in the Triopia to offer their prize tripods to Apollo; indeed they were not allowed to take them out of the precinct[10]. Many tripods have been found, whole and in fragments, at Athens, Delos, Delphi, Dodona,

[1] Hes. *Op.* 654 *ἔνθα δ' ἐγὼν ἐπ' ἄεθλα δαΐφρονος Ἀμφιδάμαντος Χαλκίδα τ' εἰσεπέρησα· τὰ δὲ προπεφραδμένα πολλὰ ἆθλ' ἔθεσαν παῖδες μεγαλήτορες· ἔνθα μέ φημι ὕμνῳ νικήσαντα φέρειν τρίποδ' ὠτώεντα. τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ Μούσαις Ἑλικωνιάδεσσ' ἀνέθηκα, ἔνθα με τὸ πρῶτον λιγυρῆς ἐπέβησαν ἀοιδῆς.*

[2] *Anth. Pal.* vii. 53.

[3] Not however of the Musaea, where the prizes were garlands: *IGS* 1735, etc.; Plut. *Amatorius* 1.

[4] Paus. x. 7. 6 inscr. *Ἐχέμβροτος Ἀρκὰς ἔθηκε τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ νικήσας τόδ' ἄγαλμα Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐν ἀέθλοις Ἕλλησιν δ' ᾄδων μέλεα καὶ ἐλέγους.* This would be in the year 586.

[5] *CIA* iv. 1. 373[79], p. 86: *τόνδε Φίλων ἀνέθηκεν Ἀθηναίαι τριποδίσκον θαύμασι νικήσας ἐς πόλιν ἀρεσίου.*

[6] *Kat.* iv. **ἆθλόν με....ἀνέθηκεν.**

[7] *Kat.* 236; *CIA* i. 493. Bather (*JHS* xiii. 129, 233) sees prizes in several Acropolis fragments of bowls or tripods. No. 62 *τῶν ἐπὶ* **Λαμσίδαι ἄθλων...κατέθηκεν.** 64 *b* **ἐπὶ** Ῥαχσίδαι Πυθίων με **κατέθηκεν**...Λανσείδου Σθενίδαι. Cp. *Od.* xxiv. 91 *οἳ' ἐπὶ σοὶ κατέθηκε θεὰ περικαλλέ' ἄεθλα.* We need not suppose with Bather that these were placed on the Acropolis as deposits.

[8] *IGA* 502 *Τερψικλῆς τῶι Διὶ Ναΐωι ῥαψωιδὸς ἀνέθηκε*; Carapanos, *Dodone*, p. 40, pl. xiii. 2.

[9] Herod. v. 60 inscr. *Σκαῖος πυγμαχέων με ἑκηβόλῳ Ἀπόλλωνι νικήσας ἀνέθηκε τεῖν περικαλλὲς ἄγαλμα.*

[10] Herod. i. 144 *ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἀγῶνι τοῦ Τριοπίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἐτίθεσαν τὸ πάλαι τρίποδας χαλκέους τοῖσι νικῶσι· καὶ τούτους χρῆν τοὺς λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ μὴ ἐκφέρειν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἀνατιθέναι τῷ θεῷ.*

Olympia, and elsewhere[1]; but without inscriptions we cannot assign them to any particular occasion.

The musical prize in Sparta was an iron object, part of the ceremonial headgear, and named στλεγγὶς from its likeness to the body-scraper[2]. There are dedications of these to Artemis Orthia, and one of them still remains fixt in the stone[3]. A strigil now in the British Museum was a prize[4]; and many such are mentioned in the Athenian and Delian inventories[5], which, like Xenophon's gold ones[6], may have been the same. Bronze vessels, or other prizes, may have stood on certain bases with dedicatory inscriptions of torch-race runners, but there is nothing to prove it[7]. One of these bases has round holes, as if for torches; and torches, or torch-holders, appear to have been dedicated as prizes, at least there is one such dedication to Hermes and Heracles from the second century after Christ[8]. In the third century B.C. Straton a flotist won a prize, which he dedicated in Thespiae[9]; and a harpist appears to have dedicated his in Athens[10]. The Argive shield is modelled in relief as late as the age of Hadrian[11]. Other dedications of prizes are recorded, whose nature is not known. Such are the torch-racer's prize to Hermes and Heracles at Byzantium[12], the harpist's to Apollo and

[1] See chap. XIV.

[2] So used in Sparta: Sosibius *ap.* Ath. xv. 674 A συμβαίνει... καλάμοις στεφανοῦσθαι ἢ στλεγγίδι. In Andania: Collitz iii. 4689[13]. As prizes in an ἀγών: Xen. *Anab.* i. 2. 10 τὰ δὲ ἆθλα ἦσαν στλεγγίδες χρυσαῖ. See further Collitz iii. *Nachwort* p. 143.

[3] Collitz iii. 4498 ...οἱ Νικηφόρου νικάαντερ κασσηρατόριν, μῶαν καὶ λῶαν Ἀρτέμιδι Βωρθέα ἀνέθηκαν (*temp.* Marc. Aurel.); 4501 Ὀρθείη δῶρον Λεοντεὺς ἀνέθηκε βοαγὸς μῶαν νικήσας καὶ τάδ' ἔπαθλα λαβών.

[4] *Cat. Bronzes Br. Mus.* 326 τριακατίων ἆθλον.

[5] See *Indices.* A πῖλος ἀργυροῦς is also mentioned in Delos: *BCH* vi. 33[36], x. 465[115], 465[113] στλιγγίδες ἐπίτηκτοι καὶ στέφανος H ||| ἄστατοι, ἂς Νικίας Ἀθηναῖος ἀνέθηκεν.

[6] Above, note [2].

[7] *CIA* ii. 1229 Ἀκαμαντὶς ἐνίκα λαμπάδι Παναθήναια τὰ μεγάλα (346/5), with round depression; cp. 1230, 1232, 1233.

[8] *CIG* 250
ἆθλα τὰ τῆς νίκης ὡράριος Ἡρακλείδης λαμπάδας Ἑρμείαι θῆκε καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ.
For models of torches see chap. VIII.

[9] *IGS* i. 1818 τοιόσδ' ἐὼν ἀείρατ' ἐκ Μουσᾶν ἐμὲ Στράτων ἀγῶνος.

[10] *CIA* iii. 112 νίκας Ἀλκιβιάδου σημήιον ἐνθάδε κεῖμαι, στᾶσε δέ μ' οὐ μολπᾶς ἀλλ' ἀρετᾶς ἄεθλον.

[11] *CIA* iii. 127 τὴν ἐξ Ἀργοῦς ἀσπίδα: mentioned, not dedicated.

[12] Collitz iii. 3058 στεφανωθεὶς τᾶι λαμπάδι τῶν ἀνήβων...τὸ ἆθλον Ἑρμᾶι καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ.

the Muses in Cos[1], and a third from some unknown contest in Aegae[2]. Even perishable wreaths may have been dedicated, as the Cretan Alcon did at the Isthmia[3], the soldiers of Agesilaus did with theirs at their friendly contests in Ephesus[4]. In a Delian temple-inscription is a long list of articles handed on from archon to archon, and apparently votive offerings; all are goblets of the different kinds mentioned among the temple treasure: since a list of victors in the artistic contests is also given, it looks as though these might be prizes[5]. In the list for the year 364 we find *ποτήρια χορεῖα, φιάλη νικοδρόμειος*, and eleven silver goblets, which had been prizes in the horse-race[6].

We have seen that the panathenaic amphorae are mentioned as early as Pindar, who speaks of the "fruit of the olive in gaily bedeckt jars[7]." These jars have been found in many places, a large number of them in Etruria, others in Cyrene, in the Crimea, and in various parts of Greece[8]. The oldest existing specimen bears the inscription, in archaic script, *τῶν Ἀθήνηθεν ἄθλων εἰμί*: the goddess, armed with helmet, shield, and spear, and clad in the embroidered peplus, stands turned to the left, brandishing the spear, and holding the shield so as to show the device upon it[9]. So far the form is stereotyped, except that between 336 and 313 the figure for reasons unknown is turned to the right[10]; in most specimens a pillar or two pillars are drawn, with sometimes a cock upon them, or an

[1] Collitz iii. 3651 *νικάσας...κιθαρισμῶι ...τὸ τεθὲν ἆθλον Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Μούσαις.* Ancient dedications of *κιθαρῳδοί* in Athens: *CIA* i. 357, 372.

[2] Bahn-Schuchhardt, *Alterthümer von Aigai*, 43 *νικήσας ἀνέθηκε τὸ ἀκροθίνιον*?

[3] Simonides 158 (Bergk) *Κρὴς Ἄλκων Διδύμου Φοίβῳ στέφος Ἰσθμι' ἑλὼν πύξ.*

[4] Xen. *Hell.* iii. 4. 18 *τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας ἐστεφανωμένους ἀπὸ τῶν γυμνασίων ἀπιόντας καὶ ἀνατιθέντας τοὺς στεφάνους τῇ Ἀρτεμίδι.*

[5] *BCH* ix. 147 ff. *ἀνέθηκε* occurs line 15.

[6] *BCH* x. 462. But the wording of the last, *φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ Δ Ι, ἆθλα, περιγενόμεναι ἐκ τῆς ἱπποδρομίας*, does not imply that they were dedicated by the victors. They may have been extra stock kept until next time. The phrases *ἀμφορίσκος πανιώνιος, κρατὴρ τριηρητικός* (466) may refer to shape.

[7] Page 150[13].

[8] Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, p. 1151, gives references. I take from him the description of the vases.

[9] Baumeister, fig. 1346; *Mon. dell' Inst.* x. pl. 21.

[10] The dates of later specimens are known by the archon's name.

owl, a panther, a Victory, a figure of Athena herself[1]. On the reverse of the vase is another scene, generally agonistic. As fragments of these jars have been found on the Acropolis, it is natural to suppose the winners, who received a certain number of jars for each victory[2], sometimes offered one to Athena. Perhaps they also dedicated the prize at home: at least, one victor in the Eleusinia offered something in Lesbos, and on the inscribed slab is carven an amphora and olive leaves[3]; and a panathenaic amphora was found at Eleusis[4]. One such vase appears to be dedicated to Asclepius[5].

The golden crowns and the like, won in public contests, were sometimes consecrated. In the Panathenaea a crown was the reward of musical contests, which by Pericles were added to the list of events[6]. Xenophon relates how athletic and military competitions were held for the army of Agesilaus at Ephesus; among the prizes were fine arms and golden crowns[7]. There are a large number of gold crowns in the Athenian inventories, but few can be identified[8]. In the Delian lists one donor is Xenophantus, whom Homolle identifies with the famous flotist[9]. There are some fifty gold crowns mentioned in the list[10]; myrtle crowns are dedicated by the Delian girls as the prize of dancing[11]. One laurel crown bears the name of Nicias[12]. The state is also found dedicating a victor's crown[13]. Nero, who was nothing if not a mimic, dedicated in the Argive Heraeum a

[1] One of them shows a male figure holding a Victory; interpreted by C. Torr as Lycurgus (Plut. *X. Or.* vii. 5, iii. 4). See *Rev. Arch.* xxvi. 160.

[2] The prizes vary from 8 to 60 jars: Mommsen, *Heortologie*, 141.

[3] *IGI* Lesbos 132 νικάσαις Ἐλευσίνια, ἄνδρας στάδιον. Cp. 133.

[4] *AM* xvii. 126.

[5] *AM* xxi. 294.

[6] Mommsen, *Heortologie*, 151; Simonides, frag. 155 (213) καὶ Παναθηναίοις στεφάνους λάβε πέντε: *CIA* ii. 965.

[7] Xen. *Hell.* iv. 2. 7.

[8] *CIA* i. 170—172. Many were honorific: see below, ch. VII.

[9] Homolle, *Les archives de l'intendance sacrée à Delos*, p. 68; Plut. *Dem.* 53 ἐλλογιμώτατος αὐλητής. He lived in the early third century.

[10] *BCH* vi. 120.

[11] *BCH* vi. 29, line 5 στεφάνια χρυσᾶ, ded. to the Graces; 30, line 7 ff. στέφανος δρυός, κισσοῦ, δάφνης, μυρσίνης, p. 39 ἐλαίας.

[12] *BCH* xiv. 411 στέφανος χρυσοῦς Νικίου ἀνάθημα, with 42 leaves 9 berries.

[13] *CIA* ii. 652, line 36: στέφανος θαλλοῦ χρυσοῦς, ὃν ἡ πόλις ἀνέθηκε τὰ νικητήρια τοῦ κιθαρῳδοῦ, list of 398/7. Or can this have been deposited against the next contest?

golden crown and a purple robe; the first doubtless[1] a musical prize, the latter the dress he performed in[2]. So also he sent to Olympia a golden crown[3].

The most important series of prizes thus dedicated, are the tripods awarded for the best tribal chorus at the Dionysia and cyclic chorus at the Thargelia[4]. The origin of the form has been spoken of; here it remained as an honorific prize, its very type, its shape and size, the ornamental lion-claws and so forth, being traditional. In the vase paintings, it should be noted, there seems always to be a kettle too. This tripod is usually represented as being taller than a man[5]. Ever since the tribal competition was establisht by Cleisthenes the tripod seems to have been the only prize[6]; there is clear evidence for the fifth century[7] and for the fourth[8]. Simonides mentions fifty-six tripods won by his choruses[9]. In the earlier part of the fourth century we find the usual victors' records of choregi[10]; but as the city became poorer, the choregia had to be shared between two or more, whose names appear jointly as victors[11]. By the end of this century the burden appears to have grown too great for private citizens, and the state takes it over[12], placing the celebration in the hands of a public official, the Agonothet[13]. This reform is ascribed to Demetrius of Phalerum, who presided at the Dionysia in 309/8[14]. The records after this date are not full, but we find dedications in the second century[15]. Outside Attica

[1] As Reisch suggests (p. 60).

[2] Paus. ii. 17. 6.

[3] Paus. v. 12. 8.

[4] See especially Reisch, chap. iii. In antiquity Heliodorus wrote a work *περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι τριπόδων* (Suidas *s.v.* Πύθιον).

[5] Reisch discusses the existing bases 75 ff.; the vase evidence 68, 80; the reliefs 70. A pillar usually supported them in the middle; one remains, *Ἀθήναιον* i. 170.

[6] *Hermes* xx. 66.

[7] Isaeus v. 41, cp. Xen. *Hieron.* ix. 4.

[8] Demosth. *Meid.* 6.

[9] *Anth. Pal.* xiii. 28.

[10] *CIA* ii. 3. 1229 ff.; inscrr. in Delos *BCH* ix. 147; further list in D. and S. *s.v. Choregus.*

[11] *CIA* ii. 3. 1280 ff. There is an example of joint dedication before 404, when Gnathis and Alexandrides commemorated two victories, of a tragedy by Sophocles and a comedy by Aristophanes. The stone was found in Eleusis. But this is clearly a dedication of a different sort.

[12] *CIA* ii. 3. 1289 *ὁ δῆμος ἐχορήγει*; ff.

[13] *ἀγωνοθέτης, l.c.*

[14] *AM* iii. 229 ff.; *CIA* ii. 3. 1289 note.

[15] *CIA* ii. 3. 1298.

we have no means of knowing how far the choregic customs prevailed; but there are traces of such dedications at Eretria in Euboea[1], at Orchomenus[2], and elsewhere. The practice seems to have died out for a time, perhaps for lack of musical talent. After the Christian era the competition seems to have been artificially revived[3]. The Thargelian contest ceases to have importance as early as the fourth century.

Originally the Dionysiac tripods were dedicated in the precinct of Dionysus[4], and the Thargelian in the Pythium[5]. But when there was no longer room, or the choregus became more ambitious, they were set up in a street close by called after them The Tripods[6]. The state used to pay a thousand drachmae towards the cost[7]; but the opportunity for magnificence or display was not neglected by the choregus, and thus the offering partook of both public and private character. They were placed on a plain basis, or on steps, or on a pillar[8], like that of Aristocrates, which is still preserved. It seems probable, as Reisch suggests, that the three-sided marble bases, with concave sides, some inscribed, some bearing Dionysiac reliefs, even tripods, were intended to carry votive tripods[9]. Nicias would seem to be the first who made the base of a

[1] *AJA* o.s., x. 335.

[2] *IGS* i. 3210.

[3] *CIA* iii. 68 *b*, 79, 82 *c*. Inscrr. on bases: *CIA* i. 336, 337, iv. 1. 337 *a*, ii. 1250 (B.C. 415), ii. 1281 (early 4th cent.), 1240 (B.C. 344/3), 1249, 1258, 1262. For the Thargelia: *CIA* i. 421, 422. Reisch adds reff. to Athen. ii. 37; Arg. to Dem. *Or.* xxi. p. 510, Schol. Aesch. *Tim.* 10 p. 255 Schulz.

[4] Isaeus v. 41 *μνημεῖα τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρετῆς ἀνέθεσαν, τοῦτο μὲν ἐν Διονύσου τρίποδας, οὓς χορηγοῦντες καὶ νικῶντες ἔλαβον*: of a man who died in 429. Cp. *Anth. Pal.* vi. 339.

[5] Suidas *s.v.* *Πύθιον· ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος, Ἀθήνησιν ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου γεγονός, εἰς ὃ τοὺς τρίποδας ἐτίθεσαν οἱ τῷ κυκλίῳ χόρῳ νικήσαντες τὰ Θαργήλια.*

[6] Paus. i. 20. 1, with Frazer's note.

[7] *CIA* ii. 814 *a* A[31] *τρίποδες νικητηρια τοῖς χοροῖς καὶ τῶι ἐργασαμένωι* (375/4). Theoretically, the offering was therefore public; but practically private. This feeling is perhaps exprest by the change of formula from the tribal name to the choregus', *ὁ δεῖνα χορηγῶν ἐνίκα*: cp. *CIA* ii. 553 (400 B.C.), 1234, and later. The choregus is victor in the Thargelia, *CIA* i. 422, Aristocrates, whose offering is mentioned in Plato, *Gorgias* 472 A (below, p. 158[1]).

[8] See the vases figured in Reisch, pp. 68, 80. Three cylindrical bases from the Thargelia, p. 88. Reisch is inclined to ascribe this to Delphic tradition. The first certain evidence for pillars under the Dionysiac tripod comes from imperial times, p. 89.

[9] Reisch, pp. 90, 92 note.

tripod something more than a base. Plato alludes to the tripod of Nicias and his brothers in the Dionysium, and to the "beautiful offering" of Aristocrates[1]; and the words of Plutarch[2] imply that those of Nicias were placed upon some kind of a shrine, on the gable top and ends perhaps. Whether or no Nicias may claim to be the inventor of the tripod shrine, the latter half of the fourth century saw a number of these erected in the Street of Tripods, of which the beautiful monument of Lysicrates (335/4) still remains on the spot[3]. The tripod stood probably on the trefoil ornament, and the frieze, which represents scenes from the life of Dionysus, was doubtless taken from the prize poem. A similar monument, called the Lantern of Diogenes, is described by a traveller as standing in 1669[4]. Another choregic inscription (of the year 323/2) is carved on a piece of a Doric epistyle[5]. The well-known monument of Thrasyllus, who won a victory with the men's chorus in 320/19, was placed against the Acropolis rock over the theatre, and there its remains are still[6]; a second Nicias won with the boys' chorus in the same year, and built a little Doric shrine for his tripod above the Odeum[7]. The agonothetae probably continued the practice of the choregi, as we see from a similar inscription on the fragments of an Ionic architrave[8], and there is evidence for similar buildings in the imperial age[9].

The tripods themselves were sometimes covered with silver,

[1] Plato, *Gorg.* 472 A: *μαρτυρήσουσί σοι, ἐὰν μὲν βούλῃ, Νικίας ὁ Νικηράτου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ, ὧν οἱ τρίποδες οἱ ἐφεξῆς ἑστῶτές εἰσιν ἐν τῷ Διονυσίῳ, ἐὰν δὲ βούλῃ, Ἀριστοκράτης ὁ Σκελλίου, οὗ αὖ ἐστιν ἐν Πυθίου τοῦτο τὸ καλὸν ἀνάθημα.*

[2] Plut. *Nic.* 3 *ὁ τοῖς χορηγικοῖς τρίποσιν ὑποκείμενος ἐν Διονύσου νεώς.*

[3] Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, i. 32; C. von Lützow, *Ztschr. f. bild. Kunst*, 1868, p. 233, 264 ff. The inscription runs *CIA* ii. 1242 *Λυσικράτης Κικυννεὺς ἐχορήγει, Ἀκαμαντὶς παίδων ἐνίκα, Θέων ηὔλει, Λυσιάδης Ἀθηναῖος ἐδίδασκε, Εὐαίνετος ἦρχε.*

[4] Guillet, *Athènes anc. et nouv.*, Paris 1675, quoted by Reisch: Laborde, *Athènes*, i. 219, 244, ii. 33.

[5] *CIA* ii. 1245.

[6] Dörpfeld in *AM* x. 227; *CIA* ii. 1247. His son Thrasycles won two victories with choruses furnisht by the state in 271/70, and commemorated them on the same spot: *CIA* ii. 1292, 1293.

[7] Dörpfeld in *AM* ix. 219, with restoration, pl. vii.; *CIA*.

[8] *CIA* ii. 1264, *AM* iii. 234: but it is doubtful.

[9] *CIA* iii. 68 *b*: the tripod, or a memorial of it, is dedicated to Asclepius privately, and not in the year it was won.

as that of Aeschraeus in the fourth century[1]; and some of them had statues enclosed between the legs. The suggestion came doubtless from ornamenting the pillars, which as we have seen stood below the belly of the cauldron for support.

Praxiteles placed his famous Satyr under one of the tripods in this street[2]. A Dionysus, with Victory by his side, made by the same artist and doubtless dedicated by him, is alluded to in the following lines[3]:

εἰ καί τις προτέρων ἐναγωνίωι Ἑρμῆι ἔρεξεν
ἱερά, καὶ Νίκηι τοιάδε δῶρα πρέπει,
ἣν πάρεδρον Βρομίωι κλεινοῖς ἐν ἀγῶσι τεχνιτῶν
Πραξιτέλης δισσοῖς εἵσαθ' ὑπὸ τρίποσιν.

Perhaps the group of Apollo and Artemis slaying the Niobids, seen by Pausanias, was there placed[4]. One Praxiteles placed statues of Victory under two tripods, probably for musical victories[5]. A similar tripod, with Dionysus beneath it, is mentioned in the *Anthology* as dedicated by Damomenes the choregus[6]. The practice is illustrated by a marble tripod found at Magnesia on the Maeander, which has Hermes between the legs[7]. A portion of what seems to be the marble base of a tripod is preserved in Madrid: it is three-sided, and there remain two graceful figures of dancing girls[8]. Three dancing figures of a similar type found at Delphi seem to have adorned a tripod base[9].

[1] Harpocration *s.v.* κατατομή: Φιλόχορος ἐν ἕκτῃ οὕτως· Αἰσχραῖος Ἀναγυράσιος ἀνέθηκε τὸν ὑπὲρ θέατρον τρίποδα καταργυρώσας, νενικηκὼς τῷ πρότερον ἔτει χορηγῶν παισί.

[2] Paus. i. 20. 1. The interpretation has been doubted, but seems to follow from a reasonable rendering of Pausanias. See for a discussion of pros and cons, Reisch, pp. 111—112.

[3] *CIA* ii. (3) 1298. The dedicator alludes to the work of Praxiteles as a thing known.

[4] Paus. i. 21. 3 σπήλαιόν ἐστιν... τρίπους δὲ ἔπεστι καὶ τούτῳ· Ἀπόλλων δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ Ἄρτεμις τοὺς παῖδάς εἰσιν ἀναιροῦντες τοὺς Νιόβης. But this may mean "in the grotto"; it can hardly mean, as Reisch suggests, they were ornamental work on the tripod, which Pausanias expresses by ἐπειργασμένος. Perhaps the scene was taken later by Christians to mean devils attacking the Virgin, and hence the modern consecration of the grotto to Our Lady of the Cave, Speleotiosa.

[5] *CIA* ii. 1298.

[6] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 339.

[7] *AM* xix. 54. It is not of the choregic type. 3rd century.

[8] *AA* viii. 76, 77. Attic, early fifth century.

[9] *BCH* xviii. 180.

The model of a tripod in stone was dedicated at Tremithus in Cyprus, apparently by the winner[1].

2. *The Instrument.*

As the victorious warrior might consecrate his own arms, so the athlete might do with the implement of his game. This class, like the corresponding class in the last chapter, is smaller than the preceding; but there is evidence for it from either extreme of Greek history, which may throw light on the obscurity which lies between. At the same time, quite a number of competitions are by their nature excluded. Singing choirs used nothing which would suggest an offering; the pentathlete had his quoit, his weights, his javelin, but the runner had nothing to show; neither had the hoplite, who for obvious reasons must not run in his own armour[2]. It is in fact the contest of quoit-throwing, or putting the weight, which is most useful to us just at this point.

In Olympia is a huge irregular stone, declaring by an inscription that Bybon threw it over his head with one hand[3]. We know that the stone was used in putting before quoits came in[4]; and although this has no dedicatory inscription, the place of its finding implies that it stood in the holy place. We cannot feel quite certain about the quoit called of Iphitus, on which was engraven the formula of the sacred truce[5]. But a very ancient bronze quoit from Cephallenia is inscribed with words which leave no doubt[6]:

> Εὐσοίδα<ς> μ' ἀνέθηκε Διϝὸς κούροιν μεγάλοιο
> χαλκόν, ὦι νίκασε Κεφαλᾶνας μεγαθύμους.

A thousand years later we find a quoit dedicated as a thank-offering by Publius Asclepiades in the year 241 of our era[7].

[1] Collitz i. 122 *Τίμαλκος...ϝ' ἑλὼν ...ὀνέθηκε Ἀπόλωνι.*

[2] Paus. v. 12. 8.

[3] *IGA* 370; Roberts 167: *Βύβων τήτερηι χειρὶ ὑπὲρ κεφαλᾶς ὑπερέβαλε τὸ οὐφόρα* (?). It measures 0·68 × 0·33 × 0·29 m. Such stones used to be kept by highland chieftains for trials of strength; we read of one weighing 200 lbs. (*Games of Argyllshire*, Folk-Lore Soc., 1900, p. 233).

[4] Paus. ii. 29. 9.

[5] Paus. v. 20. 1; Hicks, *Gr. Hist. Inscr.* 1.

[6] *IGS* iii. 1. 649.

[7] *Inschr. von Ol.* 241 Ποπλ. Ἀσκλη-

Again, a victorious pentathlete of the sixth century dedicates at Athens a base with a flat circular depression, which may have held a quoit[1]. What more natural, then, than to assume that two quoits, engraved with scenes from the five events, either were votive or represented a votive type? Both represent the jump and the javelin, which with the quoit were therefore the three events which the owner won. One is from Sicily, and is dated about 500[2]; the other, found in a tomb in Aegina, belongs

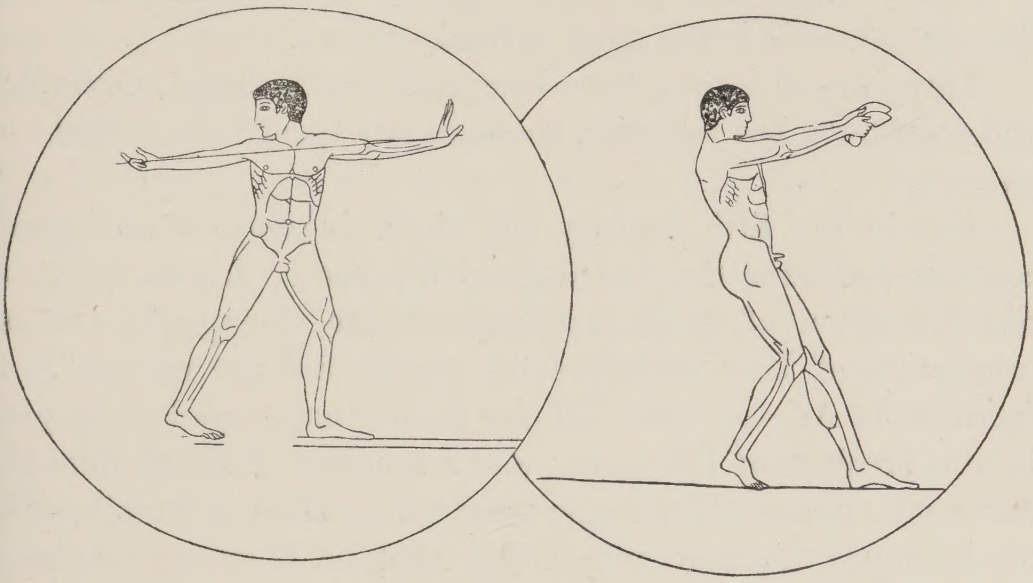

Fig. 24. Discus with representation of two events of the pentathlon, leaping and javelin-throwing.
Cat. Brit. Mus. Bronzes 248.

to the fifth century[3]. These, or such as these, may be models made for memorial or dedication. Several discs, not inscribed, were found at Olympia, which are most likely to be votive[4].

To the same class belongs the leaden jumping weight of

πιάδης Κορίνθιος πένταθλος εὐχαριστήριον Διεὶ Ὀλυμπίω Ολ. σνε (=Ol. 255). There is a mysterious legend on the other side which I have no concern with here.

[1] Κατ. 13; *CIA* iv. i. 373[189] ...ος κάλκμεονίδης πενπαθλῶντε νικήσαντε ἀνεθέτην.

[2] *Cat. Brit. Mus. Bronzes* 248, figs.; *Gaz. Arch.* i. 131, pl. 35; Schreiber, *Atlas*, xxii. 15. See fig. 24.

[3] Dar. and Sagl. *s.v. Discus*, figs. 251, 2462; *Ann. d. Inst.* 1832, pl. B; Friedrichs, *Berl. Ant. Bilder*, ii. 1273; Baumeister, *Denkm.* fig. 612; Schreiber, *Atlas*, xxii. 11. The beautiful quoit of the sixth century, bearing a dolphin, must have been made as a memorial of some sort: Παναθήναια, ii. 31; *Jahreshefte* ii. pl. 1.

[4] *Bronzen von Ol.* 179; *AZ* 1880, p. 63.

Epaenetus, found at Eleusis[1]. There was a stone weight found at Olympia inscribed with a name, but without a dedication[2]. Two weights were found at Corinth, but without inscription[3]. I do not know whether we ought to call votive the stone flute found in Ithaca[4].

If Arcesilas IV of Cyrene, who won the Pythian race in 466, did as it seems dedicate the car he drove in, this would be another example of the same principle[5]. Euagoras did so at Olympia[6]; and perhaps we may take it that this was the earliest, as it is the most natural, custom.

Trappings of horses have been found at Dodona[7], Olympia[8], and elsewhere, but to assign these to any special class would be guessing.

But in the fifth century the victor in musical and scenic contests dedicated the trappings of his work. Lysias speaks of the dedication of stage trappings by the choregus[9]; and an inscription of Teos mentions the masks and the crowns[10]. A fragment of Aristophanes[11] alludes to the "bogie-masks" hanging in the precinct of Dionysus; and a number of reliefs from the Athenian theatre show tragic masks suspended in rows[12]. The masks appear to have been either hung on the walls, or placed on their own bases[13]. Such reliefs may have been themselves votive, just as a trophy might be made in permanent form of bronze; or they may simply reproduce the appearance of the

[1] *CIA* iv. 1. 422[4] *ἀλόμενος νίκησεν Ἐπαίνετος, οὕνεκα τώδε ἀλτῆρε....*; *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1883, 189: sixth or seventh century.

[2] *IGA* 160 *Κνωδίας*; *Bronzen von Ol.* 1101.

[3] *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1883, 104, figs.

[4] *IGA* 337; *IGS* iii. 1. 655 *ἰαρός*.

[5] Pind. *Pyth.* v. 32 *κατέκλασε γὰρ ἐντέων σθένος οὐδέν· ἀλλὰ κρέμαται, ὁπόσα χερσὶν τεκτόνων δαίδαλ' ἄγων Κρισαῖον λόφον ἄμειψεν*, etc.

[6] Paus. vi. 10. 8.

[7] Carapanos, lii.

[8] *Bronzen* 1102 ff.

[9] Lysias, *Dorod.* v. 698 *ἀνδράσι χορηγῶν εἰς Διονύσια ἐνίκησα καὶ ἀνήλωσα σὺν τῇ τῆς σκευῆς ἀναθέσει πεντακισχιλίας δραχμάς*: 700 *ἐπὶ δὲ Εὐκλείδου ἄρχοντος κωμῳδοῖς χορηγῶν Κηφισοδώρῳ ἐνίκων, καὶ ἀνήλωσα σὺν τῇ τῆς σκευῆς ἀναθέσει ἑκκαίδεκα μνᾶς*.

[10] Le Bas, *As. Min.* 92: *τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους*.

[11] Arist. *Geras*, 131 Kock: *τίς ἂν φράσειε ποῦ 'στι τὸ Διονύσιον; ὅπου τὰ μορμολυκεῖα προσκρεμάννυται*.

[12] *AZ* xxiv. 170, Abb. 13; Reisch 145, 146, figs. 13 and 14.

[13] Pompeian wall-painting, *Mus. Borbon.* i. 1; Helbig 1460; Reisch 145; theatre ticket, *Mon. d. Inst.* viii. 52, 732.

temple walls with real masks hanging upon them. The dedication of the real mask comes first in point of development, although since this class of dedication does not appear until the practice of dedicating models had begun, there is nothing to show which kind, if either, comes first in time. A large number of model masks are preserved; Sybel notes about thirty of them in Athens[1], and the practice will doubtless have been followed elsewhere. A fine tragic mask of terra-cotta, with holes for hanging, came from Thebes[2]. A disc, of the Roman period, made for hanging, bears on one side two Bacchic masks, and on the other a Satyr[3].

A few other examples may be mentioned. Athenaeus alludes to a Contest of Beauty which Cypselus founded in honour of Eleusinian Demeter, in which his own wife was the first victor[4]. In a poem of the *Anthology* a victorious maiden offers as trophies of such a contest a fawn-skin and a golden vase, together with her dress and trinkets, to Priapus[5]. A votary dedicates to Hermes the torch which he had used in the torch-race[6]; Charmos offers to Poseidon his whip, curry-comb, and the other trappings of his horses after winning the Isthmian race[7]; the trumpeter dedicates his trumpet[8], and the actor his mask[9]. An oil-flask appears to be dedicated in a Boeotian inscription of the third century[10].

3. *Other Commemorative Offerings.*

The most important offerings, however, connected with the Games are those which represent the act or process blest by the god.

[1] Sybel 3875, 3877, 3882—3, 3968, 3978, all from the theatre; 1069 ff., 3256, 3467, 3531, 4095, 4107, 4141—2, 4145, 4155, 4803, 5744, 6130 (25—27), 6475, 6566, 6810, 7134; Reisch 146. The item from the Delian inventories (*BCH* ii. 325) *πίναξ πρόσωπα ἔχων τρία* cannot be taken of masks, as Reisch diffidently suggests; *πρόσωπον* is used in the Inventories of 'persons' (e.g. *CIA* ii. 835[33]), and the *πίναξ* was a relief.

[2] Now in Madrid: *AA* viii. 95; another, *Coll. Castellani*, 671.

[3] *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 1042.

[4] Ath. xiii. 609 F *Δήμητρι Ἐλευσινίᾳ, ἧς ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ καὶ τὸν τοῦ κάλλους ἀγῶνα ἐπιτελέσαι* [Κύψελον], *καὶ νικῆσαι πρῶτον αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα Ἡροδίκην.*

[5] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 292.

[6] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 100.

[7] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 246; so 233.

[8] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 350.

[9] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 311.

[10] *IGS* i. 3091 *ἐληοχρίστιον.*

The athletic and equestrian contests gave good scope for those representations in modelling. The chariot with its team and driver, the race-horse and jockey, and the athlete with distinguishing marks or attitudes were at once simple as conceptions and effective as memorials. An ideal element was often added to the chariot by placing a statue of Victory beside the driver.

The earliest dedication of the chariot-model recorded by Pausanias is probably that of Cleosthenes the Epidamnian, victor in 516[1]. He and his driver stood in the car, and he went so far as to inscribe the names of the horses upon them. Gelo, despot of Gela and afterwards of Syracuse, won the race and dedicated a similar group in 488[2]. The chariot of Hiero, who succeeded him, was dedicated at Olympia by his son[3]; and the remains of a magnificent monument found at Delphi testify to a Pythian victory for the same man. It is a bronze charioteer, with the wreath of victory on his head, and parts of the horses[4]. Others recorded are those of Cratisthenes the Cyrenian[5], and of Cynisca, daughter of Archedamus of Sparta[6]. Cratisthenes was probably the first to place a Victory beside the driver[7]; but in other cases appears a "maiden" who is probably meant for this personification[8]. Pliny mentions another, that of Tisicrates, by Piston[9]; and probably the ἵπποι χαλκαῖ of Cimon, said by Aelian to have been in Athens, were the memorial of a successful race[10]. Calamis, Aristides, and Euphranor, as well as Lysippus, Euthycrates, Pyromachus, Menogenes, and Aristodemus, made well-known chariot-groups,

[1] Paus. vi. 10. 7 inscr. Κλεοσθένης μ' ἀνέθηκεν ὁ Πόντιος ἐξ Ἐπιδάμνου, νικήσας ἵπποις καλὸν ἀγῶνα Διός. Names of horses Φοῖνιξ, Κόραξ, Κνακίας, Σάμος.

[2] Paus. vi. 9. 4: part of the base is believed to have been found: *Inschr. von Olympia* 143; *IGA* 359; and see Frazer's note on Pausanias *l.c.*

[3] Paus. vi. 12. 1, inscr. in viii. 42. 9.

[4] Dedicated by his brother Polyzalos: *AJD* N.S. ii. 440; *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.* xxiv. 186. A plate of the charioteer in *AA* xi. 174.

[5] Paus. vi. 18. 1.

[6] Paus. vi. 1. 6: 4th century. See below, p. 165.

[7] Paus. vi. 18. 1.

[8] Paus. vi. 4. 10, 12. 6.

[9] Plin. *NH* xxxiv. 89.

[10] Aelian, *VH* ix. 32. Cimon the elder won three chariot-races, Hdt. vi. 103. His horses were buried near him.

some of which we may assume to have been votive. Quite late, the chariot of Lampus of Philippi in Macedon is mentioned[1].

These models we may assume to have been full size, but others were small. That Glaucon the Athenian's chariot was small is proved by its base, which has been found[2]. Cynisca also placed a small chariot in the ante-chapel at Olympia[3], and the car of Polypeithes the Laconian was "not large[4]." What may be the wheel of one such model was found, it is said, in Argos, and it is dedicated to the Dioscuri[5]. Fragments of chariots and drivers were found at Athens[6]. A number of smaller models in bronze and terra-cotta were found at Olympia[7], so many indeed, and such trifles, as to suggest a doubt whether they can be meant for this great event. Can it be that such things were offered beforehand with the propitiatory sacrifice? I know of no evidence for this, however. A number of wheels were found which had no chariots belonging to them; they are cut out of thin foil[8], or cast[9], most being of the four-spoke type, but two, the wheels of the mule-car[10], with five spokes. All are older than the traditional founding of the Games. It may be that some are the bases of animal figures[11], but this will not help with the rest. Reisch believes

FIG. 25. Charioteer, from Olympia.
Bronzen xv. 249.

[1] Paus. vi. 4. 10.

[2] Paus. vi. 16. 9, *Inschr. von Ol.* 178 Διὶ Ὀλυμπίωι Γλαύκων Ἐτεοκλέους Ἀθηναῖος.

[3] Paus. v. 12. 5; Collitz iii. 4418; she claims that she was the only Greek woman to win the chariot-race.

[4] Paus. vi. 16. 6.

[5] *IGA* 43 *a* τοῖ(ν) Ϝανάκοι(ν) εἰμί. Εὐδ .. ς ἀνέθηκε. But see chap. xiv.

[6] *Cat. Acr. Mus. Bronzes* 753.

[7] *Bronzen von Ol.* xv. 248—50, 253, etc.; p. 40. Terra-cotta, xvii. 285. See fig. 25.

[8] *Bronzen* 498 ff.

[9] *Bronzen* 503 ff.

[10] *Bronzen* 510. There were races with the mule-car (ἀπήνη) between Ol. 70 and 84: Paus. v. 9. 1.

[11] *Bronzen* 509.

that they were dedicated for the whole car by a convention, and so explains also the Argive wheel mentioned above[1]. If the Greeks could have dedicated a wheel for a chariot, they could have dedicated the leg of a tripod for the whole; and there is no evidence whatever that they ever made such an artistic blunder. They might restore Heracles from a foot, but they would hardly offer a foot for Heracles. I shall offer another explanation of these wheels by and by[2].

Turning to the horse-race, we find figures of jockeys on horseback placed on either side of Hiero's chariot[3]. We learn that Canachus, Hegias, and Calamis made such groups[4]. Crocon the Eretrian was another who dedicated his horse[5], and although no jockey is mentioned he would be necessary to express the idea we have seen in these groups. There is one example of the animal dedicated alone, but then there was a reason for it. At the outset of this race the jockey who was riding Pheidolas's mare fell off, yet the mare ran on and came in first; so Pheidolas was adjudged victor, and was allowed to dedicate his mare alone[6]. But the animal is singled out for special honour in another Olympian victory of the sons of Pheidolas[7]. Other victorious jockeys are thus represented; as Aesypus who rode for his father Timon[8]. These statues might also be dedicated at home; the base of Onatas on the Athenian Acropolis seems to have borne some such group[9]. Whether the equestrian statue of Isocrates was dedicated for a race, or for

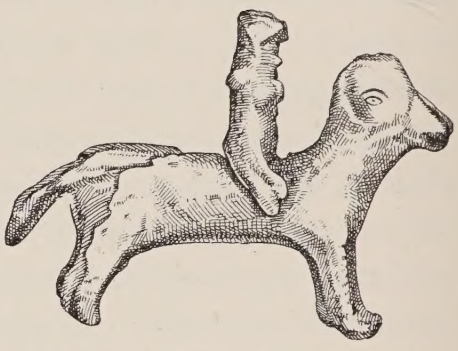

Fig. 26. Rider, from Olympia. *Bronzen* xv. 255.

[1] Reisch p. 61; accepted by Furtwängler, *Bronzen*, p. 68.

[2] Chap. xiv.

[3] Paus. vi. 12. 1. Pliny, *NH* xxxiv. 5. 19 says sed illi celetas tantum dicabant in sacris victores, postea vero et qui bigis vel quadrigis vicissent. Cp. Pind. *Ol.* i.

[4] Pliny, *NH* xxiv. 19, 75, 78.

[5] Paus. vi. 14. 4.

[6] Paus. vi. 13. 9: about 500. She was named Αὔρα.

[7] Paus. vi. 13. 10 *ὠκυδρόμας Λύκος Ἴσθμι' ἄπαξ, δύο δ' ἐνθάδε νίκαις Φειδώλα παίδων ἐστεφάνωσε δόμους.*

[8] Paus. vi. 2. 8.

[9] *CIA* iv. 1. 373[99], Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1887, p. 146.

some athletic contest, is not stated: but there it stood on the Acropolis of Athens[1]. Statuettes of riders were found at Delos[2] and Olympia[3], one at Dodona on a galloper[4], a galloping and a walking or trotting horseman at Athens[5], an archaic jockey in Argos[6], a youth in the attitude of riding at Megara Hyblaea[7]. Horses alone are quite common as votive offerings, as has been pointed out: in the Cabirium there were riders also[8].

When we come to the statues of athletes, we are met by a very puzzling question. The athlete, we are told, was allowed to dedicate a statue of himself for each victory; the girl runners at the Heraea, pictures of themselves painted[9]. The question is, whether these were really votive offerings, or nothing but an honour done to the winner.

Now Pausanias says distinctly that whilst all the objects on the Athenian Acropolis were votive, statues included, the athlete statues at Olympia were not; but that, as a kind of prize, the right of dedicating them was given[10]. Since in the time of Pausanias *ἀνατιθέναι* and *ἀνάθημα* were used of honorific statues, it is likely that he got this distinction from an earlier writer[11]. It is true also that the inscriptions on many of these statues are not dedicatory[12], that the right to erect one was

[1] Plut. *X. Or.*, *Isocrates*, 42.

[2] *AZ* xl. 328[61].

[3] *Bronzen von Ol.* xv. 255, xvi. 258. See fig. 26.

[4] Carapanos, 183, pl. xiii. 1, 3: other fragments xi. 3, xii. 2. The same attitude as in old Attic tombs, where the dead man's feats were represented: *AM* iv. 36, pl. ii.

[5] *Cat. Acr. Mus. Bronzes* 751, 752. Also Sybel in *AM* v. 286.

[6] Catalogue, no. 3.

[7] *Mon. Ant.* i. 932[115].

[8] *AM* xv. 357.

[9] Paus. v. 16. 3 *ἀναθεῖναί σφισιν ἔστι γραψαμέναις εἰκόνας.* This does not mean "statues of themselves with their names inscribed," as Frazer translates, but something painted.

[10] Paus. v. 21. 1 *ἐν ἀκροπόλει μὲν γὰρ τῇ Ἀθήνῃσιν οἵ τε ἀνδριάντες καὶ ὁπόσα ἄλλα, τὰ πάντα ἐστὶν ὁμοίως ἀναθήματα· ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἄλτει τὰ μὲν τιμῇ τῇ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἀνάκειται, οἱ δὲ ἀνδριάντες τῶν νικώντων ἐν ἄθλου λόγῳ σφίσι καὶ οὗτοι δίδονται.* Furtwängler (*AM* v. 29 ff.) and Curtius (*Inschr. von Ol.* p. 235) agree with this view. Reisch p. 35 regards all as votive, because they stood in the precinct. This misses the point which I have tried to bring out in the text, that the motive was changing. Moreover, a thing might belong to the god and yet not be a votive offering.

[11] Frazer, *ad loc.*

[12] E.g. *Inschr. von Ol.* 146 *Καλλίας Διδυμίου Ἀθηναῖος παγκράτιον· Μίκων ἐποίησεν Ἀθηναῖος.*

held to be a high honour, and that this fact is sometimes stated or implied in the legend[1]. On the other hand, we have seen that it was a recognised principle to make the votive offering a representation of the event; and this could be done for athletes by showing them in some characteristic attitude or holding characteristic attributes. There is therefore nothing in the nature of things to prevent the athlete dedicating in the true sense such a figure of himself. Further, some of the athlete statues have true dedicatory inscriptions; and the chariot groups are admitted to be truly votive[2].

The truth seems to be, then, that some athlete statues were votive and some were not. Here in fact is the earliest beginning of that change which is completed in the fourth century, by which the votive offering becomes chiefly a means of self-glorification. Why the change should begin here is easy to see. Victors in the chariot-race did not owe their victory to themselves alone[3]; horses, car, and driver had a share in it, and the group was distinct from the owner: but the athlete stood alone, and in his case to represent the deed in doing was to represent the man. The inevitable result was that pride swallowed up piety, and in the fifth century or even earlier the athlete's statue became a memorial of a personal honour.

I take it then, that originally the Olympian athlete statues were as truly votive as the chariot groups or race-horse and rider, and as truly as athlete statues continued to be votive which the victor dedicated at home. Pliny gives a hint in the same direction, when he implies that they were generally not realistic portraits[4]. But those actually recorded must be divided into two distinct classes, those which are votive being

[1] As by Euthymus: below, p. 169.

[2] *Inschr. von Ol.* p. 239.

[3] Yet two chariot-victors, Timon and Telemachus, seem to have dedicated their own statues alone: perhaps the effect of the athletes (Paus. vi. 2. 8, 13. 11). Diogenes Laertius i. 7. 3 says that Periander offered a golden statue of himself: Ἔφορος ἱστορεῖ ὡς εὔξαιτο, εἰ νικήσειεν Ὀλύμπια τεθρίππῳ, χρυσοῦν ἀνδριάντα ἀναθεῖναι. νικήσας δὲ καὶ ἀπορῶν χρυσίου, κατά τινα ἑορτὴν ἐπιχώριον κεκοσμημένας ἰδὼν τὰς γυναῖκας, πάντα ἀφείλετο τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ἔπεμψε τὸ ἀνάθημα. Perhaps it was in the car.

[4] Pliny, *NH* xxxiv. 4. 16 omnium qui vicissent statuas dicari mos erat, eorum vero qui ter ibi superavissent, ex membris ipsorum similitudine expressa.

inscribed to that effect. If the dedicator was content to describe his statue as a votive offering, I am content to take him at his word, without assuming that he would say what he did not mean, because like a fourth-form schoolboy he wanted to make his verses scan[1].

One of the few that remained truly thankful for his mercies was Euthymus the boxer, who won his third Olympic victory in 472[2]. He is however not unmindful of his own pride, but another boxer Damarchus is more modest[3]. The same formula is used of Tellon in the fifth century[4], and of Milo the wrestler[5]. These are the mainstays of my argument; but I may add Cyniscus[6] from the early fourth century, after which no others demonstrably[7] use the formula until the first century[8], when the practice becomes general[9].

If the principle of dedication which I have adopted is correct, the dedicatory statues must have been intelligible to

[1] As Curtius in the *Inschr. von Ol.* p. 239. He overlooks no. 213, which is in prose. So Furtwängler, *AM* v. 30.

It is hardly possible to argue that the word *ἀνέθηκεν* was losing its force thus early, because (1) athletic statues were actually dedicated at home, and (2) the word has full force elsewhere for another century or more, whilst Lysander has already given a sign that the motive of dedications was to change (above, p. 132).

[2] *Inschr.* 144; *IGA* 388 *Εὔθυμος Λοκρὸς Ἀστυκλέος τρὶς Ὀλύμπι' ἐνίκων, εἰκόνα δ' ἔστησεν τήνδε βροτοῖς ἐσορᾶν.* *Εὔθυμος Λοκρὸς ἀπὸ Ζεφυρίου ἀνέθηκε.* Paus. vi. 6. 6. The dedication, it will be observed, is in prose. I do not think that even the fourth-form boy would believe the last line to be a hexameter.

[3] Paus. vi. 8. 2 *υἱὸς Διννύτα Δάμαρχος τάνδ' ἀνέθηκεν εἰκόν' ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας Παρράσιος γενεάν.*

[4] Paus. vi. 2. 9, *IGA* 98; *Inschr.* 147: the dedication is in later letters, but the whole inscr. has been recut and part of the older remains.

[5] Paus. vi. 14. 5; *Inschr.* 264; *IGA* 589 **Μίλων Διοτίμου** *ἀνέθηκεν.* Curtius and Adler deny the restoration because it contradicts their canon about prose; there is no other reason. They ought to have heard of Dawes. For Milo see Simonides 156.

[6] *Inschr.* 149; *IGA* p. 175; Paus. vi. 4. 11.

[7] Other examples of *ἀνέθηκεν* are *IGA* 563 (stadium), and 355 (cp. Paus. vi. 10. 9?); but the object is obscure.

[8] *Inschr.* 213.

[9] Furtwängler, *AM* v. 30 *note*, cites the following (for which see the place, and the Index to Pausanias): early 4th cent. Aristion, Critodamus, Damoxenidas, Eucles, Pythocles, Xenocles; later 4th Troilus, Telemachus; 3rd Philippus, Archippus; 2nd Acestorides, Hellenicus. None of these use the votive formula. Telemachus won in the chariot-race; Troilus acknowledges the help of Zeus (*Inschr.* 166); the others are bald descriptions for the most part.

the chance beholder. And in fact so were those which are minutely described. Damaretus, the first victor in the hoplite race, was armed with shield, helmet, and greaves[1]. Glaucus was in the attitude of sparring[2]; Diagoras had the left hand guarding the mark, the right uplifted[3]. The base of Athenaeus the boxer shows that he was in the act of striking[4]. The knuckle-dusters or thongs of cow-hide bound on the hand (ἱμάντες) also served to make out the boxer, as in the case of Arcesilaus[5]. Tisicrates the pancratiast was represented as boxing[6]. The wrestler Xenocles was apparently poised as about to grip[7]. Other motives are possible: as the *luctator anhelans* of Nauceros. The leaper, or pancratiast, might hold the leaping-weights[8]; the discobolus holds or hurls his quoit, the doryphorus his spear. The racer might be crouching down to prepare for the start[9]. More general attributes would be the hand upheld in prayer for victory, the oil-flask[10], the wreath[11], and the palm of victory[12].

It would serve no purpose here to enumerate the statues we know of, from the wooden figures of Praxidamas and Rhexibius down to the age of Hadrian[13]; for without inscriptions we have no clue to guide us as to the motives of the dedicator. But it is fair to assume that statues in the attitude of adoration were really votive. In this attitude were Anaxan-

[1] Paus. vi. 10. 4 (65th Ol.). Helmet and greaves were afterwards discarded for this race.

[2] Paus. vi. 10. 3 σχῆμα σκιαμαχοῦντος: early 5th cent.

[3] Schol. Pind. *Ol.* vii. p. 157 Böckh.

[4] Paus. vi. 4. 1; *Inschr.* 168: 4th cent.

[5] Paus. vi. 7. 1; Schol. Pind. *l.c.* The battered ears of the Olympian head are due to realism and have no value here.

[6] Löwy, *Inschr. der gr. Bildhauer*, 120.

[7] Paus. vi. 9. 2; *Inschr.* 164; *Ergebnisse*, Tafelband, ii. 150. Part of what seems to be a group of wrestlers was dredged up in the sea at Cythera, with athlete statues; now in Ath. Mus. See Παναθήναια, vol. ii. plates.

[8] Paus. v. 27. 2 (part of spoil, yet an athlete statue originally).

[9] So apparently Ladas, *Anth. Pal.* xvi. 54; and the running maiden of the Vatican.

[10] Reisch 46: he would add *Apoxyomeni*. Cp. F.-W. 462 f.; Pliny, *NH* xxxiv. 76 pueri destringentes se; 34, 86, 87 perixyomeni.

[11] F.-W. 325 (the Olympian bronze head).

[12] Sybel 411; Pliny, *NH* xxxv. 75; cp. 63, 71, 106, 130, 138.

[13] Paus. vi. 18. 7; Pind. *Nem.* vi. 15. It was always placed in the victor's hand, Paus. viii. 48. 2.

drus, victor in the chariot-race[1], and Diagoras and Acusilaus the boxers[2]. There is a bronze boy in Berlin, holding up one hand in prayer, and with the other holding a leaping-weight[3]. If it could be shown that this attitude was taken by any other of the athlete statues, we should have to alter our view of them; but we do not know how far it was customary[4].

At Delphi, the wider religious interest eclipst the games; and neither there nor on the Isthmus, nor at Nemea, did Pausanias think it worth while to go into detail. A great many of the Olympic victors did however win also at one or more of the other three places, and we may shortly hope to be in a position to judge how the monuments at Delphi are to be regarded. Statues were, however, not infrequently set up at home for victories abroad. Callias in the fifth century stood upon the Athenian Acropolis, and the inscription may confidently be taken as votive[5]. There were also Hermolycus the pancratiast[6], and Epicharinus, who won the hoplite race[7]. Promachus of Pellene[8], and Aenetus of Amyclae[9], had statues dedicated at home. Agias the pancratiast was honoured in the same way in his Thessalian home[10]. The man "in the helmet" in the Athenian Acropolis may have been a hoplite racer[11]. The victor's portrait is spoken of as a matter of course in the fourth century[12].

It does not seem to have been the custom to dedicate musical victors in this way. The statues which existed at

[1] Paus. vi. 1. 7.

[2] Schol. Pind. *Ol.* vii.

[3] Catalogue 6306; *AM* vi. 158; cp. Paus. v. 27. 2, vi. 3. 10.

[4] See Scherer, *De Olympionicarum statuis*, 31 ff.

[5] *CIA* i. 419 Καλλίας **ἀνέθηκεν** or Κατ. 163 Καλλίας Διδυμίου **ἀνέθηκε** *νικῶν* with list of victories. The restoration of *ἀνέθηκε* is justified; see note [8].

[6] Paus. i. 23. 10.

[7] Paus. i. 23. 9; *CIA* i. 376 Ἐπιχαρῖνος **ἀνέθηκεν**...

[8] Paus. vii. 27. 5.

[9] Paus. ii. 18. 5.

[10] E. Preuner, *Ein delphisches Weihgeschenk* (Teubner 1900), 17, 18: the victor borrowed the epigram used by Daochus at Delphi, p. 3.

[11] Paus. i. 24. 3 *κράνος ἐπικείμενος ἀνήρ*; Reisch (p. 39) points out how like the phrase is to what is said of Telesicrates, *ἀνὴρ ἔχων κράνος*, Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* ix. 401 Böckh.

[12] Xen. *Mem.* iii. 10. 6 *ὅτι μὲν ἀλλοίους ποιεῖς δρομέας τε καὶ παλαιστὰς καὶ πύκτας καὶ παγκρατιαστὰς ὁρῶ τε καὶ οἶδα* (said to a sculptor).

Delphi[1] do not appear to have been votive in the true sense; and the same may be said of heralds and trumpeters[2]. There were statues of poets or musicians in Mount Helicon who won the prize there, and an epigram of the fifth century which was on one of them is votive in form[3]. The relief of Pythocritus the flotist in Olympia is also uncertain[4]. The pretty tale of the cicala is worth mentioning. A musician broke his string, and a cicala settling upon the lyre buzzed the note of the broken string so well that he gained the prize. An image of the little creature was dedicated in remembrance of this timely help[5].

Fig. 27. From Olympia. *Bronzen* vii. 48.

Fig. 28. The Tübingen bronze. *Jahrb.* i. pl. 9.

Some of the statuettes found at Olympia appear to have been athletes, and these are certainly votive. One naked youth held an object in each hand, perhaps leaping-weights[6]; others, with one foot advanced, are not clearly characterised[7].

[1] Paus. x. 9. 2.

[2] Reisch, p. 54 note, gives examples.

[3] Ath. xiv. 629 A quoting Amphion *περὶ τοῦ ἐν Ἑλικῶνι Μουσείου*:
ἀμφότερ' ὠρχεύμαν τε καὶ ἐμμώσως ἐδίδασκον ἄνδρας· ὁ δ' αὐλητὰς ἦν Ἄνακος Φιαλεύς. εἰμὶ δὲ Βακχιάδας Σικυώνιος· ἦ ῥα θεοῖσι τοῖς Σικυῶνι καλὸν τοῦτ' ἀπέκειτο γέρας.

[4] Paus. vi. 14. 9 *ἀνὴρ μικρὸς αὐλοὺς ἔχων ἐστὶν ἐκτετυπωμένος ἐπὶ στήλῃ.*

[5] Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* i. 1. 1; *Anth. Pal.* ix. 584; Strabo vi. 260.

[6] *Bronzen von Ol.* viii. 47 (oldest of all). An Etruscan statuette holding the weights is inscribed: *Gaz. Arch.* xiv. 59, pl. 13. A possible athlete at Delphi, *BCH* xx. 702.

[7] *Bronzen von Ol.* vii. 48. But these seem to wear ceremonial *stlengis*. See fig. 27.

There is a boxer[1], a quoit-thrower's arm[2], and many fragments of similar figures. A bronze quoit-thrower was dedicated in the Cabirium[3]. A group of wrestlers[4], a boxer[5], and the arm of

Fig. 29. Victorious athletes with votive tablet and prize. Benndorf, *Gr. und Sic. Vas.* pl. ix.

a quoit-thrower[6] in small were found on the Athenian Acropolis. The running girl of Dodona wears the short tunic of the Spartan racers[7]. The hoplite-runner has been seen in a remarkable

[1] *Bronzen von Ol.* viii. 57.

[2] *Bronzen von Ol.* vi. 59 (5th century).

[3] *AM* xv. 365 Καβίρου, archaic. Such statuettes are not rare, but it is uncertain whether votive: Reisch refers to *JHS* i. 177; Sacker-Kenner, *Die ant. Bronzen im k. Münzkabinet in Wien*, pl. 37. 4, 35. 1.

[4] *Cat. Acr. Mus. Br.* 747.

[5] *Cat. Acr. Mus. Br.* 746.

[6] *Cat. Acr. Mus. Br.* 636.

[7] Carapanos, xi. 1. She is not likely to be Atalanta.

figure called the Tübingen bronze[1]. At Delphi was found a very ancient statuette of bronze, girt in a loincloth, the hands clencht as though holding something; which may be meant for a runner[2].

Pictorial representations of the act or process appear to have been common, although we hear little of them. Some such are upon the Corinthian tablets dedicated to Poseidon[3]: a pair of pugilists, riders, and what not. There is a vase which shows a youth, carrying a Panathenaic vase and a tablet on which a human figure is painted[4]; one was held in the hand of a statue which used to be at Olympia[5]. I do not know whether we might venture to explain the scenes on some Athenian tablets which remain as due to mythological precedent; otherwise the apotheosis of Hercules might be used by some one who could claim connexion with him, to indicate labours accomplisht[6]. The painter Nicomachus made a scene of *Victoria quadrigam in sublime rapiens*, in which Victory seems to have been driving, and holding a palm[7]. Nothing but a more florid group would suffice the imagination of Alcibiades, who dedicated two pictures in the Pinacotheca. In one, Olympias and Pythias were crowning him; in the other, Nemea was sitting with him upon her knees[8]. One is reminded of Pindar's phrase that the victor "falls at the knees of Victory[9]." A similar picture, apparently the memorial of a race, is described by Pliny[10]: Nemea palm in hand is seated

[1] Hauser, *Jahrb.* ii. 95; *AA* x. 183; L. Schwabe, *Zur Tüb. Bronze*, *Jahrb.* i. 153, pl. 9, believes him to be a charioteer, which is impossible, because (1) the attitude does not suit, (2) he wears a helmet, (3) he stands on a base and therefore did not stand in a chariot. See fig. 28.

[2] *BCH* xxiii. 620, pl. x., xi.

[3] *Gaz. Arch.* vi. 107 fig. *Antike Denkmäler* i. 8. 24. See above, p. 81, fig. 17.

[4] Benndorf, *Gr. und Sic. Vasenb.*, pl. ix. See fig. 29.

[5] Pliny, *NH* xxxiv. 59 Libyn, puerum tenentem tabellam.

[6] Benndorf, pl. iii.: Heracles and Athena in car. Others are: iv. 1 Athena in car, Hermes standing by; iv. 2, v. 6 Athena meets car; v. Procession of the gods.

[7] Reisch, p. 149.

[8] Athenaeus xii. 534 D, E *δύο πίνακας ἀνέθηκεν, Ἀγλαοφῶντος γραφήν· ὧν ὁ μὲν εἶχεν Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ Πυθιάδα στεφανούσας αὐτόν, ἐν δὲ θατέρῳ Νεμεὰς ἣν καθημένη καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν γονάτων αὐτῆς Ἀλκιβιάδης*; cp. Paus. i. 22. 6.

[9] Pind. *Nem.* v. 42; *Isth.* ii. 26: *νίκας ἐν γούνασιν, ἐν ἀγκώνεσσι πίτνων.*

[10] Pliny, *NH* xxxv. 27.

upon a lion, and by her side stands an old man with a staff, over whose head hangs a picture or tablet with a two-horse car upon it.

I must not omit to mention that the scene of the contest, or something connected with it, is sometimes depicted upon the prize (as in a Panathenaic vase[1], and perhaps the quoits of Sicily and Aegina), or upon the base which supported the offering. An archaic base from the Athenian Acropolis shows a four-horse car[2], one from Aegina the pair-car[3]; others show the Pyrrhic dance[4]. The well-known base of Bryaxis (4th century), which once upheld the memorial of the Athenian contest in horsemanship (*ἀνθιππασία*)[5], was dedicated by a father and two sons. Upon it the hipparch is seen advancing at full gallop to receive the prize, a large tripod[6]. A boy on a race-horse appears elsewhere[7].

But reliefs independently dedicated form a very large class, which I cannot here do more than indicate in its main features[8]. The interpretation of details, the fixing of the occasion, and so forth, is still mainly a matter of guess. The publication of the whole mass in some handy form would probably make it possible to advance a step or two further. Meanwhile, it is encouraging to see that most of the existing reliefs fall into certain main categories, and that these fit in with what we see elsewhere.

Taking the pieces which seem to be agonistic, we may divide them threefold: (i) The Contest, (ii) The Victory and Prize, (iii) The Sacrifice or Libation. Each is a different aspect of the act or process blest by the deity.

We shall take first athletic and equestrian contests, and secondly those relating to music or the drama.

(i) *The Contest.* Part of a chariot and pair in full course, found at Cyzicus, is ascribed to the sixth century; but there is

[1] Baumeister, fig. 1156.

[2] Schöne 73; Sybel 6741.

[3] *Collection Sab.* i. pl. xxvi.; another, Sybel 6739.

[4] Sybel 6569.

[5] Xen. *Hipparch.* iii. 11.

[6] *CIA* iii. 1291 *ἀνθιππασίᾳ Παναθήναια τὰ μεγάλα.*

[7] *AZ* xxxv. 139, no. 89 (von Duhn).

[8] Reisch 49 ff. has discussed this group, and I have borrowed a number of examples from his list.

no proof that it is votive[1]. Archaic reliefs of the Acropolis show similar scenes, one with a shielded person who may perhaps be an *apobates*[2]. There is no doubt in the case of a remarkable Spartan monument. Damonon, who has won a number of victories, several of them with the same team, dedicates to Athena a pillar recording the victories, with a relief of himself driving his quadriga[3].

A group of athletes has also been found with names inscribed[4]. There are representations of Pyrrhic dancers[5] and of victors in the torch-race[6]. Some of the scenes are explained as referring to victorious apobatae, since the driver is armed[7]. The scene may depict various moments of the contest or its conclusion. Here the driver is mounting upon his car[8] or driving at speed in the race; or the steeds move at a moderate pace, before the start or after the finish[9]. A more solemn pace is seen in a tablet from Palermo[10]. Or again, a boy gallops past on his racer[11]. Lads leading horses, perhaps victorious ephebes, appear on one Attic relief[12]; a mounted boy on another[13]. A horseman leading a group of other horsemen may refer to the *anthippasia*[14]. A puzzling relief shows two male figures seated, of heroic size, betwixt whom is a lad leaning upon a spear, and apparently holding the jumping weights[15].

[1] *BCH* xviii. 493. Pliny, *NH* xxxv. 99, describes a similar piece by Aristides the elder.

[2] Acr. Mus. no. 1391: traces of inscr.

[3] *IGA* 79; Roberts 264. Δαμώνων ἀνέθηκε Ἀθαναίαι Πολιάχωι νικάδς ταυτᾶ ἆτ' οὐδὴς πήποκα τῶν νῦν. τάδε ἐνίκαε Δαμώνων τῶι αὐτῶι τεθρίππωι αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίων (list)...ἐνίκη Ἔλει καὶ ὁ κέλης ἀμᾶ αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίων ἐνήβωαις ἵπποις, etc.

[4] Sybel 6154 Ἀντιγένης, Λακιάδης, Ἰδομενεὺς Ὄηθεν, Ἀντ... Ἀχαρνεύς.

[5] Sybel 6151 *CIA* iii. 1286 with relief, seven χορευταί and χορηγός.

[6] *Cat. B. Mus.* 813 (slab); *CIA* ii. 1221; cp. 1229.

[7] *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 725; *AM* xii. 146; *Bull. de Com. Arch.* iii. 247; some reliefs in Lisbon, see *BCH* xvi. 325 ff.; F-W. 1838.

[8] Sybel 6741. Compare F-W. 1838 *Gazette des beaux arts* (1882), 452, 456.

[9] Sybel 6739; cp. *Coll. Sab.* xxvi.; Oropus, *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 725, and perhaps *Bull. de Com. Arch.* iii. 247 (Athens); cp. Sybel 5128; *Gall. di Firenze*, iv. vol. 2, pl. 86. Thebes, Le Bas, pl. 92. 2; *AM.* iii. 414; Delphi, Pomtow, *Beiträge zur Topographie von Delphi*, 107, pl. xii. 32.

[10] Reisch 50.

[11] Terra-cotta from Thera; *BCH* v. 436. Cp. F-W. 1206.

[12] Sybel 307.

[13] F. von Duhn, *AZ* xxxv. 139 ff., no. 88.

[14] Schöne 79.

[15] *AZ* xli. pl. 13. 2.

(ii) *The Victory and the Prize.* The moment of victory is anticipated, when Victory throws a wreath on the driver's head as he mounts[1], or flies through the air to place the crown on the victor's head, he driving at full speed the while[2]; or upon the head of a victorious steed[3]. Victory herself may even drive the chariot[4], or the victor wears a fillet upon his brow[5]. The quadriga, and apparently Victory in it, appears on a curious relief dedicated to Hermes and the Nymphs, from Phalerum[6]. Perhaps the deity offers a winged Victory to her worshipper[7], or Victory holds a fillet over his brow[8]. There again stands the prize by the hurrying chariot; an amphora in one relief[9], a tripod perhaps in another[10]. Even the votive tablet appears to be depicted in the left-hand corner of the Oropus relief[11]. The judge crowns the victorious runner in the torch-race, whilst three athletes are grouped near by[12]; or the whole troupe of runners. A fine relief in the British Museum shows a company of eight naked youths headed by two men draped, one of whom offers a torch to the statue of Artemis Bendis[13].

An Athenian relief assigned to the fifth century combines Types i. and ii. There are two divisions: below are fragments of two horses; above, a man as it were engaged in sacrifice[14].

(iii) *The Sacrifice.* I know of no instance which distinctly refers to athletic or equestrian contests, although some of those in which Victory appears may be such. The class of sacrificial relief is, however, very large, and as a rule the occasion is not clearly indicated[15].

[1] *Brit. Mus. Anc. Marbles*, ix. 38. 2.

[2] *Cat. Brit. Mus. Sc.* 814; cp. 815.

[3] Schöne, pl. 18, 80; F-W. 1142; cp. Sybel 7014.

[4] Hübner, *Bildwerke in Madrid*, 241, 559; *Ann. d. Hist.* 1862, pl. G, p. 103; Acropolis Museum 1342.

[5] In the Palermo relief, Reisch 50.

[6] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1893, 108, pl. 9, 10 A.

[7] Schöne xix. 85, xxi. 93.

[8] *AM* xxv. 169, to Hera (Samos).

[9] Reisch 50; *Marm. Taurin.* ii. pl. xxxiii.; Dütschke, iv. 92, no. 174.

[10] Sybel 308, 6619, 6741 with biga (archaic). These may refer to the Panathenaea.

[11] *Berl. Cat.* 725.

[12] *CIG* 257 λαμπάδι νικήσας γυμνασιαρχῶν; Hicks, *Inscr. B. Mus.* i. xli.; *Cat. Brit. Mus. Sc.* 813. The lad carries a whisk for sprinkling; there is an altar.

[13] Br. Mus. no. 7*; *AA* xi. 143; Plat. *Rep.* i. 1. See C. Smith, *Class. Review*, xiii. 230.

[14] von Duhn, *AZ* xxxv. 139 ff., no. 69.

[15] See chap. VIII.

We now come to the musical and scenic class, for which direct evidence is scanty. That some dedication was customary in the fourth century is clear from what Theophrastus says of the Mean Man. "When he wins a prize at the tragedies," says Theophrastus, "he is content to offer a wooden slab to Dionysus, with his own name upon it[1]." Plutarch tells us that Themistocles dedicated a *πίναξ τῆς νίκης*, inscribed[2]; and the same word is used by Aristotle of the victory of Thrasippus[3]. Simonides also alludes to a dedicatory *πίναξ* which he finally offered after winning fifty-six prizes[4]. Now the word *πίναξ* may be used of an inscribed slab and no more, and we know that the yearly victories were recorded on such slabs. But on the other hand, this was done officially, and our authorities refer to the victor's dedication. Moreover, *πίναξ* is so often used of reliefs or paintings, that we may assume some such memorial was meant here[5]. At all events, there exist still a certain number of reliefs whose subjects are connected with the stage; and we may provisionally take these to be the votive offerings of victorious composers, or perhaps actors.

(i) *The Contest.* There is a work apparently of Roman date, which however seems to imply an earlier Greek original, where we see a man crowned with ivy and clad in stage costume and buskins, seated upon a kind of throne, and holding a sceptre in his right hand. On one side is a boy playing upon the flute; on the other what seems to be a dancing girl[6]. Another is a relief in the Lateran. Here a young man, apparently a portrait figure, sits on a chair, holding a mask in one hand, while on the table before him lie two other masks and a roll of manuscript. A woman stands beside him in the attitude of declamation[7]. A variant of this type shows the artist gazing

[1] Theophrastus, *Charact.* xxii.: *νικήσας τραγῳδοῖς ταινίαν ξυλίνην ἀναθεῖναι τῷ Διονύσῳ, ἐπιγράψας ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα.*

[2] Plut. *Them.* 5.

[3] Arist. *Pol.* viii. 6. 1341 A.

[4] Simonides, *Anth. Pal.* vi. 213 *ἓξ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα, Σιμωνίδη, ἥραο ταύρους καὶ τρίποδας, πρὶν τόνδ' ἀνθέμεναι πίνακα. τοσσάκι δ' ἱμερόεντα διδαξάμενος χορὸν ἀνδρῶν εὐδόξου Νίκας ἀγλαὸν ἅρμ' ἐπέβης.*

[5] The Picture Gallery on the Acropolis was called the Pinacotheca. Paus. i. 22. 6.

[6] Reisch 56, quoting *Cabinet Pourtalès*, pl. xxxviii.; *Mus. Pio-Clem.* ii. *b*, iv.; Wieseler, *Denk. der Bühnenwesen*, iv. 10.

[7] Reisch 54, quoting Benndorf and

upon a mask which lies in a box before him[1], or holding one in his hand[2].

(ii) *The Victory and the Prize.* A certain number of Athena reliefs may belong to this class. The goddess sets a garland upon a man's head; she is armed, standing[3] or seated[4], sometimes with her owl fluttering near, and worshippers are present. Similar scenes with armed men may represent the victorious hoplite-races[5]. Hints of the same origin, in the case of the wreath, appear on Dioscuri reliefs from Tarentum[6]. A relief-fragment from Athens[7] shows a bearded man beside a gigantic tripod, which should be regarded as a choregic offering, or perhaps the poet's own[8]; doubtless the offering of the bull, so often coupled with the tripod on vase paintings, occupied the missing part of the scene[9]. In yet another scene, beside the man whom we may regard as the poet and dedicator is a bearded satyr, who places the tripod upon a base[10]: the satyr may be a personification of the dithyramb, as such a one is inscribed on a certain vase[11]. A boy holding a palm is seen on a late relief standing beside a grown man and a herm[12].

(iii) *The Sacrifice or Libation.* The so-called Harpist Reliefs are perhaps memorials of a musical victory[13]. On one of these the scene is laid before a temple; Apollo, holding the lyre in one hand, with the other reaches a bowl towards Victory,

Schöne, *Lateran*, no. 487; Wieseler, *op. cit.* iv. 9; Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles*, 457 (replica). Schreiber, *Culthist. Bilderatlas*, v. 4, for reasons best known to himself, entitles this *Philiscus tragoediarum scriptor meditans.*

[1] *Mus. Borbon.* xiii. pl. xxi. (Naples); Zoega, *Bassirilievi*, pl. xxiv. (Villa Albani).

[2] *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 951 (Hellenistic).

[3] Sybel 5026.

[4] Sybel 5121; Schöne 87.

[5] Schöne 85.

[6] *RM* xv. 1 ff.

[7] F-W. 1196; Schöne 82; *Wiener Vorl.-Bl.* viii. pl. x. So the relief with Athena and seated men, Schöne 83, if as Sybel 5013 says, there is a tripod. None is visible in Schöne's sketch.

[8] So Simonides in *Anth. Pal.* vi. 213 (above, p. 178[4]).

[9] Reisch 57.

[10] Sybel 3983.

[11] Διθύραμβος, Welcke, *Alte Denkm.* iii. 125, pl. x. 2, quoted by Reisch.

[12] Maas, *Jahrb.* xi. 102 ff.; he suggests for the female Tragedy, Hypocrisis, Didascalia, the Τέχνη of the guild, or what not, 104. Inscr. Ἡραεῖς Διονύσωι ἀνέθηκαν.

[13] We must not be too sure, however, since the traditional attributes of a deity need not indicate the occasion. See ch. xiv.

who standing beside an altar pours from a jug into the bowl. Artemis and Leto follow the god[1]. One found in Euboea, near a shrine of Artemis, bears Artemis, Leto, and Apollo with a male worshipper[2]. Much the same type is seen in the rest of this class. An Attic relief of the fourth century was dedicated by an actors' guild to Dionysus. A draped female figure, probably a personification, holds a tragic mask, and three more masks hang on the wall; a boy is engaged in libation, and there are traces of a male figure, perhaps Dionysus himself[3].

The Sacrifice proper may be rendered in some of those indeterminate scenes where Victory sacrifices a bull. Less obscure is a relief from Coropi, where a male deity, perhaps Dionysus, holds a cup, and by him stand sixteen men (the choregus, that is, and his chorus), whilst a boy leads a pig to the altar[4].

The Sacrifice proper is often replaced by the Feast scheme, which we have already considered. Here the type has clearly become traditional, and that it is votive is attested by an Athenian example which bears the inscription of a choregus[5]. Another appears to be the dedication of a poet[6]. An old man, crowned with ivy, whose features are distinctive enough to be a portrait, reclines on a couch. At his feet sits a maiden, and before them is a table laden with light food; a lad pours wine for the banqueters. To them enters the youthful Dionysus, holding a thyrsus, and a snake appears on the scene. The female figure is probably allegorical[7], Poesy or Comedy perhaps, as she probably is in a relief of the fourth century not dissimilar. Here the reclining male figure may be Dionysus himself; the female wears a fawn-skin. Hard by stand three actors, in stage dress and masks; and the inscription has been interpreted as Παιδήα (i.e. Παιδεία)[8]. A large class of reliefs, which have

[1] *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 921 (archaistic: imperial age); F-W. 427 ff.

[2] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1900, p. 4, pl. 2 (4th century).

[3] *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 948; cp. 1055—6.

[4] Reisch, p. 124, fig. 12.

[5] Milchhöfer, *Jahrb. d. Inst.* ii. 27[12]: Λυσίας Ἀπολλοδώρου χορηγῶν.

[6] F-W. 1843; *AZ* xxxix. 271, pl. 14 (Louvre).

[7] So in the Decree relief F-W. 1181 the figure is Εὐταξία.

[8] F-W. 1135. The reading is very unlikely to be right, but it is clear that the female has something to do with Dionysus.

been interpreted without good reason as the visit of Dionysus to Icarius, show the god, sometimes with satyrs in company, breaking in upon a scene of feasting. Masks are also sometimes represented in these scenes; and taking all points into consideration, it is possible that they were the votive tablets of poets or actors[1]. Dionysus and Victory are found on a tripod base which once stood in the Street of Tripods[2].

These examples do not by any means end the tale of scenic dedications, but the most part give no hint of the object dedicated. We may fairly assume, however, that since these dedications, ranging from the earliest times to the Roman empire, from Sicily to the Crimea, from Macedon to Crete, fall into a few well-defined classes, those which have perisht belonged to some of them. A few early examples may be here added. There is an archaic pillar from the Argive Heraeum, inscribed with a dedication, and mentioning Nemean and other games[3]. Aristocrates son of Scelius made a dedication at Athens[4]; there are records of a chariot-victory at Eleusis[5], and at Athens of the victory of Alcibius, a flotist from Nasus in Asia Minor[6]. There is a dedication to the Twelve Gods for Isthmian and Nemean victories[7]; and the offering of Phayllus, thrice Pythian victor[8]; and a pillar on which can be distinguisht an allusion to the games[9]. Plato also speaks of dedications made for such victories[10].

In the fourth and succeeding centuries we meet still with victories in the great games: Hegestratus conquers at Nemea[11]; Diophanes wins the youths' pancratium at the Isthmus, and he mentions with pride a success of his grandfather's[12]; another man, whose name has been lost, wins the pair-horse race at Olympia[13], another is victor in the three remaining celebrations[14]. The allusions to these games become fewer, however,

[1] F-W. 1844, 1843, 2149, etc.; *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 919, 920.

[2] F-W. 2147; Sybel 305.

[3] *AJA* ix. 351 Τιμοκλῆς μ' ἔθηκε.

[4] *CIA* i. 422.

[5] *CIA* i. 419.

[6] *CIA* i. 357.

[7] *CIA* i. 420.

[8] *CIA* iv. 1. 373[258], see Herod. viii. 47: he commanded a ship at Salamis.

[9] *CIA* iv. 1. 2. p. 91, 373[108]: τὸν ἀγῶνα.

[10] Plato, *Laws* 955 B.

[11] *CIA* ii. 3. 1300.

[12] *CIA* ii. 3. 1301.

[13] *CIA* ii. 3. 1303.

[14] *CIA* ii. 3. 1304.

though we do find the *περιοδονίκης* quite late[1]; and the interest is diverted to a host of minor celebrations which spring up elsewhere. The Panathenaea is always with us[2], and the 'Argive shield' is not uncommon[3]; but along with them come Ephesia, Claria, and Iliaea[4], Eleusinia[5], Amphiarea[6], Trophonia in Lebadea, Dionysia[7], Thargelia[8], and Naa in Dodona[9], Delia, Soteria[10], Heraclea in Thebes[11]. During the Roman period we find the Thesea[12], Epitaphia[13], Hephaestea[14], Charitesia in Orchomenus[15], even Panellenia, Hadrianea, Eusebea, and Capitolea[16]. The events in these are often athletic, but oftener still of other types which will shortly engage our attention.

Outside Attica the records are less complete, but they suffice to show that the victor's pride was as great, and his gratitude acknowledged in the same way, all over the Greek world. An ancient inscription of Argos describes how Aeschyllus won the stadium four times, and the race in armour thrice, at the home games, for which he dedicated to the Dioscuri a slab depicting them in relief[17]. A Theban pancratiast erects a memorial to his Pythian victory at home[18]. Another has won the boxing at the Trophonia, Coriasia, and Poseidea[19]. A redoubtable boxer of the second century has twelve victories to his credit[20], and another athlete of three or four centuries later no less than twenty-four[21]. A man of Tegea wins forty-three victories in racing on foot or on horseback, including the Asclepiea, Lycaea, Hecatombaea, and Basilea[22]. A Delphian records victories at Olympia, Nemea, the Isthmia and the Pythia[23]. Victories are also still recorded in Sparta[24]. An Athenian commemorates at

[1] *CIA* iii. addenda 758 *a*; cp. ii. 3. 1319, 1323.
[2] *CIA* ii. 3. 1289, 1302, 1304, 1314, 1318, 1319.
[3] *CIA* ii. 3. 1320; iii. 116, 127.
[4] *CIA* ii. 3. 1311.
[5] *CIA* ii. 3. 1313, 1316.
[6] *CIA* ii. 3. 1312.
[7] *CIA* ii. 3. 1314.
[8] *CIA* ii. 3. 1302.
[9] *CIA* ii. 3. 1318.
[10] *CIA* ii. 3. 1319.
[11] *CIA* ii. 3. 1323.
[12] *CIA* iii. 107.
[13] *CIA* iii. 108, 110.
[14] *CIA* iii. 111.
[15] *CIA* iii. 115.
[16] *CIA* iii. 128.
[17] *IGA* 37.
[18] *IGS* i. 2533, Add. p. 749.
[19] *IGS* i. 47.
[20] *IGS* i. 48.
[21] *IGS* i. 49: age of the Antonines.
[22] *CIG* 1515.
[23] *CIG* 1715.
[24] *CIG* 1397, 1418, 1430.

Oropus his victory in casting the javelin on horseback[1]. A victor of Elatea mentions eight victories, the Nemean amongst them[2]. Victors of Megara dedicate some building at home for victories abroad[3]. So too with the island communities. Dorocleidas of Thera wins the boxing and pancratium, and dedicates a thank-offering to Hermes and Heracles[4]. A Rhodian wrestler commemorates his success at half-a-dozen places, including Nemea and Delphi[5]; others a victory with a chariot in Olympia[6], a pancratium[7], and so forth. In Asia Minor the same features offer themselves[8].

The variety of local games will not fail to have struck the reader in examining the inscriptions quoted above. And along with the new Games new kinds of contests come into notice. At Delos, for example, we find recorded the regulations for a yearly feast, probably that called the Coressia[9]. The youths are to be carefully trained, and fined for absence; in the final contest there are prizes for shooting with the bow, (1) a bow and full quiver, (2) a bow; for casting the javelin, (1) three javelins and a *περικεφαλαία*, (2) three javelins; the *καταπελταφέτης* receives (1) a *περικεφαλαία* and *κοντός*, (2) a *κοντός*; the leader of a torch-race, a shield; and boys, a portion of meat. These contests of the youths on entering manhood were customary also elsewhere. In Athens[10] the ephebes appear to have been educated by the state for military purposes. We have no record of their organisation, if there was any, in the fifth century, and it is now generally believed to belong to the fourth, from which time the inscriptions go on for some six hundred years. In the fourth and third centuries the military spirit gives way before a growing interest in things intellectual or artistic. In the fourth century they were under

[1] *IGS* i. 444.

[2] *IGS* iii. 1. 138 (Roman age).

[3] *IGS* i. 47; cp. 48, 49.

[4] *IGI* iii. (Thera) 390, *Anthol. Appendix* (Cougny) i. 168: *Δωροκλείδας Ἰμείροντος Ἑρμᾶι καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ· ἀ νίκα πύκταισι δι' αἵματος· ἀλλ' ἔτι θερμὸν πνεῦμα φέρων σκληρᾶς παῖς ἀπὸ πυγμαχίας ἕστα παγκρατίου βαρὺν ἐς πόνον· ἀ μία δ' ἀὼς δὶς Δωροκλείδαν εἶδεν ἀεθλοφόρον.*

[5] *IGI* i. (Rhodes) 73.

[6] *IGI* i. (Rhodes) 76 *ἅρματι πωλικῶι.*

[7] *IGI* i. (Rhodes) 77.

[8] *CIG* 2723, etc.

[9] *CIG* 2360.

[10] See Art. *Epheboi* in Dar. and Saglio.

the charge of Sophronistae[1], who at the end of this period were themselves subordinate to a Cosmetes[2]. During the same period we find two Paedotribae[3] who managed the gymnastic part of the youths' training, assisted by other officials for the bow, the javelin, the catapult, or other arms[4]. They celebrated feasts with appropriate competitions, including races and regattas. Athenaeus tells us that the prize for the foot-race was a *κύλιξ*[5]. At the end of their time it was customary to pass votes of thanks to the officials, whose statues or busts were put up in the Gymnasium[6]; and reliefs have been found, which appear to have been dedicated on such occasions, bearing representations of the boat-races or athletic exercises[7]. Similar institutions are recorded for all parts of the Greek world: Megara, Peloponnese, Boeotia, Euboea, Thessaly, Thrace and Macedon, Chios, Cyprus, Corcyra, Cos, Delos, Icaria, Naxos, Paros, Rhodes, Samos, Tenos, Thera, the chief cities of Sicily and Asia Minor, Cyrene, and Massalia[8]. Amongst the competitions of later days, which we may assume to have been practised by this class, are reading, painting, calligraphy, general progress, and others which are hard to interpret, besides various kinds of musical and dramatic competitions[9]. As regards the more general competitions, an inscription of Aphrodisias[10] mentions the trumpeter, herald, encomiast, in addition to others more familiar. Mention is made of the erecting of statues for the victors[11]. In the commemoration of these victories, the old

[1] *BCH* xiii. 283; represented on a relief, D. and S. fig. 2679; *CIA* iii. 1152.

[2] *AM* iv. 326.

[3] Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 42.

[4] *CIA* ii. 471 *ὁπλομάχος, ἀκοντιστής, τοξότης, ἀφέτης*; Arist. *l.c.*

[5] Athenaeus xi. 495 F *ἐφήβων δρόμος· ὁ νικήσας λαμβάνει κύλικα τὴν λεγομένην πενταπλόαν καὶ κωμάζει μετὰ χοροῦ.*

[6] A fine series in the Athenian National Museum. Cp. *CIA* ii. 466, 480, etc.

[7] D. and S. figs. 2681, 2682. To Heracles (Rom. date), *CIA* iii. 119.

[8] References in D. and S. p. 634.

[9] *ὑποβολῆς ἀνταπόδωσις, ἀνάγνωσις, πολυμαθία, ζωγραφία, καλλιγραφία, ψαλμός, κιθαρισμός, κιθαρῳδία, ῥυθμογραφία, κωμῳδία, τραγῳδία, μελογραφία*: *CIG* 3088 (Teos). The *ἀναγνώστης* was probably a priest who recited the formula. See list of Spartan officials in Collitz iii. 4440.

[10] *σαλπιγκτής, κῆρυξ, ἐνκωμιογράφος, ποιητής, παῖς κιθαρωιδός, Πύθιος αὐλητής, κύκλιος αὐλητής, τραγωιδός, κωμωιδός, γραμματεύς, πανηγυριάρχης, χοραύλης, χοροκίθαρος, πυρρίχης, σάτυρος*, and athletics: *CIG* 2758.

[11] Ephesus *ἀνδριάντας τοῖς ἀγωνισταῖς ἀναστήσαντα*: *CIG* 2954; cp. 2758 *fin.*

simplicity of dedication is quite gone. The statues become practically honorific, and although the old formula is used, they are placed in the gymnasium or elsewhere; whilst the word has so far lost its old meaning, that a sacred month may be said *ἀνακεῖσθαι τῇι θεῶι*[1]. So too the victors no longer dedicate their offering out of pure thankfulness of heart. The inscriptions, with their long list of distinctions and their carven wreaths, become a means of advertisement or self-glorification. Finally, the offering becomes compulsory, and is looked on by the temple officials as a source of revenue[2].

In reviewing the dedications of this chapter the reader will be struck with certain contrasts as against those of other kinds. There is no dedicating of shrines, divine statues, or Victories. The only thing of the kind I have met with is a couple of model shrines of bronze, offered by Myron tyrant of Sicyon for an Olympian victory in 648[3]. Victory appears in groups, but not alone, unless it be implied in a late inscription of Tegea which records victories in the games[4]. A dedication which I am at a loss to explain is the *μῆλα* of latter-day Athens[5]. Another freak is the slab with a shaggy head in relief, dedicated with a set of verses to the Muses at Thespiae[6]. Stratonicus the musician plays with the dedicatory idea when he sets up a trophy in the Asclepieum, after vanquishing his rivals at Sicyon, and labels it "Stratonicus from the bad harpists[7]."

In this chapter we see the old simplicity and devotion being gradually overlaid with ostentation and show, until nothing else remains. The beginnings perhaps are earlier here than elsewhere; and the seed of degradation which lay in the

[1] *CIG* 2954.

[2] Delphi: Collitz ii. 2501[33] *Χρηστήριον* [*sic*] *αἴτις μὴ παρέχηι, ἑκατὸν στατῆρας ὀφειλέτω* (4th century).

[3] Paus. vi. 19. 2. Frazer in his note shows that Pausanias was wrong in including the Treasury itself.

[4] *CIG* 1519 *Ἀγαμέμνων νίκας ἐκ χρυσοῦ φέρει.*

[5] *CIA* iii. 116.

[6] *BCH* xiv. 546, pl. ix., x.:...*Ἀμφικρίτου Μούσαις ἀνέθηκε.*

[7] Ath. viii. 351 E *νικήσας δ' ἐν Σικυῶνι τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἀνέθηκεν εἰς τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον τρόπαιον ἐπιγράψας·* ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝΙΚΟΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΚΩΣ ΚΙΘΑΡΙΖΟΝΤΩΝ. *νίκης ἔστησε τρόπαια* is used metaphorically of Magnes, by Aristoph. *Knights* 521.

dedication of athlete statues began to sprout, it may be in the sixth century; but the critical point, or rather perhaps the point where the new spirit stood revealed to itself, was in the fourth. The lowest pitch of degradation, and the highest point of self-glorification, is reached in that hideous monument of Porphyrius, victor in the chariot-race at Constantinople. In that monument piety there is none; but every feat of the victor is represented in artistic style as bad as its taste, and we leave him with relief to enjoy the applause of a shouting populace[1].

[1] *AM* v. 294 ff. pl. xvi.

V.

DISEASE AND CALAMITY.

χαίροις ἄναξ Παίηον, ὃς μέδεις Τρίκκης
καὶ Κῶν γλυκεῖαν κηπίδαυρον ᾤκηκας.

HERODAS iv. 1.

πολλοὶ τούτῳ λοιμαμένοι ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐκομίσαντο, πολλοὶ δὲ πιόντες στέρνον ἰάθησαν καὶ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον πνεῦμα ἀπέλαβον, τῶν δὲ πόδας ἐξώρθωσε, τῶν δὲ ἄλλο τι, ἤδη δέ τις πιὼν ἐξ ἀφώνου φωνὴν ἀφῆκεν.

ARISTIDES, *Εἰς τὸ φρέαρ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ*, 445.

WE have seen reason to believe that the cult of heroic spirits was widespread on Greek soil, and prevailed from the earliest to the latest times. They were propitiated or worshipt as beings of great and mysterious powers, and as such likely to be useful both in their general influence on the daily life and in occasional times of need. In their first aspect we find recurrent feasts held in their honour, and memorial offerings of these feasts dedicated, whilst tithes or firstfruits are sometimes offered to them; nor have there been wanting some indications that they were approached in time of need. All inscriptions which mention the vow or prayer imply help given in some such time[1]. We have seen that the hero-shrines may be supposed to have had much the same part in the national worship as the scattered chapels of to-day; they would be the natural places for use of the country folk who lived afar from large cities. In the cities themselves ancient shrines of this sort would remain by tradition when new manners had come in, just as

[1] See ch. XII.

Holywell so long remained in London, or Barnwell still remains in Cambridge[1], as the well of divination remained and still remains in Patrae[2], or like the shrines of Amynos and the Hero Physician in ancient Athens[3]. But side by side with this ancient popular worship grew up the cult of the great gods; and it usually happened that the gods were invoked for the same purposes as the heroes were, and under similar titles. Zeus is connected with the underworld as Catachthonios[4], and he is also Meilichios[5] and Soter[6]. Apollo is Alexicacos[7] and Iatros[8]; Artemis is Soteira[9], and so is Demeter[10]; Dionysus is also Iatros[11]; Athena is Hygieia, Health[12]. The worshipper in offering his prayer adds naturally such titles as these, to indicate the manifestation of the divine power which he desires. Indeed, he goes into detail so far, that when about to sacrifice he may invoke the hero as Flycatcher[13], or Zeus as Averter of Flies[14]. No less naturally does he address his prayer for protection to the patron deity of his city, who may be supposed to be most powerful there; and if at the same time he addresses the local hero, that is but prudence[15].

[1] I have known a person send to Barnwell for water in case of sickness, for superstitious reasons.

[2] Paus. vii. 21. 12. There is a well there still held in repute, close by St Andrew's Church, which therefore probably covers the site of Demeter's temple.

[3] Demosth. xix. 249, *CIA* ii 403. We see, in fact, Asclepius and Amynus worshipt together in this shrine: *AM* xviii. 234.

[4] *Il.* ix. 457; Hesiod, *Op.* 465.

[5] *BCH* vii. 407.

[6] Aesch. *Suppl.* 26.

[7] Paus. i. 3. 4. Dedication to Zeus Eubuleus in Amorgos: *AM* i. 331. To Zeus Asclepius *CIG* 1198.

[8] Arist. *Birds* 584, cp. Kaibel *Ep. Gr.* 798. 1 *ἰητῆρι νόσων.*

[9] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 267. 1. Farnell ii. 585. A dedication to her by this title comes from Phocis: Collitz ii. 1528.

[10] Arist. *Frogs* 378; she is also Chthonia: *CIG* 1198.

[11] Kock, *Com. Frag.* iii. p. 423.

[12] Ancient worship on the Acropolis. Farnell, i. 316. Cp. Aristides ii. 25 *Ἀθηναίων οἱ πρεσβύτατοι καὶ Ὑγιείας Ἀθηνᾶς βωμὸν ἱδρύσαντο.*

[13] Paus. ix. 26. 7 Aliphera.

[14] Paus. v. 14. 1 Elis.

[15] Very few of the old Acropolis dedications can be referred to sickness. I have noted two ancient ones from the Acropolis: *CIA* i. 362, iv. 1. p. 79 *Εὐφρόνιος κεραμεὺς ἱκεσίαν Ὑγιείαι.* Kat. 96 *Ἀθηναῖοι τῇι Ἀθηναίαι τῇι Ὑγιείαι.* Several have *ὑπὲρ* (49, 189, 238, 246), but this formula may be used of an ordinary tithe or firstfruit (238). We may infer that the people visited Iatros or Amynus in that case. Perhaps Pericles' own dedication was made on purpose to assist in transferring the popular allegiance.

It is chiefly sickness, danger, or sudden calamity which directs the soul to the unseen powers; and these are the special occasions when the ancient Greek paid his vows or exprest his gratitude. One constant and pressing source of danger was war, but the dedications connected with war have been already dealt with; in this chapter we shall take the rest, and chiefly the vows and dedications made in time of sickness. This it so happens is the easier, because in early times certain divinities had come to be regarded as specially powerful against the ills which the flesh is heir to. We have already seen that the protective power of the heroes was quite general; but as the great gods relieved them of responsibility in their more public and striking aspects, the private function of alleviating the pains of sickness became their peculiar care, and in particular devolved upon two or three personages who by accident or otherwise achieved notable fame.

In accordance with the principle suggested in the last paragraph, public offerings for deliverance from plague and pestilence are generally dedicated to one of the great gods. Epimenides, summoned to Athens in time of pestilence, is said to have cleansed the city, and built a shrine of the Eumenides[1]. Three temples are referred to afterclaps of the great plague at Athens (430—427). One is the romantic fane of Apollo the Helper, erected among the mountains at Bassae by the village of Phigalea, and looking down over the Messenian plain to far distant Ithome[2]. Next comes the temple of Apollo Healer at Elis[3]; and last that of Pan Deliverer in Troezen, who had revealed to the city magistrates in a dream how they might heal the plague[4]. A public dedication of some statue to Athena Hygieia exists, but this is too trifling to refer to the great plague[5]. There seems to have been a temple and statue of Heracles Averter of Ill, dedicated in the deme Melite whilst

[1] Eudocia, no. 349: *τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν ἱερὸν καθάπερ ἐν Κρήτῃ ἱδρύσατο.*

[2] *Ἐπικούριος*: Paus. viii. 41. 7. The architect was Ictinus, who built the Parthenon, and the style favours a date later than 431.

[3] Paus. vi. 24. 6.

[4] Paus. ii. 32. 6. We have no means of determining the date of the last two.

[5] *CIA* i. 335, *Κατ.* 96 (above, p. 188).

the plague was raging[1]. Early in the fifth century Hermes was said to have averted a plague at Tanagra by carrying a ram about the walls; and in gratitude the people caused Calamis to make them a statue of Hermes the Ram-bearer[2]. In similar danger the people of Cleone, in obedience to an oracle, sacrificed a he-goat to the sun; and when the plague was stayed, they dedicated a bronze he-goat to Apollo at Delphi[3]. Statues of Apollo Averter of Mischief, by Calamis[4], and of Heracles under the same title, by Ageladas[5], which existed at Athens, may be referred to a similar origin. Indications are not wanting that the practice continued later; one such is a hymn composed and sung to Asclepius on deliverance from a noisome pestilence[6].

The same practice holds for other dire visitations. Deliverance from a plague of locusts was recognised by a statue of Locust Apollo, attributed to Pheidias[7]. Perhaps the cult of Mouse Apollo in the Troad was originally due to a plague of mice, although it may be propitiatory or even totemistic[8]. There was a statue of Earth praying for rain on the Athenian Acropolis, dedicated therefore probably to Athena, which commemorated a drought[9]. We do not know the date of this, but Pausanias would have heard more about it if it had been near his own day; and if not, the dedication may be illustrated by an inscription on the rock, of the first or second century after Christ, which mentions Earth the Fruitful[10]. We read of another

[1] Schol. Arist. *Frogs* 501 *ἡ δὲ ἵδρυσις ἐγένετο κατὰ τὸν μέγαν λοιμόν, ὅθεν καὶ ἐπαύσατο ἡ νόσος.*

[2] *Κριοφόρος*: Paus. ix. 22. 1. The type will meet us again; it occurs also on coins, Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, 116, pl. X. x. xii. The story seems to be an attempt to explain the type, but is good evidence for all that.

[3] Paus. x. 11. 5; see Frazer's note for connexion of Apollo with the goat.

[4] Paus. i. 3. 4 *Ἀλεξίκακος*, wrongly assigned to the plague of 430—27. Calamis flourisht 500—460. Apollo was also Healer in Elis: Paus. vi. 24. 6.

[5] Schol. Arist. *Frogs* 504.

[6] *CIA* iii. 171.

[7] *Παρνόπιος*: Paus. i. 24. 8.

[8] *Σμινθεύς*: Paus. x. 12. 5. Votive bronze mice have been found in Palestine: M. Thomas, *Two Years in Palestine* (1899), 6. The reader will recall the cult of the Brazen Serpent, *Numbers* xxi. 9; and the mice in the Ark, 1 *Samuel* vi. 5.

[9] Paus. i. 24. 3.

[10] *γῆς καρποφόρου κατὰ μαντείαν CIA* iii. 166. The Delphic oracle orders sacrifice to Ge Carpophoros and Poseidon Asphaleios, Collitz ii. 2970.

great drought that fell over all Greece, so that envoys were sent to Delphi to enquire what help there might be. They were instructed to propitiate Zeus by means of Aeacus as intermediary, and messengers were sent to Aeacus asking his aid. By prayers and sacrifices to Zeus Panhellenian the drought was stayed; and the Aeginetans set up images of their envoys in a precinct called the Aeaceum[1].

Such offerings were most naturally promised beforehand and paid on deliverance, but they were occasionally made in faith while the devastation went on. Thus during a flood of the Eurotas, an oracle commanded the Spartans to build a temple to Hera Protectress, which they did[2]. To avert from their vines the baleful influence of the constellation called the Goat, the Phliasians dedicated a bronze goat in the market place[3]. To end a barrenness in the earth, the Epidaurians set up statues of Damia and Auxesia, personifications of Subduing and Increase[4].

There are not wanting private dedications to the gods for healing and deliverance. Alyattes the Lydian, early in the sixth century, offered at Delphi for the cure of a disease a great silver bowl, with a stand of welded iron, which struck the imagination of Herodotus[5]. A relief dedicated to Athena seems to acknowledge help of this sort[6], and perhaps another to Paean Apollo is of the same class[7]. Pericles we know dedicated a statue to Athena Hygieia, for saving the life of a workman who fell from a scaffolding there[8]. Demeter was a healer at

[1] Paus. ii. 29. 7.

[2] Ὑπερχειρία: Paus. iii. 13. 8.

[3] Paus. ii. 13. 6.

[4] Herod. v. 82. These occur on inscrr.; as Collitz iii. 3337 (Epidaurus), 4496 (Sparta).

[5] Herod. i. 24. Alyattes died in 560. The stand was there in the time of Athenaeus (v. 210 B).

[6] F-W. 117.

[7] F-W. 1849.

[8] Plut. *Pericles* 13. The statue *CIA* i. 335 cannot be this offering, for that of Pericles was not dedicated by the Athenian people. See for Ath. Hyg., Farnell, *Cults* i. 316. I suggest that Pericles made the dedication on purpose to support the worship of Athena, then not fashionable with the conservative nobles or with the country folk. The question is too wide to be discussed here; but some suggestive evidence is to be found in Aristophanes, where the oath by Poseidon is the favourite with these classes (see e.g. *Knights* 144, 551, 843, and Neil's notes).

Eleusis[1]; and when Asclepius came to Athens he must needs be initiated into the mysteries and so be affiliated to her[2]. She appears to have had the same function elsewhere[3]. Artemis Lyë was invoked for sickness in Sicily[4]; Artemis Oulia and Apollo Oulios at Lindos in Rhodes[5], and at Miletus[6]. Appeals in sickness are made to Lathrië[7] and to Cytherea[8]. Micythus of Rhegium, who in his son's sickness had spent much on many physicians without avail, dedicated at Olympia a number of statues and other offerings "to all gods and goddesses[9]." The Mothers in Sicily[10], Hecate[11], Cybele[12], and Men[13] are appealed to in sickness, and a river is called Saviour[14]. The oracle at Dodona, and doubtless not only that oracle, was consulted in the same case[15]. Perhaps Good Luck and the Good Daemon may be added to the list.

But although the greater gods were a present help in time of danger, if they could be prevailed on to act, a being of humbler origin won the highest fame in this sphere, and finally himself attained to divine honours. This was Asclepius.

All indications point to Thessaly as the original home of Asclepius[16]. He was the founder and deified ancestor of the Phlegyae and Minyae, the ruling class in Tricca and one or two neighbouring towns. In Homer he is neither god nor hero, and his two sons, Podaleirius and Machaon, are mentioned

[1] *AM* xx. 361. She was recognised in the Asclepieum, and at Epidaurus; p. 365—6.

[2] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1894, p. 171. Herodes, who brought Asclepius to Athens, dedicated the god's statue on this occasion as a mystic.

[3] See below for the marble breasts at Cnidus, p. 216. Artemidorus, *Oneirocr.* ii. 39: Δημήτηρ κόρη καὶ Ἴακχος τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἀνιστᾶσι καὶ σώζουσι. Relief from Philippopolis Overb. *Kunstmyth.* pl. 1 and 7 ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁράσεως θεᾷ Δημήτρι δῶρον, *Anth. Pal.* ix. 293.

[4] Diomed. iii. p. 483, Probus on Virgil, *Ecl.* p. 2. 28 (Keil); cp. *Anth. Pal.* vi. 240, Theognis 484.

[5] *IGI* i 834[3], cp. *CIG* 2566.

[6] Macrob. i. 17.

[7] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 300.

[8] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 190.

[9] Herod. vii. 170, Paus. v. 26, *IGA* 532. Cp. Newton, *Branch.* p. 751, no. 32: χαριστεῖα, πᾶσι θεοῖς, θεραπευθείς.

[10] Diod. iv. 80.

[11] *IGI* i. 958 ἱερὰ σώτειρα, *A.-E. Mitth.* xviii. 4, Roberts 242 *a*.

[12] *AM* xxi. 292, *CIA* iii. 134.

[13] *BCH* xx. 75, etc.

[14] Herod. viii. 138.

[15] Collitz iii. 3407*.

[16] The account of Asclepius is based on the articles in Pauly-Wissowa and Roscher. See also Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 514 ff.

in the Catalogue of the Ships[1]. If there were legends connecting him with Messenia and Arcadia, these rest on later authority, and were doubtless local attempts to claim him when he had become famous. The Arcadian legend makes Apollo his father, which alone is enough to condemn it[2]: this is just one of those attempts which we not seldom find, to make the pantheon symmetrical, by reconciling conflicting claims. Strabo follows the general opinion of antiquity in calling the shrine of Tricca "the oldest and most famous" of those which Asclepius had[3]. Cheiron was his teacher, and Cheiron stands as the embodiment of all natural lore, woodcraft, and herb simples[4]. On the mount Pelion, where he got all his master could teach him, Asclepius first associated himself (we are told) with the serpent, which afterwards became his attendant and attribute. He is still a man, if a mighty and wise man, and his death by the bolt of Zeus is not consistent with any higher character. After death he becomes a hero, famed for his healing powers, and a chthonian oracle.

With the wanderings of his clan, in their career of migration or conquest, Asclepius gradually moves southwards, and we find him next in Boeotia and Phocis. Here he comes into conflict with Apollo: the god proves victor, but their feud is reconciled by the legend which makes Asclepius son of Apollo by Coronis, who should be faithless to her husband. We next see traces of Asclepius in the Peloponnese, in Titane and Arcadia. Messenia claims him for her own, and warps the legend to suit her claim. Finally he appears in several parts of Argolis, and particularly in the great shrine which afterwards became most famous. That the Epidaurian shrine is one of the latest is shown by the fact that the legends have changed under the influence of Delphi, and have forgotten their origin at Tricca[5]. From Epidaurus, now become his headquarters, came a number of offshoots[6]. Chief of these were: (1) Sicyon, at a date unknown;

[1] *Il.* ii. 729—32; Machaon again *Il.* iv. 200, 219, etc.

[2] Paus. ii. 26. 4.

[3] Strabo p. 437.

[4] *Il.* iv. 202, 219; Mannhardt, *Wald und Feldkulte*, 48.

[5] Maleatian Apollo was apparently united with him here: Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épid.* i. 75, no. 235.

[6] Paus. ii. 26. 8, x. 10. 3, iii. 23. 6; Julian, *Adv. Christ.* p. 197.

(2) Athens, founded in 420; (3) Balagrae in the Cyrenaica; (4) Epidaurus Limera; (5) Cos, though Herodas will have it the cult came straight from Tricca[1]; (6) Naupactus, about 300; (7) Tarentum; (8) perhaps Syracuse; (9) Pergamus; (10) Rome. Besides these he is found at Clazomenae, Delos[2], Teos, and Phocaea, and cults connected with him at many other places.

By this time Asclepius has become a full-fledged god, and his family has increased and multiplied. His sons Machaon and Podaleirius belong, as we have seen, to the earliest period of the legend; but he has now more, whose names indicate personifications of his powers, Ianiscus and Alexenor[3], and Euamerion also called Telesphorus or Acesis[4]. A blooming bevy of daughters has also sprung up around him, Iaso, Aceso, Aegle, and Panaceia[5], together with the more general personification Hygieia or Health. The last is assumed by some to be not a daughter, but an independent personification, which was naturally associated with him and then became younger to suit her new character[6]: the cult of Athena Hygieia makes for this view. His wife's name is differently given as Xanthe, Lampetië, Aglaïe, or Hipponoë[7].

Amphiaraus in some points resembles Asclepius. He appears in legend as a doughty hero, who took part in adventures such as the hunt of the Calydonian Boar[8], the voyage of the Argo[9], and through the covetousness of his wife Eriphyle, who accepted the famous necklace as a bribe, in the war of the Seven Against Thebes[10]. Fleeing before his foes in his chariot, drawn by the two renowned horses Thoas and Dido, he was about to be overtaken, when Zeus cleft the earth with a thunderbolt and he plunged in. Hence arose the great shrine of Amphiaraus at Oropus near Thebes, the seat of an oracle and a health resort, where the heroized seer gave responses and healed the sick[11].

[1] Herodas ii. 97.

[2] *BCH* vi. 343[56], xvi. pl. vi.

[3] Schol. Arist. *Plut.* 701.

[4] Paus. i. 11. 7.

[5] Schol. Arist. *Plut.* 701; Suid. *s.v.* Ἠπιόνη.

[6] Körte, *AM* xviii. 250. She is called daughter of Asclepius by Eudocia, p. 28 (Teubn.).

[7] Roscher i. 621 c.

[8] Apoll. i. 8. 2.

[9] Apoll. i. 9. 16.

[10] Apoll. i. 9. 13, iii. 6. 2.

[11] He received the gift of divination by sleeping one night in the "House of Divination" at Phlius, Paus. ii. 13. 7.

Amphiaraus was not, like Asclepius, a colonising deity[1]. As communication became easier, patients made it a commoner practice to visit shrines of repute, which thus became health-resorts and places of pleasure not unlike the Baths or the Wells of eighteenth-century England. Moreover, Amphiaraus had not the advantage of belonging to a wandering clan; and when the time of his fame arrived, it was too late for colonising: he had been outstript by his rival[2]. Like Asclepius, Amphiaraus in time becomes a god, first recognised by the Oropians but afterwards by all the Greeks[3].

It is with these two deities we shall have chiefly to do in the following pages; but it will be convenient to collect at the same time such instances of thank-offerings to other gods as come within the scope of this chapter. In the Roman age we find a large number of new rivals for fame as healers and deliverers, especially Men and Anaitis in Asia Minor, Sarapis in Egypt and in Greece. But by this time the old ideas had lost their significance, and such examples will only be adduced for illustration. For the same purpose I shall refer to Cybele, Hecate and others, whose functions were not restricted to healing. Hecate, indeed, with or without a consort, had sometimes a special power in this department. A throne cut out of the rock is dedicated to her in Rhodes as Saviour[4], and in the island of Chalce a similar throne is ascribed to her[5].

Three shrines are chiefly important for our survey: those of Asclepius at Epidaurus and at Athens, and that of Amphiaraus in Boeotia. Each of these fills up a gap in the record, and from the three we are able to piece together a fairly complete account of the cult. We may assume that the practice at Athens and at Epidaurus did not materially differ; and the points peculiar to the third will be noted in their place.

The story how the Asclepieum at Athens was founded is

[1] He only colonised Byzantium; but he had another shrine at Rhamnus.

[2] The Theban oracle was very old, but the sanctuary of Oropus seems to date only from the fifth century. (Frazer on Paus. ix. 8. 3.) For dream-oracles Amphiaraus was worshipt all through Greek history.

[3] Paus. i. 34. 2.

[4] *IGI* i. 914 *ἱερὰ σώτειρα εὐακοῦς φωσφόρος εἰνοδία.*

[5] *IGI* i. 958 Διός, Ἑκάτης; *A.-E. Mitth.* xviii. 4. For Cybele see *CIA* iii. 134.

interesting and instructive in more ways than one, and fortunately we have a full account of it[1]. In founding a new shrine the custom of the Epidaurian priests was to send out one of the sacred snakes[2] from their sanctuary. Pausanias describes how Asclepius came to Sicyon under the form of a snake, in a car drawn by a pair of mules[3]. The same thing is told of the founding of Epidaurus Limera[4], and of the temple on the Tiber Island at Rome[5]. So when Telemachus of Acharnae proposed to found the Athenian shrine, in the year 420, the same procession of snake and car may be assumed[6]. Asclepius then, or the priest perhaps or even the serpent, in place of him, was actually initiated into the Mysteries at Eleusis, and a statue was set up on that occasion[7]. The priesthood of the Goddesses appears to have welcomed him at first, it may be in the hope of retaining him in their shrine; but when it appeared that Telemachus was for building a new shrine at Athens, they turned round and fought him tooth and nail. Part of the precinct would lie in the Pelasgicum, which as we know was better empty[8]; and whether or not for this reason, the college of State Heralds were egged on to claim the land. In time however the god prevailed, and after a few years he had settled down comfortably at Athens.

The shrine of Asclepius at Athens[9], thus erected at the close of the fifth century, stood in a grove of trees like the ordinary hero-shrines[10]. There were porticoes or covered buildings for the patients to sleep in when they consulted the god[11]. In the

[1] Paul Girard, *L'Asclépieion d'Athènes* (Paris, Ernest Thorn, 1881); Körte, *AM* xviii. 249.

[2] These were of a special breed kept in the precinct: Paus. ii. 11. 8; Arist. *Plut.* 733; Herodas iv. 90.

[3] Paus. ii. 10. 3.

[4] Paus. iii. 23. 7.

[5] Livy, *Epitome* xi.; Ov. *Met.* xv. 626—744; Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 94.

[6] If we accept Körte's clever restoration, *AM* xviii. 249. In *CIA* ii. 1649. 7 the letters ...γεν δεῦρε ἐφ'... suggest ἤγαγεν δεῦρε ἐφ' ἅρματος. See also 1650.

[7] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1894, p. 171: μύστην Ἡρώδης Ἀσκληπιὸν εἵσατο Δηοῖ νοῦσον ἀλεξήσαντ' ἀντιχαριζόμενος. See also Paus. ii. 26. 8; Philostr. *Apollon.* iv. 18.

[8] Thuc. ii. 17. 1 τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἀργὸν ἄμεινον.

[9] There was another in Peiraeus: Schol. Arist. *Plut.* 621, etc. Reliefs have been found there.

[10] ἐφύτευσε occurs in *CIA* ii 1649. A tree appears on many of the reliefs.

[11] Girard 19; for regulations see Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1885, p. 96.

precinct was a spring, and perhaps a basin of water for ceremonial use[1]. In the same precinct were afterwards erected a number of altars and statues of various divinities, Demeter and the Maid, Athena, Aphrodite, Hermes, Pan and the Nymphs, the hero Heracles, and later Isis and Sarapis[2]. Many of the votive offerings stood here, but the more precious were kept within the temple, stored away, placed on shelves, or on the walls and ceiling[3]. Withinside was a statue of Asclepius himself, a sacred couch and table, tripods, altars, and tables of offerings. The effect of the scene is well described in Herodas, who represents two women in the temple of Cos, in a passage which is worth reproducing[4].

Phile. Hail, healer Lord, who rulest Tricca and hast made thy abode in lovely Cos and Epidaurus; and withal Coronis thy mother and Apollo hail, and Health, whom thy right hand touches, and those of whom are these honoured altars, Panace and Epio and Iëso, hail; and ye who sackt the city of Laomedon with its fortress walls, healers of fierce disease, Podaleirius and Machaon, hail, and all gods and goddesses who are housed by thy hearth, father Paean[5].... Put the tablet on the right hand of Health, Coccale. Ha, my dear Cynno, what fine statues! why, what artist wrought this stone, and who offered it?

Cynno. The sons of Praxiteles: don't you see the writing upon the base there? And Euthies son of Prexon is the dedicator. Paeon bless them and Euthies for the fine things. See yon girl, Phile, looking at the apple? Wouldst not say she will die outright if she do not get it?

Phile. And the old man there, Cynno. By the fates, how the boy throttles the fox-goose. If 'twere not for the stone beside you, you would say the thing will speak. Ha, the time will come when mortals will make the very stones live. Dost see how that statue of Batale[6] stands, Cynno? If one has never seen Batale, look at this portrait and never miss the other.... And if I scratch this naked boy, won't there be a wound! There's the flesh throbbing warm as it were, all warm on the tablet. And the silver tongs! why, if Myellus or Pataeciscus see it, won't their eyes fall out of their heads thinking it is really made of silver[7]? And the ox,

[1] Girard 19; Arist. *Plut.* 656: *θάλαττα* does not necessarily mean sea-water, Aesch. *Agam.* 932.

[2] Girard 19.

[3] Girard 16; *CIA* ii. 766, 835.

[4] Herodas iv. It is curious that a woman named Phile dedicates her breasts to Asclepius in Athens, *CIA* ii. 1482.

[5] A paean was sung when sickness was cured, according to Schol. Arist. *Plut.* 636.

[6] *Βατάλης τῆς μύττεω.* Is this a proper name? or is it Batale the blind girl?

[7] This points to painting or silver-

and the man leading him, and the woman who follows, and this old hook-nose, to the very life! I don't want to do what ill becomes a woman, or I would have shrieked for fear the ox should hurt me, with that wicked squint in his eye.

The Epidaurian shrine was laid out on a still more magnificent scale, with every convenience for patients and visitors. The temple[1] contained a gold-ivory statue of the god seated, which is copied in many of the votive statuettes or reliefs there found[2]. Besides the ordinary dormitories and porticoes, there was the curious Rotunda, perhaps a pump-room, with a grove, a stadium, and a theatre which was the pride of the place[3]. Its fame lasted undiminished to Roman times, and under the empire Antoninus (probably Pius) built a place outside the precinct for women lying-in and for the dying[4].

Our information as to the priesthood of the Athenian shrine is fairly full[5]. Chief of all is the priest, elected yearly until the Roman period, when the Zacoros grows into greater importance. A board of officials presides over the sacrifices. Of temple servants we read of the sacristan and fire-bearer, and two women, the basket-bearer and the Arrephoros. Some persons went by the title of physician, and both the priest and the Zacoros at least occasionally held this office[6]. A board was nominated yearly by the people to inspect and catalogue the ex-voto. In Epidaurus there were priest, pyrophoros, dadouchos, and zacoros; a hierophant is also mentioned[7]. In Cos we find a Neocoros presiding at the occasional sacrifice of the devout, killing the victim, and offering prayer[8]. There were two great feasts in Athens, Epidauria and Asclepiea, and apparently also a more modest feast, the Heroa. The Epidauria celebrated the

leafing of the reliefs, unless a picture be meant. The Athenian reliefs show traces of colour. The names are doubtless meant for well-known silversmiths.

[1] See Frazer's *Pausanias*, iii. p. 237 for a map and account of the place.

[2] Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, i. pl. ix. 21—24; Paus. ii. 27. 2.

[3] Paus. ii. 27. 3 ff.

[4] Paus. ii. 27. 6.

[5] Girard 22—34 *ἱερεύς*, *ζάκορος*; *ἱεροποιοί*; *κλειδοῦχος*, *πυρφόρος*, *κανηφόρος*, *ἀρρηφόρος*.

[6] Onetor the priest and physician: *CIA* ii. 835[13, 74]. Zacoros: *CIA* iii. 1. 780.

[7] Cavvadias, p. 114. A society of Asclepiasts was found there later: p. 115.

[8] Herodas iv. 79.

initiation of the god at Eleusis; and a relief offered perhaps on this occasion has been found, where Asclepius, leaning upon a staff, stands in the presence of Demeter and the Maid, and a troop of six worshippers approaches them[1]. This is conjectured to be a formal public offering on behalf of five magistrates or others who represent the city, having received a vote of thanks and a crown each for their services[2]. The Asclepiea seems to have been less important, as no inscriptions have been found which relate to it. The Heroa was doubtless held to keep up tradition, and we may suppose that this is the occasion when the Death-feast reliefs were dedicated. At the public feasts an ox or a bull was sacrificed; there was a lectisternium and a watch-night with illuminations, as in the worship of other gods[3]. It is to be noted that the sacrifice had to be consumed within the precinct at Epidaurus and Titane[4], at Athens[5], and at the oracle of Amphiaraus[6], which was the custom with heroes in some cases at least[7].

The private worshipper, who wisht to offer his prayer or find a cure for his complaint, probably had to prepare himself by a ceremonial purification. We know that death or birth was supposed to pollute a Greek shrine[8], and in particular neither should take place in the shrine of Epidaurus. So there are indications that the worshipper was expected not to come in contact with such things, and must keep continence for a certain time before he approached the god[9]. But let that pass: and now suppose the worshipper duly prepared.

[1] *AM* ii. pl. 18, Girard pl. ii. *CIA* ii. 1449. Names are engraved above the figures, and below are five names within garlands. Only three have the hand uplifted; the rest may be friends, three of each set being the same. A dedication to Demeter and Asclepius was found in the precinct, *AM* ii. 243; and the two are again associated on a relief, *BCH* i. 163, no. 33.

[2] Five human names are enclosed in wreaths: Girard *l.c.* Dedications of "the people" to Asclepius in *CIA* ii. 835—6, e.g. 836[82, 87, 94].

[3] *θυσία, στρῶσις τῆς κλίνης, κόσμησις τῆς τραπέζης, παννυχίς*: Girard 39. Compare *CIA* ii. 1. *Add* 435 *b*, 453 *c*, *Add. Nova* 373 *b*. For the table in other cults see *CIA* i. 4; Herod. i. 181—3.

[4] Paus. i. 27. 1.

[5] Arist. *Plut.* 1138.

[6] *IGS* i. 235[31].

[7] Paus. x. 4. 10.

[8] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1894, p. 167 f. (inscr.); Thuc. iii. 104.

[9] *Rev. Arch.* xxxix. 182.

He must probably first pay an entrance fee of a few obols[1], and then perform the preliminary sacrifice[2]. At Epidaurus, when the worshipper desired to be cured of a disease, it appears that the πυρφόρος asked for a solemn engagement that he would make the customary sacrifice and offering if a cure was effected, which was undertaken by the patient or by some one else for him[3]. The patient then underwent a ceremonial cleansing with water[4]; after which prayers were offered at the altar, and cakes were offered upon it, sometimes perhaps being burnt[5]. This done, he waited for the night.

The central ceremony of the whole was that of sleeping in the precinct, technically called incubation[6]. That this took place originally in the temple there can be no doubt, and at Tithorea such continued to be the custom[7]. But at the larger health resorts, halls or colonnades were provided for the purpose. There were two at Oropus, and probably at Epidaurus[8]; but the description of Aristophanes implies that men and women occupied the same hall at Athens, doubtless each sex to a side[9]. Even their friends could accompany them, if the

[1] This is not certain for the shrines of Asclepius, but was the practice at Oropus: *IGS* i. 235 ἐπαρχή 9 obols. It was placed in the Treasury (θησαυρός). There was a θησαυρὸς at the shrine of Asclepius in Lebena (Crete).

[2] εἰσιτητήριον; προθύεσθαι *Cure* inscr. 3339 42; προθύματα Arist. *Plut.* 660.

[3] The formula is given in *Cures* 3339. 43—4 ὁ παῖς ὁ τῷ θεῷ πυρφορῶν ... ὑποδέκεσαι τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τυχόντα ἐφ' ἃ πάρεστι ἀποθύσειν τὰ ἴατρα;...ὑποδέκομαι. ἀποπέμπειν ἴατρα 3340 35, ἀποδιδόναι 3339 58, ἀπάγειν 3340 8.

[4] Arist. *Plut.* 656 πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἤγομεν, ἔπειτ' ἐλοῦμεν. This was not the sea, for the scene was in Athens not at the Peiraeus: Schol. v. 621 and Frazer on Paus. ii. 27. 2. At Epidaurus there was a well.

[5] Arist. *Plut.* 655 with Schol., 661: πόπανα καὶ προθύματα, πέλανος Ἡφαίστου φλογί.

[6] ἐγκοίμησις, ἐγκαθεύδειν; the dormitory was ἐγκοιμήτριον or ἄβατον. See besides the authorities to be cited, Aristides i. p. 446; Marcus Aurelius v. 8; Philostr. *Apoll.* i. 9, *Vit. Soph.* ii. 25. Incubation is known also at Sicyon (Paus. ii. 10), Troezen (Cavvadias, no. 2), Rome (Plaut. *Curc.* 245). See Pauly 1690. See also L. Duebner, *De Incubatione* (Teubner, 1900). A vivid account of the visions of a neurotic subject is given in Aristides xlviii. (Keil), ἱερῶν λόγων ii.

[7] The reader will remember how young Samuel slept in the Tabernacle and had a dream: 1 *Samuel* iii.

[8] For a description of the remains see Frazer on Paus. ii. 27. 2. It was certainly enclosed with walls: see *Cures* in Baunack i. p. 118.

[9] Arist. *Plut.* 688.

poet has kept to fact, which there is no reason to doubt[1]. During the night, the god was expected to appear in a vision, and either to treat the patients or to tell them what to do. Hear Aristophanes describe the scene:

"All round," says Carion in the comedy, "were people sick of all manner of diseases. In comes the verger[2], puts out the lights, and bids us sleep; and, quotha, if you hear a noise, keep a quiet tongue. So we all composed ourselves decently for sleep. But sleep I could not, for my eye caught a pot of pease which stood just behind the old gammer's head, and I had a monstrous craving to crawl after it. Then I looked up, and what should I see but the priest grabbing the cakes and figs from the sacred table. Then he made the round of all the altars, to see if there was a biscuit or two left, and these he consecrated into a bag he had with him. I looked on the performance with much awe, and up I got to fetch the pease." "You bold bad man," says the other, "weren't you afraid of the god?" "Afraid! yes, afraid that he might get there first with his garlands; the priest showed me the way, you see. Well, when gammer heard the noise I made, she got hold and tried to pull it away; but I gave a hiss and bit her, as though I had been one of those hooded snakes."

Cario then tells how the priest, with Iaso and Panacea, went round inspecting all the diseases; and although the story now becomes pure farce, it is clear that he diagnosed them after a fashion, examining the wounds, and treating them with his drugs. When he came to Plutus, after treating his blind eyes, he whistled, and a couple of great snakes came out which proceeded to lick them; and the blind was made whole[3].

This picture is certainly true to life, for it can be paralleled in almost every particular from the votive reliefs and from the Cures of Epidaurus. These remarkable inscriptions, which Pausanias saw in the dorter[4], contain a long list of miraculous cures, which remind one of nothing so much as a modern patent medicine. There were similar tablets at Cos and Tricca[5], which have not yet been found, and fragments of others have been

[1] Arist. *Plut.* 658.

[2] πρόπολος, *Plut.* 670 ff.

[3] Arist. *Plut.* 732.

[4] Paus. ii. 27. 3; Cavvadias, i. 23 ff.; Baunack, *Studien*, i. 120 ff.; *IPI* i. 951—2; Collitz, *Gr. Dialekt-Inschr.* iii. 3339—3341. I quote from Collitz. The inscrr. date from the 4th cent., but they contain older cures (Aelian, *Nat. An.* ix. 33, mentions the woman of Troezen with a worm inside her). Another Epidaurian miracle in Didot, *Frag. Hist. Gr.* ii. 158.

[5] Strabo, viii. p. 374.

unearthed at Lebena in Crete[1]. In the Epidaurian Cures we see that the patient lay to sleep just as the poet describes. Faith he must have had, or he would never have got so far; and in his exalted state he was prepared to believe that the figures which appeared before him were really divine. We can hardly doubt that the priest and his attendants were got up to represent the god and his sons and daughters, which would help the illusion. So in the votive tablets, which we shall examine by and by, the divine personages feel the diseased part, and apply remedies to it. In the Cures the god, or a "handsome man," as he is realistically described sometimes[2], pours medicine into diseased eyes, and anoints them with ointment[3]. Or he uses massage, chafing the stomach[4] or the head[5], and giving medicine and instructions how to use it[6]. He even attempts surgery, extracting a lance-head[7] or cutting an ulcer[8]. Now and then he enquires the symptoms[9]; he even condescends to ask what the patient will give if he be cured, and can enjoy a humorous answer[10]. Nothing is too humble for him: he will even compound me a hair-restorer for one whose bald head has been the mock of his friends[11]. The tame snakes[12] and dogs[13] are frequently mentioned; they come out and lick the sores or the eyes of the sufferers. Dogs appear also at the Asclepian shrine in Peiraeus[14].

Some of the cures are clearly made up, or doctored for effect. Sheer impossible miracles are to be found among them, such as the mending of a broken earthenware pot[15]. The sceptic who will not believe is trotted out and convinced[16], and solemn

[1] I saw them there in August, 1900. No doubt other such were found elsewhere.

[2] *Cures* 3339[117] *δοκεῖν νεανίσκον εὐπρεπῆ τὰμ μορφὰν ἐπὶ τὸν δάκτυλον ἐπιπῆν φάρμακον*, 3340[30].

[3] *Cures* 3339[39, 77, 121], 3340[121].

[4] *Cures* 3340[125].

[5] *Cures* 3340[53].

[6] *Cures* 3340[125]: he gives a *φιάλα*, with directions.

[7] *Cures* 3339[96], 3340[67].

[8] *Cures* 3340[61].

[9] *Cures* 3340[30].

[10] *Cures* 3339[69].

[11] *Cures* 3339[124].

[12] *Cures* 3339[113] *ἀνὴρ δάκτυλον ἰάθη ὑπὸ ὄφιος...ὕπνου δέ νιν λαβύντος ἐν τούτωι δράκων ἐκ τοῦ ἀβάτου ἐξελθὼν ἰάσατο τᾶι γλώσσαι.*

[13] *Cures* 3339[127] *φαρμάκωι...ὕπαρ ὑπὸ κυνὸς θεραπευόμενος*, 3340[37] *τᾶι γλώσσαι ἐθεράπευσε.*

[14] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1885, 88; *CIA* ii. 1651.

[15] *Cures* 3339[79] *κώθων.*

[16] *Cures* 3339[23].

warnings are addrest to the scornful. Aeschines was a naughty lad, who climbed up in a tree and peept into the place where the suppliants were sleeping. He immediately fell down, and his eyes were put out by the fall. Now he was compelled to eat humble pie, and to become a suppliant himself, when the god magnanimously cured him[1]. Terrible also is the fate of those who forget to pay their dues after they have been cured. A blind man who received sight and then declined to pay, became blind again until he had done so[2]. Another man, who had been cured of disfiguring marks on the face, sent his fee by a friend's hand, but the friend disowned the payment. It so happened that the friend came to be cured of a similar affliction; and as he lay in the holy place, the god took down from the wall the other man's bandage (which had been left in grateful remembrance of the cure) and laid it upon the deceiver's face; who departed thence punisht like Gehazi, with the original scars besides his own[3]. In view of such things as these, it may be objected that there is not a tittle of evidence for the truth of one of them. To this I reply, that there is no reason why some of them should not be true. In cases of nervous disease, such as paralysis[4], the high-strung imagination may have worked a cure, as it does to this day at Tenos or Lourdes. Nor is there any reason why the priests or doctors, call them what you will, should not have had some rough and ready knowledge of drugs and surgery, like the bone-setters or herbalists of rustic England, which they found it convenient to use with a certain amount of mummery. In fact they took up the same position with regard to the unlearned, as in our own day priestly advocates of the esoteric interpretation of ritual take up towards the laity. One of the Epidaurian cures, that of a Roman, M. Julius Apellas, describes minutely both the symptoms of the disease and the treatment, which was chiefly dietary[5]; and a fragment of a similar document was found at Lebena[6]; Hippocrates himself, if we are to believe tradition, learnt the elements of his craft from the Cures of Cos. But whatever be the fact about the

[1] *Cures* 3339[90].

[2] *Cures* 3340[7].

[3] *Cures* 3339[50].

[4] *Cures* Nos. xiii., xiv.

[5] *Cures* No. lx.

[6] Seen by the writer, 1900. Other records from this place in *AM* xxi. 67 ff.

cures, yet the setting of them must have been true. If there were no incubation, no vision of a god or a handsome man, no dogs and snakes, the testimonials would have simply excited the laughter of those who came to seek health from the god.

Incubation was also practised at the oracle of Amphiaraus, but the ceremony which preceded it differed from that we have described above. Those who would consult the oracle first purified themselves, then sacrificed a ram, and slept on his skin[1].

And now, in spite of all reasons to the contrary, the patient is cured: he is to pay the thank-offering due. A private person, unless he be rich, can hardly be expected to offer a bull, or even a pig[2]; his tribute was commonly a cock. We return to Herodas, who describes this part of the proceedings[3].

"Hither come," cries Phile, invoking the gods named, "and be kind to us for this cock which I sacrifice to thee, the herald of the house, and accept the cakes and fruit[4]. We have not much substance nor to spare, else would I bring thee an ox, or a sow in pig[5] fat enough, and no cock, to pay for the healing[6] of the diseases which thou hast wiped away, with thy gentle hands touching them.—Put the tablet on Health's right hand, Coccale."

The victim is handed to the attendant[7], who goes out and kills it. When the worshippers have gazed their fill at the sights, they recall him, and he enters through a door[8], with the words[9],

Good is your sacrifice, women, and promises well for you; no one ever had greater favour of Paeon than you have.—Ië ië Paiëon, be gracious to these women for this sacrifice, and to their lovers if they have any, and their offspring to come. Ië ië Paiëon, so be it, amen!

[1] Paus. i. 34. 5; cp. Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, 55; Strabo, vi. p. 284, describes a similar rite in the shrine of Calchas at Drium (Apulia); so at Athens, Hesych. and Suid. *s.v.* Διὸς κώδιον.

[2] *BCH* ii. 70; Herodas, iv. 15.

[3] Herodas iv. 12 ff.; Lucian, *Bis Acc.* 5; Artem. *Oneir.* v. 9; Plut. *Pyrrhus* iii. 8; *CIG* 5890. 66. Socrates' last words, then (*Phaedo* 118 A), would appear to be ironical. It should be mentioned that cock-models have been found at several places (see chapter VIII.); but I do not venture to assert that these are for healing. They may be models of a quite common sacrifice.

[4] τἀπίδορπα.

[5] νενημένην χοῖρον.

[6] ἴητρα; cp. ἴατρα *Cures passim.*

[7] νεωκόρος.

[8] ἡ θύρη γὰρ ὤικται κἀνεῖθ' ὁ παστός, 55.

[9] Herodas iv. 79 ff.

Phile. Amen, so be it, O mighty! and in all health may we come again with husbands and children bringing greater victims.—Coccale, don't forget to cut the leg of the fowl for the attendant, and pop the cake into the serpent's hole in dead silence, and moisten the barley-meal. We'll eat the rest at home. And don't forget to give some for Health.

Thus the thank-offering is made, the prayer is said; the temple receives its dues, and the rest of the victim makes all merry at home. At Epidaurus and at Oropus the whole had to be eaten in the precinct, and none might be taken away[1]; we do not know what was the rule at Athens.

We read of a physician, it will be remembered, in the Athenian inscriptions, and it is worth while enquiring what the relation was of the Asclepian shrines to scientific medicine or surgery[2]. Scientific doctors there were in ancient Greece, as we know, the most notable being the medical school of Cos with its great leader Hippocrates[3]; where also at a later date the professional physician is known[4]. In the works which have come down to us under this name are included a large number of independent treatises by different persons; some of which are of real value, and show that the ancient schools used research and experiment, and had more than empirical knowledge of their art. There are also collections of cases among them, which describe symptoms, treatment, and result. How seriously the physicians took their calling may be seen from the remarkable oath which all had to take before admission to the guild[5]. That there were professional physicians practising at Athens in the sixth century is proved by the tablet of Aeneus already described[6]. In the fifth century we find private practitioners[7], and also public physicians appointed by the state

[1] Paus. ii. 27. 1; *IGS* i. 235.

[2] *La Médecine publique dans l'antiquité grecque*, *Rev. Arch.* xxxix. 99, 231, 309, 348.

[3] See the chapter in Gompertz, *Greek Thinkers*, i. 275 ff. An interesting inscription of Cyprus records the hire of a doctor by the king of Idalion to treat his wounded soldiers, Collitz i. 60. So in Carpathos, *IGI* i. 1032. Did Thucydides draw on professional knowledge in describing the plague?

[4] Collitz iii. 3618 τῶν ἰατρῶν τῶν δαμοσιευόντων, etc.

[5] Littré, *Œuvres d'Hippocrate*, iv. 628 ff.

[6] Above, p. 79.

[7] ἰδιωτεύοντες, Plat. *Polit.* 259 A; *Gorgias* 514 E; Aristoph. *Eccles.* 365—6.

to a dispensary or hospital[1]. Herodotus[2] speaks of one Democedes, of Croton, most famous physician of his day; and at an early date we find Menocritus of Samos practising in Carpathos[3]. These physicians were distinct from the staff of the Asclepieum, but there does not seem to have been any antagonism between them. In the third century it was an 'ancient custom' for the public physicians to sacrifice twice a year to Asclepius and Hygieia, and to make an offering on their own behalf and their patients[4]. Such may have been the origin of the relief already described, where six worshippers approach Asclepius, Demeter, and the Maid[5]; of the three names inscribed above the tablet, two are known to have been physicians, Epeuches and Mnesitheus[6]. Perhaps the people on this occasion voted money for the cup mentioned in the Asclepian lists, as they did for the ephebes at Eleusis[7]. The fact is, the physicians and the temple appealed to different classes of persons. The fullest information available as to the ancient dedicators comes from the Inventories of the Athenian shrine[8]. There the women are slightly in excess of the men[9]. A number of priests are among them, but their dedications do not concern us here[10]. Nicomachus is called physician as well as priest[11], and so is Onetor[12]. Half-a-dozen more priests

[1] *ἰατρὸς δημοσιεύων*, elected by *χειροτονία*: Schol. Ar. *Ach.* 1030. Plato, *Gorg.* 455 B. For the *ἰατρεῖον* see *Rev. Arch.* xxxix. *l.c.*

[2] Herod. iii. 125, 131—2.

[3] *Rev. Arch.* viii. 469 (Girard). See p. 205[3].

[4] *CIA* ii. 352 *b* (*Add. Nova*) *ἐπειδὴ πάτριόν ἐστιν τοῖς ἰατροῖς ὅσοι δημοσιεύουσιν θύειν τῶι Ἀσκληπιῶι καὶ τῆι Ὑγιείαι δὶς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ὑπέρ τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ὧν ἕκαστοι ἰάσαντο*: early 3rd century.

[5] *AM* ii. 243, pl. xviii.; Girard 43, pl. ii; *BCH* ii. 88.

[6] *AM* ix. 80; above, p. 199[1].

[7] *CIA* ii. 471. 34. There are several dedications of the people in the lists *CIA* ii. 835—6.

[8] *CIA* ii. 766 (B.C. 341/40), 835, 836 (B.C. 320—17), 839.

[9] I make the proportion 291 : 233, but the same name often recurs, so that the number of dedications is considerably greater. One person dedicates no less than fifteen times.

[10] They were official, not thank-offerings; thus Nicomachus dedicates a censer made out of old offerings melted down *CIA* ii. 836[33]; Lysanias spends the price of a sacrificial ram on an offering 836[33].

[11] *CIA* ii. 836[17, 33] **Ὀνήτωρ** *ἰατρός*.

[12] *CIA* ii. 835[13, 84] *ἱερεὺς* Ὀνήτωρ Μελιτεύς.

are named: Archicles, Antocles, Ctesonicles, Philocrates, Theodorus, Xenocritus. One dedicator is termed *ἀρχιθέωρος*[1]. Beyond these there is nothing to tell who the dedicators were, or what was their calling in life[2]. The names are as other Greek names, but those of women are often diminutives. It must be borne in mind that these lists do not include all the offerings in the temple, nor perhaps the chief of them. There are no inventories amongst the Epidaurian inscriptions, but in the Cures there is evidence that it was usual to dedicate a memorial after cure[3]. Childish anecdotes like the Epidaurian Cures would have been rejected by Plato or Sophocles as readily as by any educated man of to-day; such as these, and doubtless the richer citizens, with a few exceptions like Theopompus[4], went to the physicians. But the ordinary Greek was simple, and tried the faith cure, which was at once cheaper and more in accord with ancient tradition. If we set aside the temple officials, who naturally would support the establishment, most of the dedicators' names in the lists lack the demotic adjective; which may imply that they were foreigners, or humble tradesmen, not citizens of Athens. Or the temple might be the last resort of those who could get no relief from the physicians, as Micythus of Rhegium[5], and the sufferer in the *Anthology*[6]: a small indication, but it points the same way as our theory. In this respect modern analogies are instructive. To pass by the peasants of Europe, who still consult their wise women and seventh sons of a seventh son, the sanctuaries of the Levant show much the same thing as we are assuming for the ancient. There are properly trained doctors in every part of the Greek world; yet the people still throng to the feast of the Virgin at

[1] *CIA* ii. 835[30].

[2] From Phocis we have a stonemason's dedication: *φίλων λιθουργὸς Ἀσκλαπιῶι*, Collitz ii. 1541. On the Acropolis, before the Persian invasion, a fuller makes a dedication to Health, above p. 188[15], 191[8].

[3] *λαβὼν χρήματα ὥστε ἀνθέμεν τῷ θεῷ Cures* 3339[54], *εἰ ἔχοι χρήματα ἐπιθῆν ἄνθεμα* 3339[59]. Cp. 3339[39, 7, 60, 89].

[4] See below, p. 217[1].

[5] Herod. vii. 170; above, p. 192.

[6] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 330 *θνητῶν μὲν τέχναις ἀπορούμενος, ἐς δὲ τὸ θεῖον ἐλπίδα πᾶσαν ἔχων, προλιπὼν εὔπαιδας Ἀθήνας, ἰάθην ἐλθών, Ἀσκλήπιε, πρὸς τὸ σὸν ἄλσος, ἕλκος ἔχων κεφαλῆς ἐνιαύσιον, ἐν τρισὶ μησίν.*

Tenos or Ayassos, and to many another shrine; the monasteries generally contain one or more families who come in hope of healing and deliverance[1].

We may classify as follow the offerings which commemorate a deliverance from sickness.

1. The Image of the Deliverer.
2. The Image of the Person Delivered.
3. Representation of the act or process.
4. Miscellaneous.

(1) *Image of the Deliverer.* A number of bases, or fragments of bases, found at Athens, seem to have borne statues of Asclepius. Asclepius was probably dedicated by Cichesippus in the fourth century[2], and Hygieia with him in another case[3]; she also stands alone[4]. Herodes dedicates to Demeter a statue of the god as initiate[5]. It is possible, of course, that some of these bases bore statues of the persons delivered. At Epidaurus were found many statuettes of the god, some inscribed, but none of early date[6]. One bears the legend, "Ctesias to the Saviour[7]"; another has a verse inscription of Plutarchus, high-priest of Bromius in Athens in the fourth century after Christ[8]. Statuettes of Hygieia are also preserved[9], one dedicated to her as Saviour and Telesphoros[10], one as medical fee[11]. A statuette of Athena, of Roman date, is inscribed to Athena Hygieia by a priest of Asclepius[12]. It would seem, then, that the image of the god was not dedicated by private persons in early times for the healing of disease. Perhaps the seated image of Hecate from Attica belongs to this place; but who knows[13]?

[1] See below, p. 236.

[2] *CIA* ii. 1455 Ἀσκληπιῶι Κιχήσιππος Διονυσίου Ἀνακαιεὺς ἀνέθηκε, Στρατωνίδης ἐπόησε. There has been a verse inscription below, of which the words δῶρον θεῶι εἶναι appear.

[3] *CIA* ii. 1551.

[4] *CIA* ii. 1446, if the inscr. is complete (?).

[5] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1894, 171; see p. 196[7].

[6] *Cat. Ath. Sc.* 263 ff. Others at Lebena in Crete.

[7] *Cat. Ath. Sc.* 270.

[8] *Cat. Ath. Sc.* 264.

[9] *Cat. Ath. Sc.* 271 ff.

[10] *Cat. Ath. Sc.* 272 σωτείρη καὶ Τελεσφόρῳ.

[11] *Cat. Ath. Sc.* 271 ἴατρα; cp. *Epid. Cures.*

[12] *Cat. Ath. Sc.* 274 Ἀθηνᾶι Ὑγιείᾳ. ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ σωτῆρος Ἀσκληπιοῦ.

[13] *CIA* iv. 2. 422[3] Αἴγων ἀνέθηκεν

The same idea, but distorted, suggested the dedication of the physician. In the latter part of the fourth century a sick girl seems to have vowed this offering in case of cure, and her father paid it[1]. This is practically a honorific statue, and it falls after the great dividing line. The statue of Polycritus, which was represented with a libation vessel in its hand, if he were the famous physician of Mende, was probably honorific; but it may belong to the next class[2].

Several of the offerings are snakes. Four little snakes are offered together[3]; a woman of Megalopolis gives a silver snake, weighing nearly 25 drachmae[4]; another is given by Philista[5]. It is conceivable that these had some reference to the temple snakes, which as we have seen used sometimes to lick the patients; and the snake is found carved alone on reliefs of late date[6]. The snakes in that case would by a convention represent the instrument by which the god acts. But there is no evidence whatever for this, and I do not believe it. They may be all ornaments, bracelets or what not; but it is only fair to mention them here, because at the end of the fourth century many things are possible which would have been impossible in the fifth. It should also be added that terra-cotta serpents were found in the shrine of the Mistress at Lycosura[7].

(2) *The Image of the Person Delivered.* There are no examples of this class before late in the fourth century, when honorific statues were common[8]. Herodas speaks of a portrait statue of a worshipper at Cos[9], but we do not know the date of Herodas. At Epidaurus, Clearista dedicated a statue of her

θηκάτηι, *Berl. Mus.* Three-figured hecataea are more probably the memorials of some feast: *AM* xxv. 173 (Samos).

[1] *CIA* ii. 1461 Φανόστρατος. Δηλοφάνης ἀνέθηκε **Χολαργεὺς εἰκόνα τήνδε** *τῆς αὐτοῦ θυγατρὸς* **Δωρίδος εὐξαμένης**· Λυσιμάχηι γὰρ μητρὶ **θεὸς παιώνιον ἐλθὼν** χεῖρα μέγας σωτηρ...**ὄρεγεν**. As to the part of the restoration which I am responsible for, see Suidas *s.v.* Θεόπομπος, below, p. 217[1].

[2] *CIA* ii. 766. 28 *οἰνοχόη ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ ἀνδριάντος τοῦ* Πολυκρίτου.

[3] *CIA* ii. 836. 14 *δρακόντια τέτταρα.*

[4] *CIA* ii. 836. 66 *δράκων ἀργυροῦς.*

[5] *CIA* ii. 835. 7 *ὀφίδιον ἀργυροῦν.*

[6] Page 222.

[7] Frazer, *Pausanias* iv. 370. I should like to see those serpents. Ancient bronze serpents were found on the Acropolis of Athens, all which may have been parts of larger objects and probably were so.

[8] For *IGA* 549 see ch. VIII.

[9] Herodas iv. 36, 37.

son to Asclepius[1], and the date of this is taken to be about 300. A father similarly dedicates his son in the Athenian shrine to Asclepius and Hygieia[2]. No doubt other bases, inscribed on a son or a daughter's behalf, bore portrait statues. The only parallel I have noticed in the lists is the child of Philostratus[3], a gold or silver statuette of eight drachmae weight. A number of statuettes of children, found in the Athenian precinct, were doubtless votive[4]. One patient in the Epidaurian Cures promises to set up a portrait[5]; and a man and wife dedicate their two sons in fulfilment of such a vow[6]. We must not forget, however, that these images or reliefs, as the descriptions show, are commonly in the attitude of prayer, and thus fall into line with the earlier representations of the act or process which the god has blest (section 3 below). It is only late we could expect to find a realistic figure of a patient in the last stage of consumption, like that from Soissons[7].

During the same period another custom grew up, that of dedicating models of the diseased part[8]. This custom shows

[1] Cavvadias, no. 23.

[2] *CIA* ii. 1500.

[3] *CIA* ii. 836[23] *παιδίον Φιλοστράτου*: end of 4th cent.

[4] *AM* ii. 197, note 2.

[5] *ἀνθησεῖν οἱ εἰκόνα γραψάμενος* 3339[60]; marble was painted, so it is not possible to say which is meant.

[6] Collitz iii. 3301 *Στράτων Θεωνὶς Ἀργεῖοι τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀσκλαπιῶι εὐχάν*. Later, and in modern times, the idea has seemed natural. Compare the passage from Aristides xlviii. quoted below, p. 211[1]; and see *De Brosses' Letters*, tr. Lord Ronald Gower, p. 283 (Casa Santa at Loreto): "Opposite, an angel in silver presents to the Madonna a little Louis XIV in gold, of the same weight as the prince weighed when he first appeared in this world: it was a vow of Anne of Austria." With the same idea, the lover in a late Greek romance dedicates to Aphrodite a golden image of his beloved lady: *Chaereas and Callirrhoe*, iii. 6: *εἶδε παρὰ τὴν θεὸν εἰκόνα Καλλιρρόης χρυσῆν, ἀνάθημα Διονυσίου*. It was recognised by her husband. The same feeling in modern Greece is echoed by the poet Solomos, who, speaking of a shepherd girl who has lost a lamb, makes her say: *ὦ παναγιά μου, κάμε τὸ θαῦμα, καὶ νὰ σὲ κάμω ἕνα ἀρνί, ὁλ' ἀσημένιο νὰ τὸ κρεμάσω εἰς τὴν εἰκόνα σου τὴ σεπτή* (*Works*, p. 285).

[7] *Rev. Arch.* i. 458, pl. B; *CIG* 6855 *b*; Michaelis, *Richmond* 29: sick man in chair, bronze with silver eyes, *Εὐδαμίδας Περδίκκα*.

[8] C. F. Pezold, *De membris humanis diis gentium dedicatis*; J. J. Frey, *De more diis simulacra membrorum consecrandi*; these books I have not been able to get. The bronze or marble hands, with all kinds of symbolic things upon them, have nothing to do with us here (see Elworthy, *Horns*

how low the artistic taste of the Greeks had already fallen, but it is not without its moral interest. We are not to suppose any idea of mystical substitution[1]; as before, it is the simple wish to perpetuate the memory of the divine help, but the fact that the old idea takes a new shape proves that it is alive. Whilst in other directions piety had generally become an empty form, here it lived still, and it has continued living from that time to this.

These objects made of gold or silver are extremely common in the lists. In modern times they are made of the thinnest possible silver foil, very rarely of gold or gilded[2]; but as one or two in the lists are said to be hollow[3], the implication is that they were then usually solid. It must be remembered that the patients practically paid their doctors' bills in this way; and

of Honour). Some of the Italian offerings of this class have been described by L. Stieda, *R.M.* xiv. 230ff. Aristides vi. 69 ἀλλὰ καὶ μέλη τοῦ σώματος αἰτοῦνταί τινες, καὶ ἄνδρες λέγω καὶ γυναῖκες, προνοίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ γενέσθαι σφισί, τῶν παρὰ τῆς φύσεως διαφθαρέντων. καὶ καταλέγουσιν ἄλλος ἄλλο τι, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ στόματος οὐτωσὶ φράζοντες, οἱ δ' ἐν τοῖς ἀναθήμασιν ἐξηγούμενοι. ἡμῖν τοίνυν οὐχὶ μέρος τοῦ σώματος ἀλλ' ἅπαν τὸ σῶμα συνθεὶς τε καὶ συμπήξας αὐτὸς ἔδωκε δωρεάν. Clem. Alex. *Stromata* v. 566 D τά τε ὦτα καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς οἱ δημιουργοῦντες ἐξ ὕλης τιμίας καθιεροῦσι τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνατιθέντες εἰς τοὺς νεώς. —Parts of the body named in *CIA* ii. 835 and 836. Doubtful names and words are not counted: the numbers must be taken as approximate only. αἰδοῖον 11, γόνυ 1, δάκτυλος, δάκτυλοι 3, ἤβη γυναικός 2 (once ἤβη of a man), ἰσχία 2, καρδία 4, κεφαλή 1, ὀδόντες 1, οὖς, ὦτα, ὠτάρια 20, ὀφθαλμός, ὀφθαλμοί 121, πόδες 1, πρόσωπον (or part) 10, ῥίς 1, σιαγών 2, σκέλος, σκέλη 36, στῆθος 2, στόμα 7, σῶμα, σωμάτιον 58, τιτθός, τίτθη, τιτθίον (*sing.* or *pl.*) 12, τράχηλος 1, χείρ, χεῖρες, χειρίδιον 18. Shrine of Hero Iatros *CIA* ii. 403: μῆροι, ὀφθαλμοί, χείρ. Golden models of parts of the body in India: *North Ind. Notes and Queries*, 1893, ii. 6; silver eyes offered in smallpox, iv. 42.

[1] Nor the sacrifice of a part for the whole, another idea which is found late. Aristides xlviii. 27. 472 describing what the god told him to do, says: δεῖν δὲ καὶ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ παρατέμνειν ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τοῦ παντός· ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἶναι τοῦτο ἐργῶδες· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ δὴ παριέναι μοι, ἀντὶ δὲ τούτου τὸν δακτύλιον ὃν ἐφόρουν περιελόμενον ἀναθεῖναι τῷ Τελεσφόρῳ. τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ ποιεῖν ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ τὸν δάκτυλον αὐτὸν προείμην. At Gurgaon, in India, there was a man so fond of a shrine, that he happening to die there his body could not be removed until one of his fingers was cut off and buried in the shrine: *North Indian Notes and Queries*, v. 544. The sacrifice of a finger is sometimes a substitute for human sacrifice; see Frazer, *Pausanias*, iv. 355.

[2] I have seen gold or gilt specimens in Patmos, Tenos, and Calymnos, but I remember no others.

[3] *CIA* ii. 835.

a fashionable physician's fee would make a very respectable silver leg. The favourite disease in Athens during the fourth century seems to have been bad eyes: votive eyes, in ones and twos, make up two-fifths of the whole number. Next to the eye comes the trunk: this may betoken internal pains, or it may include various segments of the body which would tell different tales if we could see them. Two patients out of every fifteen suffered from bad legs, and one out of fifteen from ear-ache or diseases of the hand. Breast, face, mouth, and penis are each several times represented; and now and then half a face or the lower part is specified. Head, feet, fingers, knee and jawbone also appear; one man had toothache, while one man and one woman gave their hearts to Asclepius—in fact the woman actually offered two.

If Asclepius was successful as an oculist, Amphiaraus seems to have been a specialist in lung complaints. At least his list contains dozens and dozens of breasts, all presented by men; one man gives sixty or seventy of them to the shrine. There are also the face, the hand, the nipple, and the pudenda; but the number of such things is small[1]. The worshippers evidently consulted the oracle about other things than bodily health, so that we cannot assume that the votive bowls and baskets, scrapers, lamps, and masks, or the figures of Victory[2], had necessarily to do with sickness or health. How far these things were common elsewhere we do not know; but there is apparently a golden model of the pudenda muliebria in Delos[3], where also were a bronze leg and ear[4] (perhaps fragments of vessels), and a number of golden or silvern breasts[5] (possibly a kind of vase).

Parts of the body were also made in relief or repoussé work. Amongst these we have the trunk[6], the eye[7], the ear[8], the leg[9],

[1] The parts of the body mentioned are: *αἰδοῖον*, *μαστός*, *πρόσωπον* (*προσώπιον*), *τιτθός*, *χείρ*: for *μαστός* see note [5].

[2] Yet there were Victories dedicated in the Asclepieum: *CIA* ii. 766[15]. No doubt ornaments.

[3] *BCH* vi. 50, line 202: *χρυσοῦς τύπος μητρικός*.

[4] *BCH* vi. 47, line 167.

[5] *BCH* vi. 33, lines 44, 93, xiii. 412. See Athenaeus 487 B.

[6] *CIA* ii. 835[25] *τύπος πρὸς πινακίωι, ἔνι σῶμα ἀνδρός*.

[7] *CIA* ii. 835[14] *σῶμα ἐν τύπωι καὶ ὀφθαλμός*.

[8] *CIA* ii. 835[17] *τύποι, οὓς κατάμακτον τὸ εἰσπραχθέν*.

[9] *CIA* ii. 835[28, 49] *σκέλος*.

and doubtless a fine variety of other members and sections of them. But while the round form is best suited to metal work, the relief is suited best for stone; and the parts of the human body represented in this way are very numerous. These hardly appear in the fourth century, but in the third they spring suddenly into favour and never lose it again. The reason may well be, as Brückner has plausibly suggested[1], the law which Demetrius of Phalerum made during his rule over Athens (317—307), forbidding the custom of erecting sepulchral reliefs. This killed the whole industry, and in a generation there were few workmen skilful enough to do more than rudely to carve a limb. There appear to be only three which can be assigned to the fourth century. One is a woman's breasts, dedicated by Phile to Asclepius[2]; another is also a breast, found in the neighbouring shrine of the hero Amynus[3]; the third is a forehead and a pair of eyes dedicated by Praxias[4]. Amongst others are Menestratus' leg[5], a foot and leg[6], part of the trunk[7], the upper part of a couple of thighs[8], breast[9], penis[10], finger[11]. Most of those just mentioned are quite late. A new type which comes into favour in the Roman age, is represented by a pair of large feet in the round, placed upon a small base[12]. In Roman times this practice must have been very common, and feet in clay of all sizes may be seen in nearly every museum. Of those which may be assigned to Greek cities I would name one which came from Athens[13]; and two colossal feet with sandals, finisht off at the top and not fragments, coquettishly poised

[1] *AA* 1892. 23; cp. *AM* xviii. 245. So in one generation the art of wood engraving has been killed by the detestable 'process.'

[2] *CIA* ii. 1482 Φίλη Ἀσκληπιῶι. Other breasts: Sybel 941, 1133, 1154.

[3] *CIA* ii. 1511 *c*; *AM* xviii. 241 (woodcut).

[4] *CIA* ii. 1453 ὑπὲρ τῆς γυναικὸς Πραξίας Ἀσκληπιῶι.

[5] *CIA* ii. 1503 Μενέστρατος εὐχὴν ἀνέθηκεν: Sybel 7213.

[6] Sybel 2980: inscr. to Asclepius and Hygieia. Compare 3709, 4764; *CIA* iii. 132 *h*.

[7] Sybel 2982—4 (Ἀσκλ. εὐχήν), 4689.

[8] *CIA* iii. 132 *g*: inscr. to Ascl. and Hyg. εὐχήν.

[9] *CIA* iii. 132 *k*: Ascl. εὐχήν. Sybel 2995, 3015 ἀνάθημα Ἑκάλης.

[10] Sybel 4058.

[11] Sybel 4385. Nose Sybel 1126, ear 1151.

[12] *CIA* iii. 132 *i*: Φλ. Ἐπίκτητος to Ascl. and Hyg. εὐχήν.

[13] *Cat. Berl. Mus.* 661.

on a base, which were found in South Russia[1]: these are of stone. Melition of Thera, who seems to have suffered from elephantiasis, hit on a quaint way of indicating her gratitude to the god; around the word which described her disease she had drawn a line representing the gigantic size of her foot before the divine power came upon it[2]. A ghastly pair of ears, done in relief and painted, from Epidaurus, belongs to the Roman age[3]. From Melos comes half a left leg[4].

There were even models of disease, like the golden boils and blains in the ark of Jehovah. Thus Timothea dedicates an ulcer[5]; and possibly the Epidaurian patient who was cured of the same thing may have commemorated it in the same way[6]. Perhaps the inner part of another's ear was realistically portrayed in diseased form[7].

A large number of these articles come from the shrines of other healing deities. There was in Athens, near the Areopagus, a shrine and a cult of a hero Amynus, the Helper, excavated a few years since[8]. It was ancient, as is proved by archaic terra-cottas which were found in the precinct; as old as the sixth century, and probably older. At the coming of Asclepius there was a danger of the old hero losing the popular favour; but perhaps through the influence of the poet Sophocles[9] he continued to be worshipt, and a society of Orgeones kept his name alive. Here was found one of the oldest limb-reliefs, belonging to the fourth century: it shows the lower part of

[1] In the Hermitage: no. 110; cp. 117, 123.

[2] *IGA* iii. 388 χηνόπους Μελίτιον....

[3] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1885, p. 199.

[4] *Cat. Brit. Mus. Sc.* 809 Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ Ὑγιείᾳ εὐχαριστήριον.

[5] *CIA* ii. 836[51] καρκίνος.

[6] *Cures* 3340[55].

[7] μήκων, *CIA* ii. 836[48].

[8] By Dörpfeld. See A. Körte, *AM* xviii. 231 ff., xxi. 303 ff. As usual, it had a spring of water. The altar has a snake carved upon it.

[9] In the *Life* Sophocles is said to have been a priest τοῦ Ἄλωνος, which Meineke emended to Ἄλκωνος. Körte ingeniously suggests that the reading should be Ἀμυνοῦ, and uses this to explain the heroizing of Sophocles under the name of Dexion, "because he welcomed Asclepius" (*Etym. Mag.* Δεξιών). Sophocles may have been the priest of the old deity, and have welcomed Ascl. into the shrine, as was done at Eleusis, so that the shrine became sacred to both jointly. There are dedications to both personages together, *AM* xxi. 294, 296.

a female body, from the ribs down[1]. There were found also a female breast, of the third century[2], several fingers, a pair of ears, and a penis, with ground painted red, and a hole in the tablet for hanging. Another series of these objects, found in a cave, on the terrace called the Pnyx, are dedicated to Zeus the Highest[3]. Amongst these are several breasts, the pudenda muliebria, a female body from the waist downwards, a pair of arms, part of a thigh, the eyes, and the forepart of the right foot. From Golgos in Cyprus[4] come a face, ears, eyes, thumb, breasts (perhaps with disease markt), a penis, and an inscribed slab with two painted eyes in relief[5]. Other fragments had nothing visible upon them, and were doubtless painted. From Cyprus also comes an ear with the disease inscribed in words[6]. There is a model of pudenda muliebria in Samos[7]; a relief of the hands and part of the arms is in Sparta[8], with a small stone foot[9]. A foot dedicated to Zeus comes from Asia[10]. An eye is dedicated to Athena in Lesbos[11]; a foot in Samos to Hera[12]. A tiny leg from the Idaean cave in Crete[13] is perhaps an ornament, as nothing else of the kind was found there. A series of double breasts in marble were

[1] ...ωνὶς ἀνέθηκε Ἀμυνῶι.

[2] *CIA* ii. 1511 *b*; *AM* xviii. 241 Ἡδεῖα Ἀσκληπιῶι.

[3] *Cat. Brit. Mus. Sculpt.* 799—808; *CIA* iii. 150—156; *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 718—721. They are mostly inscribed Διὶ ὑψίστῳ εὐχήν or without Διί. The title is known in Thebes, Corinth, and Olympia: Paus. ix. 8. 3, cp. Pind. *Nem.* i. 60.

[4] Cesnola p. 158, *BCH* xix. 362.

[5] θεῷ ὑψίστῳ εὐξαμένη. The same deity was worshipt in Olbia (Odessa Museum, no. 130, inscr.). Another penis from Rhodes, *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 728.

[6] Collitz, i. 103 ἀπ' ὠτοδακῶν. An ear from Cyrene not inscribed, *Cat. Br. Mus. Sc.* 810.

[7] *AM* xxv. 174 Ζμαράγδιν: cp. *CIA* ii. 1569, iv. 2. 1558 (Aphrodite, Daphni), *Cat. Berl. Mus. Sc.* 721.

[8] Δαμάτριος Ἐπιγένεια Ἀθάνατε....

[9] Not inscribed. Other limbs in the School at Mavromati (Ithome), M. Carapanos' private museum at Athens (from Dodona), Odessa (from Olbia).

[10] *CIG Add.* iv. 6832 Ἀμμειανὸς Διεὶ εὐχήν.

[11] *IGI* ii. 121. I have a clay eye and foot from Rome. We may suppose that the very poor offered these models in clay. Numbers have been found in Rome and Veii. An altar, with two ears in relief, inscribed to the *Bona Dea*, is in the museum at Arles. Others in Orvieto.

[12] *AM* xxv. no. 55 in Samos Catalogue. One, inscribed of Lucilia Pompilia, was found in the Pool of Bethesda: M. Thomas, *Two Years in Palestine*, 132.

[13] *Annual Brit. Sch. Ath.* vi. 112.

found at Cnidus; but as each specimen has a handle, and as they bear some proportion in weight to each other, it is very unlikely that they had to do with disease[1].

Another shrine which had similar reliefs was one sacred to Artemis Anaïtis and Men Tiamou in Asia Minor[2]. The objects are of late date, and inscribed in horrible Greek. One represents the arm from the elbow; another has a whole batch together, two female breasts, a right leg percht on a cushion, and two eyes, dedicated by a whole family in common[3].

(3) *Representation of the act or process blest by the god.*

The relief carvings which are among the most interesting remains connected with the worship of Asclepius, fall into four classes, according as they depict the Visitation of the Sick, the Prayer or Adoration, the Sacrifice, or the Banquet[4].

(i) *Visitation of the Sick.* This type is voucht for in the early days of the Athenian shrine. Suidas tells us that Theopompus, the comic poet, who flourisht about 400, fell very ill, but being cured by Asclepius, he was able to go on composing comedies. On his recovery, he caused a memorial to be carved of Parian marble, inscribed with his name and patronymic. Theopompus was represented lying upon a couch, and beside him the god stood "stretching out his healing hand." Another figure was a young lad with a smiling countenance, whom

[1] Newton thinks they are standard weights: *Branchidae, Halicarnassus, and Cnidus*, ii. 386, 805. We have already seen Demeter as a healing deity.

[2] See *Verhandl. der kon. Akad. der Wetenshappen*, xvii. 1 ff.; Leemans, *Griekshe Opshriften uit Klein-Azië*. Perhaps the shrine was in Coloë, where a similar relief was found: *BCH* iv. 128. The Mother of the Gods was also addrest as a healer: *CIA* iii. 134.

[3] *θεᾷ Ἀναείτι καὶ Μηνὶ Τιαμοῦ Τύχη καὶ Σωκράτης καὶ Ἀμμιανὸς καὶ Τρόφιμος οἱ Ἀμμίου, καὶ Φιλήτη καὶ Σωκρατία αἱ Ἀμμιάδος, ποήσαντες τὸ ἱεροπόημα, εἰλασάμενυ μητέραν Ἀναεῖτιν ὑπὲρ τέκνων καὶ θρεμμάτων, ἔνγραφον ἔστησαν ἔτους* T·K·A·M H *ξανδικοῦ*. Leemans reads *εἰλάσαμεν ὑμητέραν*, which is nonsense. I take *εἰλασάμενυ* to be for *ἱλασάμενοι*, and *μητέραν* an early form of the acc. which afterwards became regular, as it now is. (Copied from the stone.)

[4] They have been collected and examined by P. Girard, *Ex-Voto à Esculape*, *BCH* ii. 68 ff.; *L'Asclépieion* 29 ff.; F. von Duhn, *AZ* 1877, 139 ff.; I. Ziehen, *Studien zu den Asklepios-reliefs*, *AM* xvii. 229 ff. Compare also *AM* ii. 214 ff. pl. xiv.—xvii., *BCH* i. 156 ff. (92 pieces).

Suidas takes to be a personification of the comic poet. "If any one thinks otherwise," quoth he, "let him keep his opinion; but he must not worry me." I would fain not disturb Suidas in his grave, but the figure is more likely to be one of the Asclepiad family, or perhaps the attendant who carries the medicine-case[1]. The existing remains well illustrate this description. They represent scenes in the dortor, where the god's representative attends to the needs of his patients. The following may be taken as types. (*a*) Now Asclepius sits by the bed; near the

Fig. 30. Asclepius by the sick-bed.
Sybel 7161.

head of the sufferer is one of the god's sons, holding over him an object which cannot be made out, perhaps a surgical tool. Behind the god's throne are two worshippers, distinguisht as

[1] Suidas *s.v.* Θεόπομπος· ὅτι Ἀσκληπιὸς καὶ τῶν ἐν παιδείᾳ ἦν προμηθής. φθόῃ γοῦν Θεόπομπον ῥινώμενόν τε καὶ λειβόμενον ἰάσατο, καὶ κωμῳδίαν αὖθις διδάσκειν ἐπῆρεν, ὁλόκληρόν τε καὶ σῶν καὶ ἀρτεμῆ ἐργασάμενος. καὶ δείκνυται καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ λίθῳ Θεοπόμπου, πατρόθεν ὁμολογοῦντος αὐτὸν τοῦ ἐπιγράμματος (Τισαμενοῦ γὰρ ἦν υἱός,) εἴδωλον Παρίας λίθου. καὶ ἔστι τὸ ἴνδαλμα τοῦ πάθους μάλα ἐναργές, κλίνη καὶ αὐτὴ λίθου. ἐπ' αὐτῆς κεῖται νοσοῦν τὸ ἐκείνου φάσμα χειρουργίᾳ φιλοτέχνῳ· παρέστηκε δὲ ὁ θεὸς καὶ ὀρέγει οἱ τὴν παιώνιον χεῖρα,

usual in such cases by their smaller size[1]. (*b*) Or Asclepius stands, leaning upon his staff, about which a snake is entwined[2]. Over the sick man leans a bearded figure, who holds the man's head in both hands[3]. (*c*) Or again, a female figure, Health, or one of the four daughters. Those who attend to the sick man are, in this case, from their size, clearly meant for human beings. By the bedside is another figure, apparently female, but also not divine[4]. Behind Asclepius, who gazes upon the bed, are four worshippers, men and women, and an attendant leads up a pig for sacrifice. At the side of the bed a large basin rests upon the floor[5]. (*d*) Another relief shows not only Asclepius seated, with a snake under his chair, but Epione seated, and Aceso, Iaso, and Panaceia standing. There are traces of a group of worshippers[6]. (*e*) The two sons of Asclepius, Podaleirius and Machaon, are seen with

Fig. 31. Tending the sick in the sanctuary of Asclepius.

Sybel 3010.

καὶ παῖς νεαρὸς ὑπομειδιῶν καὶ οὗτος. τί δὲ ἄρα νοεῖ ὁ παῖς; ἐγὼ συνίημι τοῦ φιλοπαίστην ποιητὴν ὑποδηλοῦν· γελᾷ γὰρ καὶ τῆς κωμῳδίας τὸ ἴδιον διὰ συμβόλων αἰνίττεται. εἰ δὲ ἄλλος νοεῖ ἑτέρως, κρατείτω τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης, ἐμὲ δὲ μὴ ἐνοχλείτω. The account is quoted from Aelian, as may be seen under Παρίας λίθου and φθόη. I cannot follow Ziehen in regarding this as meant for the Death-Feast: the god's healing hand seems conclusive. It is to be noted, however, that in one relief, while Asclepius sits, Hygieia standing holds forth a hand as it were blessing a suppliant who is seen beside the altar (*AM* ii. pl. xvii).

[1] Sybel 7161; von Duhn 115. Fragments of similar reliefs are figured in *AM* xvii. 231. See fig. 30.

[2] Sybel 3010; Ziehen, fig. 3. Inscribed: ἀνέθηκε Ἀσκληπιῷ. In Ziehen, fig. 4, the doctor also touches the head. See fig. 31.

[3] Cp. Arist. *Plut.* 728; *Epid. Cures* 3339 [117].

[4] Another attendant? or a friend? See Arist. *Plut.* 653.

[5] From Peiraeus; now in private hands; Ziehen, fig. 5. Drawn from a photograph of the English Photographic Company.

[6] *AM* xvii. 243: inscr. Ἠπιόνη, Ἀκεσώ, Ἰασώ, Πανάκεια.

him in a fifth tablet, which comes from Epidaurus[1]. One of them offers Asclepius something which may be a surgical tool. Two worshippers are present with uplifted hands, and there is a dog[2]. On another tablet a woman receives something in a bowl, perhaps a medicine[3]. The gestures and implements differ with each case, and suggest that these tablets were usually made to suit the dedicator and at his order. It is to be noted that two distinct scenes are represented, both the cure and the service of thanksgiving. The divine persons take no notice of the worshippers, who are of course only present by a convention: the interest centres upon the sick-bed. A relief of this type may be that in which Athena hands some indistinguishable object to a man seated in a chair[4].

(ii) *Prayer or Adoration.* The scene is laid usually in a shrine, symbolised by a couple of pilasters supporting an architrave and gable end. On one side sits Asclepius, with or without the deities associated with him; on the other the suppliants approach, upraising the right hand. There is nothing characteristic in the attitude or the dress of the suppliants. In one fragment, the oldest perhaps of all which have survived, Asclepius stands, while a horseman approaches him, followed by his horse[5]. Hygieia stands behind the god, holding a jug. One of this type was found in the shrine of Amynus[6]. A remarkable tablet from Cythnus shows Asclepius and his four sons, with a worshipper; and the god holds out his right hand to another heroic figure. It is suggested that Asclepius here recognises the power of a local brother in the craft, as we have seen him in partnership with Amynus[7].

There are a few reliefs from the sanctuary of Anaïtis, which

[1] *AM* xvii. 244, fig. 8. Machaon named also in Sybel 4047, = von Duhn 25.

[2] See p. 202[13].

[3] *BCH* i. 168, no. 79. So *Cures* 3339 [124] *ὁ θεὸς χρίσας*, [117] *ἐπιπῆν φάρμακον*, 3340 [126] *φιάλαν οἱ δόμεν*, [63] *ἄψασθαι*.

[4] Schöne 86. The figure is small, and clearly human.

[5] AN..... ΣΟΙ..... is in the pre-Eucl. alphabet: *AM* ii. 214, pl. xiv. There is no altar; god and worshippers touch; and the face looks like a portrait.

[6] *AM* xxi. 290, male and female worshippers.

[7] *AM* xvii. 246, pl. xi.; there were hot springs in Cythnus. Asclepius and his whole family appear only on one relief from Argos: *Annali* xlv. 114, pl. MN.

I may just mention for their intrinsic interest, although they hardly belong to Greek religion. One represents a god with radiated head, and Artemis-Anaïtis in the mural crown, with veil, fillet, and crescent; the inscription mentions that the dedicator was healed by an incantation chanted by the priestess[1]. The standing goddess appears on others, but the formulae greatly differ[2].

(iii) *The Sacrifice.* Where the scene is intended to represent a sacrifice the altar is present, sometimes with fire burning upon it[3]. The only animals found on the Athenian reliefs are ram or sow[4]; the cock is not found at all; it is the poor man's

Fig. 32. Sacrifice to Asclepius.
BCH ii., pl. vii.

gift, and probably those who dedicated it would be not usually able to afford much more. In Cos, however, we have seen the two combined[5]. The worshippers approach with the same

[1] No. 1: Ἀρτεμίδι Ἀναείτι χάριτι Ἀπολλωνίου, περίπτωμα σχοῦσα καὶ ἐξασθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῆς ἱερείας, εὐχήν.

[2] No. 2: (names, etc.) ὑπὲρ ὑγιείας τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν εὐχήν, ἀνέστησεν. No. 3: (names) ἀπέδωκαν τὸ ἱεροπόημα εὐχαριστοῦντες (date). No. 5: (name) ἀναδεξάμενος τὴν ἀδελφὴν Ἀφφίαν στήλλην ἀπαιτηθεὶς ἀπέδωκα (date). The others call for no remark.

[3] *Nat. Mus. Ath.* 1333.

[4] Ram and pig together, *Nat. Mus. Ath.* 1395.

[5] Herodas, quoted on p. 204.

gestures as before, and the animal is held by a small figure, which often has likewise a knife or a bowl[1]. Behind follows a figure with a large cylindrical box or basket upon the head, half covered with a cloth; this may have contained cakes or fruit[2]. Sometimes a little casket is carried, containing perhaps a more precious offering. Fruit often appears, grapes or pomegranates and the poppy; snake and tree also appear[3]. The picture of the scene may be completed from a Boeotian vase, which shows a girl bringing in a tray of cakes, in one of which

Fig. 33. Offering in a healing shrine: a girl bearing a tray of cakes with lighted taper, and a jug. Votive limbs on the wall.
'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1890, pl. 7.

is a lighted taper. The remains of a sacrificial relief, with the leg of an ox and the word "hero" upon it, were found in the Amphiaraum at Oropus[4]. Others were in the shrine of Amynus[5].

(iv) *The Banquet.* Beside a table sits or reclines a male figure, naked to the waist. On a table are cakes of various sorts, always some of a pyramidal or conical shape. The worshippers face the deities, and a horse's head appears in the corner. Near the table is a crater, from which an attendant

[1] *BCH* ii. pl. vii. In *Nat. Mus. Ath.* 1408 an adorer kneels, receiving a bowl from Asclepius.

[2] Arist. *Thesm.* 284 ὦ Θρᾷττα, τὴν κίστην κάθελε, κᾆτ' ἔξελε τὸ πόπανον, ὅπως λαβοῦσα θύσω τοῖν θεαῖν.

[3] *AM* ii. 220, pl. xvi.; *CIA* ii. 1477; *BCH* ii. 73, pl. viii.; *Cat. Nat. Mus.* 1330, 1333.

[4] *IGS* i. 440.

[5] *AM* xviii. 238 (woodcut), 241.

takes wine and offers it to the banqueters[1]. The scheme resembles that of the Death-Feast, which was doubtless the original type of it. Fragments of this scheme, showing amongst other things the horse's head in a frame, come from the shrine of Amynus[2].

We have seen above that there are combinations of the types of healing and of worship. There is also one relief, found in Delos, of careless workmanship, which combines the types of Banquet and Sacrifice. The god, holding a patera, reclines by a table heapt up with fruit; one worshipper stands in the corner, and an attendant leads up a ram for offering[3].

FIG. 34. Man with votive leg: votive feet visible, affixt to the wall. *AM* xviii., pl. xi.

Ruder reliefs, all of late date, sometimes show the serpent alone. There are several serpent slabs now in the Museum at Sparta; others were found in Athens, with the serpent only[4], or entwined about a tree[5]. A serpent-relief was found in the Athenian sanctuary of the hero Amynus[6].

In the same shrine, amongst fragments of the familiar types of Reliefs sacrificial, with libation or with victim, and the Death-Feast, came to light a relief which is unique. It represents a bearded man, who holds in both hands a colossal leg, nearly as big as himself, with a thick varicose vein, which may be anatomically correct, but does not look it. He is evidently offering this in the shrine, for a pair of votive feet can be seen inside a recess of the wall[7].

[1] Girard *BCH* ii. 68 ff. mentions three only of this type. See also Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1885, p. 9, pl. 2.

[2] *AM* xxi. 290, xviii. 241.

[3] *BCH* xvi. pl. vi.: Ἑρμοκράτης ἀνέθηκεν Ἀσκληπιῷ.

[4] *CIA* ii. 1445 Πυθόδωρος Αἰθαλίδης ἀνέθηκε. See *Cat. Nat. Mus.* 1462.

[5] *CIA* ii. 1509: perhaps a fragment of a larger scene. See *Cat. Nat. Mus.* 1335.

[6] *AM* xviii. 242.

[7] *AM* xviii. 235, pl. xi.: ....ων τευξα.....ων σεμνοτάτην.....Λυσιμαχίδης

From the Inventories it is clear that similar reliefs or repoussés, made of gold or silver, were equally common. This kind of course were sure to go into the melting-pot when hard times came, or to be carried off by a Sulla or a Brennus; indeed, they were melted down each year to make room for others: so that we need feel no surprise that none have survived the changes and the chances of two thousand years. Those we read of bore the same general character as those I have described. There were usually figures of one or more worshippers[1]; sometimes the god stands with them[2], but no further description of the scene is given. One or two are said to be in a little cell or shrine[3]. They were generally inscribed with the names of the offerers; the figure on the relief is always of the same sex as the dedicator, except where it is given on another's behalf; and in one case at least the worshipping figures are expressly identified with the dedicators[4]. The figures were intended then to represent or recall the dedicators. They were therefore made to order, as votive paintings of the same sort are made in Italy to-day. Considerably over a hundred reliefs or chasings are mentioned in the lists; and they are not only offered singly, but sometimes one person gives two, four, six, or as many as fifteen[5]. The pious Sibylla probably did not consecrate all her fifteen at one time, but we may take her to be a chronic sufferer, whose faith rose triumphant after every relapse. The same practice held at other shrines whose lists have been spared by time; as that of the Hero Physician, where a number of reliefs are mentioned[6].

(4) *Miscellaneous.*

Heracles, we learn, being healed of a wound in the hollow of his hand, built a temple to Asclepius Cotylean[7]. Unfortunately

Λυσιμάχου Ἀχαρνεύς. Early 4th century. No such indication of the interior of a shrine is known on the other reliefs, but one is seen on a vase, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1890, pl. 7: see fig. 33.

[1] *CIA* ii. 835[33] *τύπος ἔγμακτος, πρόσωπον γυναικὸς προσευχομένης.*

[2] *CIA* ii. 835[31] *τύπος κατάμακτος, ἐν ᾧι ἕνι θεὸς καὶ προσευχόμενος.*

[3] *CIA* ii. 766[4], cp. 75: *πρόσωπον μικρὸν ἐν καλιάδι.*

[4] *CIA* ii. 835[56] *τύπος μέγας κατάμακτος, ἔνεισι προσευχόμενοι* Καλλιστώ, Ἀφόβητος. So in 766, the formula is: *ὁ δεῖνα ἐν πινακίῳ.*

[5] *CIA* ii. 835[54].

[6] *CIA* ii. 403.

[7] Paus. iii. 19. 7.

for our faith, in the days of Heracles Asclepius was not yet born. But in historical times two patients showed their gratitude by building each a new temple for Asclepius, whom they thus introduced into their own places. One was Archias, who built a temple at Pergamus, when a strained limb had been healed[1]; the other, Phalysius of Naupactus, who received his sight in a miraculous manner, which those who wish may see set forth by Pausanias in the last paragraph of his wonderful book[2]. Altars are dedicated to this god as to others, but late[3].

Asclepius, like other gods, received a vast number of oddments which it is impossible fully to classify. Some of them, with the temple just named, are given for their own value; others for their ideal; others again partake of both kinds. Amongst these now and then we meet with surgical instruments[4] which if the surgeon dedicated, they belong to another class, but it is possible that the patient may have done so, on the same principle as he might dedicate his doctor's portrait or the image of the saviour god. The conception is crude, no doubt, but that is not enough to exclude it. More natural is the feeling which suggests a dedication of something which the patient has used or worn[5]. Pandarus, whose sores were cured at Epidaurus, who left his bandage behind him hanging upon the wall[6], and the lame woman who left her crutch by a healing spring[7], act on the same principle as the soldiers who dedicate a worn-out helmet. The offering of a trinket or garment is different, and less obvious; but it is difficult to see what other reason there could be for keeping three pairs of women's slippers in the shrine of Asclepius[8], or a cloke[9], a leather

[1] Paus. ii. 26. 8.

[2] Paus. x. 38. 13; the remains described in *AM* iv. 22 ff.

[3] *BCH* xiii. 304 (Asia Minor).

[4] μῆλαι 'probes,' *CIA* ii. 836 [64]; perhaps καθετὴρ ὐάλινος or διάλιθος, which often occurs, is the instrument for emptying the bladder, though it may be a necklace (Pollux v. 98).

[5] This is not the same thing as the dedication of garments or rags by way of magic.

[6] *Cures* 3339 [53].

[7] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 203. St Giovanni e Paolo at Venice and St Nicolo at Verona are half full of crutches.

[8] *CIA* ii. 766 [30] ὑποδημάτων γυναικείων ζεύγη III. These are not stated to be votive, nor the next; but of course they would have no inscription on them.

[9] *CIA* ii. 766 [18].

bottell[1], a soft pillow[2]. When Myrrhine dedicates together a female trunk and a bangle, "on behalf of herself and her boy," it is difficult not to see a relation between the bangle and the boy; and none so simple as that he should have worn it[3]. Whether any such thought were in the worshipper's mind or whether the pious offer them simply as the most precious things they had, we find a great quantity of jewellery and ornaments, of gold and of silver, of brass and even of iron. The ornamental head-dress of wire[4], bracelets and armlets, serpent-bangles, earrings, mirror, fan, unguent-box; finger-rings of all sorts, and engraved gems or cylinders; sard and jasper, "stones like the sea[5]," crystals—all these appear, some of them again and again. The pushing snob in Theophrastus "dedicates a brass finger-ring to Asclepius, and wears it down to a wire by his eternal oilings and burnishings[6]"; but many poor folks offer their brass or iron trifle with a full heart, and surely with acceptance. No such personal reference can fairly be assumed for the numerous oil-flasks and horns, cups and bowls of all sorts, which occur in the lists[7]. Some indeed, as the Thericlea, are of special make, or perhaps bought out of the income of a dead man's bequest, as has been suggested; but most will have been given for their value. The same may be true of a wooden seat, if this be votive[8]. So with the rarer things: such as a scraper[9], or a small tripod with chain and

[1] *CIA* ii. 766[33] *λήκυθος σκυτίνη.*

[2] *CIA* ii. 766[35] *προσκεφάλαιον ἐρεοῦν.*

[3] *CIA* ii. 835. 47 *σῶμα γυναικὸς καὶ περισκελίδιον ὃ ἀνέθηκεν* Μυρρίνη *ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ παιδίου.* Compare Aristides xlviii. 27. 472: in the vision, after certain directions for sacrifice, *δεῖν δὲ καὶ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ παρατέμνειν ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τοῦ παντός· ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἶναι τοῦτο ἐργῶδες· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ δὴ παριέναι μοι, ἀντὶ δὲ τούτου τὸν δακτύλιον ὃν ἐφόρουν περιελόμενον ἀναθεῖναι τῷ* Τελεσφόρῳ. *τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ ποιεῖν ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ τὸν δάκτυλον αὐτὸν προείμην ἐπιγράψαι δὲ εἰς τὴν σφενδόνην τοῦ δακτυλίου,* Κρόνου παῖ. *ταῦτα ποιοῦντι σωτηρίαν εἶναι.* (I have met with no inscription such as Κρόνου παῖ, a simple vocative.)

[4] *κεκρύφαλος.*

[5] *CIA* ii. 835 *λίθος θαλασσοειδής*; [67] *λιθάριον στρογγύλον διάλευκον.*

[6] Theophrast. *Μικροφιλοτιμίας· καὶ ἀναθεὶς δακτύλιον χαλκοῦν ἐν τῷ Ἀσκληπιείῳ τοῦτον ἐκτρίβειν στιλπνῶν καὶ ἀλείφειν ὀσημέραι.*

[7] One who gave a bowl at Oropus was Ptolemy Philopator, *IGS* i. 303[59].

[8] *θρόνος ξύλινος CIA* ii. 766.

[9] *στλεγγίς* (perhaps head-dress): there is another in Oropus, also a colander, a basket of metal, and a lamp with three wicks.

cauldron[1] complete; or small shields[2], or little statues of Victory or of Aphrodite[3]. Almost anything would do for an offering, here as elsewhere. The number of coins is very great, and they comprise triobol, drachma, tetradrachm, and all sorts of intermediate sums up to 153 drachms and 125 tetrachms offered each sum by one person. The commonest coin is the tetrachm, a four-drachma piece[4]. What strikes one as odd is, that these coins were kept carefully apart like the other offerings; doubtless they were used eventually, but for a time at least there they remained in little heaps. So I have seen in a Greek church coins affixt to the face of an image with wax[5].

Quite unique is the humour of one case, where the god of Epidaurus bids an unbeliever to dedicate a silver sow in memory of her folly[6]. The worshipper's thoughts are generally very far from subtile; and none of them would have understood the humble devotee, who in a chapel above the Pool of Bethesda dedicates his heart to the Virgin "in gratitude for his conversion from Protestantism[7]."

As regards deliverance from peril of other kinds, there are a good many instances recorded. Alcathous, when he slew the lion of Cithaeron, built a temple to Apollo and Artemis in Megara[8]. On hearing of the death of Polycrates, Maeandrius his successor erected an altar to Zeus of Freedom[9]. The famous chest of Cypselus was dedicated to Zeus at Olympia by his family, as the means of a notable deliverance, he having been hidden in a chest to the saving of his life[10]. Themistocles built a shrine to Dindymene, who in a dream had warned

[1] ἔμπυρον.

[2] *CIA* ii. 835[68] ἀσπίδες τρεῖς, with representations of a horseman, a hoplite, and Theseus facing the Minotaur; ἀσπίδιον in the shrine of Hero Iatros, no. 403. There was a Sarmatian corselet in the Asclepieum: Paus. i. 21. 5.

[3] τὰ νικίδια *CIA* ii. 766[15], Ἀφροδίσια IIII 836[14]. There are νικητήρια in Oropus, *IGS* i.

[4] τετρᾶχμον.

[5] Sanctuary of St Michael in Mandamadhos, Lesbos. The figure is a black image, not a picture.

[6] *Cures* 59[39] ὗν ἀργυρέον ὑπόμναμα τῆς ἀμαθίας.

[7] M. Thomas, *Two Years in Palestine*, 133.

[8] Paus. i. 41. 3.

[9] ἐλευθέριος: Herod. iii. 142.

[10] Paus. v. 17. 3. Perhaps the Treasury at Delphi had the same cause.

him of a plot to murder him[1]. His sons also, after their return from exile, placed a memorial picture containing his portrait in the Parthenon[2]. Pericles dedicated to Athena Health a statue in memory of a workman who had fallen from a scaffolding, but was saved[3]. Athena too was the goddess whose help Lycurgus acknowledged for the sight of his eye, and built her a temple under the title Optilitis or Ophthalmitis[4]. So no doubt in other less common deliverances. Parmeniscus, we know, could not laugh until he saw the wooden image of Leto at Delos; and it is odd that one Parmeniscus in the fifth century dedicates at Delos a magnificent crater of silver[5]. Battus consulted the Delphic oracle about his stutting tongue[6], and it would be strange if he were not prepared to acknowledge help in that matter; or if the ugly babe, whom Helen's spirit made beautiful, and who after became Ariston's wife, had no thank-offering to make[7]. Gratitude for any favour was cause sufficient; for Amphictyon erected an altar to Dionysus Orthus, because he had taught him so simple a feat as to mix wine with water[8]. What a difference between this simple, if childish thought, and the base flattery which deified the mistress of Demetrius Poliorcetes, and built a temple to Aphrodite Lamia[9].

[1] Plut. *Them.* 30.

[2] Paus. i. 1. 2: doubtless not his portrait alone.

[3] Plut. *Per.* 13. Pliny, *NH* xxii. 44 appears to confuse this statue with the famous *splanchnoptes*, a slave represented in the act of inspecting the entrails of a victim.

[4] Plut. *Lycurgus* 11; Paus. iii. 18. 2.

[5] *BCH* xv. 127; cp. Ath. 614 A (quoted by Homolle). The motive is familiar in folk-tales; see Grimm, no. 4, 121; *Zeitschr. des Ver. f. Volksk.* iii. 456; Alcover, *Aplich de Rondayes Mallorquines*, ii. 193; Rand, *Legends of the Micmacs*, 34.

[6] Herod. iv. 155.

[7] Herod. vi. 61.

[8] Philochorus *ap.* Ath. ii. 38 C Φιλόχορος δέ φησιν Ἀμφικτύονα τὸν Ἀθηναίων βασιλέα, μαθόντα παρὰ Διονύσου τὴν τοῦ οἴνου κρᾶσιν, πρῶτον κεράσαι. διὸ καὶ ὀρθοὺς γενέσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὕτω πίνοντας πρότερον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀκράτου καμπτομένους· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἱδρύσασθαι βωμὸν Ὀρθοῦ Διονύσου ἐν τῷ τῶν ὡρῶν ἱερῷ· αὗται γὰρ καὶ τὸν τῆς ἀμπέλου καρπὸν ἐκτρέφουσι. πλησίον δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῖς νύμφαις βωμὸν ἔδειμεν, ὑπόμνημα τοῖς χρωμένοις τῆς κράσεως ποιούμενος· καὶ γὰρ Διονύσου τροφοὶ αἱ νύμφαι λέγονται. The epithet Ὀρθός shows how such an offering was regarded as a memorial of the whole process.

[9] Polemon *ap.* Ath. vii. 292 A Θηβαῖοι κολακεύοντες τὸν Δημήτριον ἱδρύσαντο ναὸν Ἀφροδίτης Λαμίας· ἐρωμένη δὲ ἦν αὕτη τοῦ Δημητρίου.

Most of the records of this class refer to peril by sea, and they begin with legendary times. Britomartis fishing with nets fell into them, and being saved by Artemis, built a temple of Artemis Dictymna in Crete[1]. Daedalus delivered from the sea erected a statue to Heracles at Thebes[2]. The Argonauts, after their perilous voyage, built a temple to Athena[3], and dedicated the Argo herself to Poseidon at the Isthmus[4]. Arion on his miraculous escape placed at Taenarum a group representing himself upon the dolphin[5]. Diomede, who escaped shipwreck after the sack of Troy, built a shrine to Apollo Epibaterios in Troezen[6]; Agamemnon dedicated his rudder to Hera in Samos, as the means of his deliverance[7]. In the *Odyssey* Eurylochus vows a temple to the Sun if he return safe[8]. Herostratus voyaging from Cyprus, and having in his possession a small figure of Aphrodite, off Naucratis a storm arose; he prayed to his divinity, and the sea fell calm, and when he came safe ashore he dedicated the figure in Aphrodite's temple in that place[9].

The idea of Divine protection at sea is thus regarded as natural, but the deity is not always the same. It might be a "saving fortune" who alighted upon the ship, and steered it safe[10]; it might be Poseidon[11], or the Cabiri[12], or the Dioscuri[13] who came to be confused with them; a local protector, Apollo[14], Athena[15] or Aphrodite of the Fair Voyage[16], or the Delian Brizo[17],

[1] Schol. Arist. *Frogs* 1356.

[2] Paus. ix. 11. 4.

[3] Paus. iii. 24. 7.

[4] Apollod. i. 9. 27.

[5] Paus. iii. 25; Herod. i. 24; an epigram written for this is in Aelian *Hist. An.* xii. 45, Cougny, *Appendix to Anthology* i. 3.

[6] Paus. ii. 32. 2.

[7] Callim. *Hymn to Art.* 228 and Schol.

[8] *Od.* xii. 346 *πίονα νηὸν τεύξομεν, ἐν δέ κε θεῖμεν ἀγάλματα πολλὰ καὶ ἐσθλά.*

[9] Polycharmus *ap.* Ath. xv. 676 A, B *ἀγαλμάτιον Ἀφροδίτης σπιθαμιαῖον ἀρχαῖον τῇ τέχνῃ ὠνησάμενος ἦει φέρων εἰς τὴν Ναύκρατιν ...ἀναθεὶς τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ τἄγαλμα.*

[10] Aesch. *Ag.* 644 *τύχη δὲ σωτὴρ ναῦν θέλουσ' ἐφέζετο ὡς μήτ' ἐν ὅρμῳ κύματος ζάλην ἔχειν μήτ' ἐξοκεῖλαι πρὸς κραταίλεων χθόνα.*

[11] Apollod. i. 9. 27.

[12] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 245.

[13] Roscher, i. 1171.

[14] Paus. ii. 32. 2; *CIA* iii. 236.

[15] *Od.* ii. 267, etc.

[16] Stephani, *Compt. Rendus* 1881. 134.

[17] Ath. viii. 335 B *ταύτῃ οὖν* [*τῇ Βριζοῖ*] *ὅταν θύωσιν αἱ Δηλιάδες προσφέρουσιν αὐτῇ σκάφας πάντων πλήρεις ἀγαθῶν, πλὴν ἰχθύων, διὰ τὸ εὔχεσθαι ταύτῃ περί τε πάντων καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν πλοίων σωτηρίας.*

Hera[1], Hermes[2], the Theban Heracles[3]. But in any case, the rescued mariner must needs make his acknowledgment[4]. Inscriptions which record a safe return belong to the same class[2].

Asclepius himself was worshipt as a protector from peril in general[5]; and here I see not an extension of the older idea, but a survival of the general protective powers of the Hero as Saviour. In Syros offerings are made to him for protection from shipwreck[6], and even in Epidaurus he is acknowledged as a god with more powers than medicinal[7]. Among the Athenian reliefs is one in which a man, together with his family, renders thanks to Asclepius and Hygieia for being ransomed out of the hands of the enemy[8]; and the fragment of another, which shows only the remains of two horses' heads, may be part of a scene which depicted the devotee in danger of being dasht over the rocks in a runaway carriage[9]. From the fourth century we have a dedication of a portrait to Pallas for deliverance "from great dangers[10]." From Camirus comes another, offered to

[1] Callim. *Art.* 223 and Schol.

[2] *CIA* iv. 1. 373[208], p. 204: Πύθων Ἑρμῆι ἄγαλμα Ἑρμοστράτου Ἀβδηρίτης ἔστησεμ πολλὰς θησάμενος πόληας. 5th cent. Collitz, iii. 3776 *νόστου χάριν εἰκόνα θέντες.*

[3] Paus. ix. 11. 4.

[4] Diphilos *ap.* Ath. vii. 292 A *ναύκληρος ἀποθύει τις εὐχήν, ἀποβαλὼν τὸν ἱστὸν ἢ πηδάλια συντρίψας νεώς, ἢ φορτί' ἐξέρριψ' ὑπέραντλος γενόμενος.* There is a story of drunken youths in Acragas, who thought they were at sea, and cast all the furniture out of the windows. The town guard came up and they cried *ἂν λιμένος τύχωμεν ἀπαλλαγέντες τοσούτου κλύδωνος, σωτῆρας ὑμᾶς μετὰ τῶν θαλασσίων δαιμόνων ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ἱδρυσόμεθα ὡς αἰσίως ἡμῖν ἐπιφανέντας*: Timaeus *ap.* Ath. ii. 37 E. An early inscr. of Cephallenia appears to record a deliverance: Collitz, ii. 660 Μνάσιος Κλεάριος σάωστρεῖ (?=σωτῆρι); cp. *Cat. Ath. Sc.* 276.

[5] Aristides xlii. (Keil) p. 337 *ἤδη τοίνυν τινῶν ἤκουσα λεγόντων ὡς αὐτοῖς πλέουσι καὶ θορυβουμένοις φανεὶς ὁ θεὸς χεῖρα ὤρεξεν, ἕτεροι δὲ φήσουσιν ὡς πράγματα ἄττα κατώρθωσαν ὑποθήκαις ἀκολουθήσαντες τοῦ θεοῦ...ἀλλὰ καὶ σοφίσματα πυκτικὰ πύκτῃ τινὶ τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐγκαθεύδοντι προειπεῖν λέγεται...μαθήματα δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ μέλη καὶ λόγων ὑποθέσεις καὶ πρὸς τούτοις εὐνοήματα αὐτὰ καὶ τὴν λέξιν.*

[6] *Ἀθήναιον* iv. 20, no. 33 f.

[7] Cavvadias, *Fouilles*, no. 2. 20, 7. 57; Collitz, iii. 3340[20].

[8] *BCH* i. 157. 4; *AZ* xxxv. 152. 32; *CIA* ii. 1474 **σωθεὶς** *ἐκ τῶμ πολέμων καὶ λυτρωθεὶς .....ων ἐλευθερωθεὶς* **ἀνέθηκεν.**

[9] *CIA* ii. 1441 *τῶμ πετρῶν ἡγέμονος .....ν σωθεὶς δὲ Ἀσκληπιέ, τοῦτο* **ἀνέθηκα** *.....ν ἐς τέμενος τῶι δίδου* **εὐτυχίαν.** The last word I have restored. Similar scenes of runaway horses are common among the votive pictures of St Nicolo, Verona.

[10] *CIA* ii. 1427 *σωθεὶς ἐκ μεγάλων κινδύνων εἰκόνα τήνδε στῆσεν Λυσίμαχος Παλλάδι τριτογενεῖ.*

Hecate and Sarapis on a similar occasion[1]. A wayfarer in Phrygia, who escaped drowning at a perilous ford in a river, set up a memorial to Zeus, Poseidon, Athena, and all the gods[2]. Three persons with Roman names give thanks in Lesbos to God on High for deliverance after a tempest[3]. Eutychus, who may have been a skipper, returns thanks at Delos to Fair-weather Zeus and the Egyptian deities, on behalf of himself and his son and all on board[4]. In Delos also, and to Anubis, Demetrius of Sidon dedicates a part of the ship's deck, which we may suppose to have saved his life when the ship went to pieces[5]. There is a relief with a boat upon it, dedicated to the Dioscuri, which possibly is a seaman's thank-offering[6]. In the second century after Christ, Artemidorus and his family dedicate a relief, representing a sacrificial scene, for deliverance at sea[7].

Perhaps a silver trireme in the Delian shrine may be a sailor's thank-offering[8]. In the same treasury were silver anchors[9] and a ship's beak[10], and a beak there was also in the shrine of Hero Iatrus at Athens[11]. No doubt the images of Calm and of the Sea, which were dedicated to Poseidon at the Isthmus, had reference to perils upon the deep[12]. A dedication by an admiral Pantaleon to "Poseidon saviour of ships and to Aphrodite mistress of ships" was found at Kertch[13]. Some of the paintings in the temple of Phocaea may have been thank-offerings of seafarers, which depicted perils on the deep[14].

[1] *IGI* i. (Rhodes) 742.

[2] *BCH* iii. 479 Μῆνις Δάου Διὶ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ πᾶσιν θεοῖς εὐχαριστήριον, καὶ ποταμῶ Εὔρω κινδυνεύσας καὶ διασωθεὶς ἐν τῶδε τῶ τόπω.

[3] *IGI* ii. (Lesbos) 119 : (names) χειμασθέντες ἐν πελάγει θεῶ ὑψίστω χρηστήριον (*sic*).

[4] *BCH* vi. 328[22] Ζεὺς Οὔριος, Sarapis, Isis, Anubis, Harpocrates, ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Εὐβόλου καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν πλοϊζομένων πάντων.

[5] *BCH* vi. 340[47].

[6] Figured in Roscher, i. 1171: Ἀργενίδας Ἀριστογενίδα Διοσκόροις εὐχάν.

[7] Sybel 362 : verses addrest to Ὑψιμέδων...οὕνεκά οἱ ἐπένευσας ἰδεῖν ἁλὸς ἔκτοθι γαῖαν. The tree still appears in this relief: and burning altar. *CIA* iii. 170.

[8] *BCH* vi. 32, line 31 : Homolle takes this for an ornamental vase.

[9] *BCH* vi. 47, line 168.

[10] *BCH* vi. 130.

[11] *CIA* ii. 403[72].

[12] Paus. ii. 1. 9.

[13] Stephani, *Comptes Rendus* 1881. 134 : Ποσειδῶνι σωσίνεῳ, Ἀφροδίτῃ ναυαρχίδι.

[14] Herod. i. 164 ; cp. *Anth. Pal.* vi. 221.

A sacrificial relief dedicated to Poseidon is probably due to a like cause[1]. Another from Halicarnassus, now published for the first time, represents three scenes carved on a marble drum: (1) two seamen in a boat under full sail; (2) Poseidon on a galley, resting on an oar, and holding a dolphin, and a worshipper kneeling before him; (3) Asclepius, Hygieia, and the serpent, with a worshipper between[2].

Of other occasions I may mention a few examples. The famous work of Lysippus, Alexander's Hunting in Delphi, was dedicated by Craterus who had saved the king's life from a lion[3]. Deliverance from earthquake is also recorded[4], and deliverance in general terms[5]. The people of Aegae build a temple to Apollo Chresterius, for having been "saved by the consul Publius Servilius[6]." Prayer and thanksgiving are offered for deliverance from poverty[7] or for general goodwill[8].

One allegorical dedication may be added. After the expulsion of the Peisistratids (510), the people set up a bronze lioness on the Acropolis, in memory of Leaena Aristogeiton's mistress, who had been tortured and found faithful unto death[9]. The lion we have already seen allegorically used of the courage of brave men[10]; and it never was more appropriate.

Whilst athletic victories gave rise to the glorious odes of

[1] *AM* xvi. 140 Ποτειδᾶνι εὐχήν.

[2] In possession of Mr W. R. Paton, to whose kindness I owe the photographs. Εὔπλοιά σοι εὐτύχη (=εὐτύχει) Θεόδουλε· περὶ (?) ἰδίου ψυχαρίου τῶ στόλω ἀνέθηκα.

[3] Plut. *Alex.* 40; Pliny, *NH* xxxiv. 19. 64; *BCH* xxi. 598, where the inscr. recently recovered is given; xxii. 566. The motive has more of pride than of gratitude.

[4] *IGI* i. 23 μετὰ τὸν σεισμόν.

[5] *CIA* iii. 134 (Mother of the Gods); *BCH* xx. 107 Phrygia περὶ σωτηρίας Διὶ βροντῶντι εὐχήν; *IGS* i. 3416, iii. 1. 134; *IGI* i. 914, etc.; *Anth. Pal.* vi. 109 (nymphs). *CIG* 6810 (Germany) σωθεὶς ἐκ μεγάλων καὶ ἀμετρήτων μάλα μόχθων εὐξάμενος ἀνέθηκα Γενίου εἰκόνα σεμνήν; *IGSI* 1030. 6 ἐκ μεγάλων κινδύνων πολλάκις, 997 ἐξ ὑδάτων, 2564 ἐκ πολέμου, all late.

[6] Bahn-Schuchhardt, *Alt. von Aigai*, 47: ὁ δᾶμος Ἀπόλλωνι Χρηστηρίωι χαριστήριον σωθεὶς ὑπὸ Ποπλίω Σερουιλίω Ποπλίω υἱῶ τῶ ἀνθυπάτω.

[7] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 190, 231, 245.

[8] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 143.

[9] Paus. i. 23. 2; Plut. *de Garrul.* 8. When the Aetolian confederacy in later days dedicated an image of Cylon, who freed the Eleans from the tyrant Aristotimus (Paus. vi. 14. 11); or the Achaeans did the like for Philopoemen, after he slew the tyrant; we have little more than honorific statues.

[10] Above, p. 144.

Pindar, gratitude for deliverance has left little mark in literature. The earlier dedications are as simple as they could possibly be, and the vast majority of the objects described in this chapter were ticketed merely with the names of the giver and the god, or the giver alone. Verse dedications, so common in other cases, are rare in this, and I know of none which are very early. We have met with a few upon the offerings in Athens[1], and one is quoted in the Epidaurian Cures[2]. In the sixth book of the *Anthology* there are only two dedications to Asclepius[3], and some half dozen references to disease[4]. On the other hand, the records of other perils are many. Dionysius alone was saved from shipwreck out of forty persons, by virtue of a charm which he tied on his thigh; he now dedicates an image of the saving "tumour[5]." Diogenes perhaps cannot afford to buy an offering, but dedicates his cloke to Cabirus, who being invoked in a storm saved him from the perils of the great deep[6]. The hair might also be offered on such occasions[7]. Shepherds delivered from a ravening lion dedicate to Pan, and hang upon an oak tree, a representation of the adventure[8]. A variation on this theme gives several epigrams, which describe how an emasculate votary of Cybele is saved from a lion, and dedicates to the goddess his trappings with locks of his hair[9]. A father who had shot a snake which was coiling about his son's neck, hangs up his quiver on an oak to Alcon[10]. A mother thanks Aphrodite Urania for taking care of her children[11]. A thirsty traveller led by the croak of a frog to a place of water, dedicates the frog's image in bronze at this spring[12]. Self-conscious literary art plays with this idea, but

[1] Above, p. 209[1] e.g.

[2] *Cures* 3339[7] *οὐ μέγεθος πίνακος θαυμαστέον, ἀλλὰ τὸ θεῖον, πένθ' ἔτη ὡς ἐκύησε ἐγ καστρὶ Κλεὼ βάρος, ἔστε ἐγκατεκοιμάθη, καί μιν ἔθηκε ὑγιῆ.*

[3] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 147, 330.

[4] Exclusive of childbirth, for which see below, chapter vi. See *Anth. Pal.* vi. 191, 300.

[5] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 166 *εἰκόνα τῆς κήλης.* Sacrifices of animals for protection upon the deep, 231, 245.

[6] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 245.

[7] Lucian, *περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ μισθῷ συνόντων, init.*

[8] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 221.

[9] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 217—220, 237.

[10] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 331.

[11] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 340.

[12] *Anth.Pal.* vi. 43. There is actually a votive frog known (Dar. and Sagl. fig. 2538, *s.v. Donarium*), inscribed *Ἄμων Σωνόου Βοάσονι* or *Βοάσωνι*, in retrograde writing, Collitz, iii. 3159,

hardly improves upon it. Thus Callimachus makes his Eudemus offer a salt-cellar to the Samothracian gods, in token of deliverance from "storms of debt[1]."

There remains yet one class of dedications to be mentioned, those connected with trials by law, vengeance, imprisonment, slavery and the like. When Heracles punisht Hippocoon, he built a temple to Athena Axiopoinos[2]. Orestes, acquitted before the Areopagus of the guilt of murder, dedicated an altar on the spot[3]. We learn that those who were acquitted in that court used to sacrifice to the Eumenides; and the occasion would be a fitting one for a votive offering[4]. Hypermestra, who had disregarded her father's command to kill Lynceus her husband and was brought to trial for the same, on being acquitted set up a statue of Victorious Aphrodite, and built a shrine of Artemis surnamed Persuasion[5]. In the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea were fetters hung, which the Spartans had once brought for the enslavement of the Tegeans; but being defeated, they had themselves to wear them, and they were afterwards preserved in memory of the great deliverance[6]. There was a similar memorial on the Acropolis of Athens[7]; and in Phlius prisoners set free used to hang up their fetters in a sacred grove[8]. The idea of memorial is clear, but with other associations, in a story told of Croesus. When Cyrus proffered him a boon, he requested that his chains might be sent to Apollo

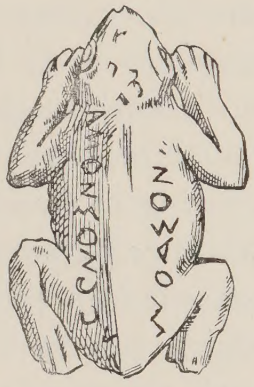

Fig. 35. Votive frog. Daremberg and Saglio, *s.v. Donarium*, p. 375, fig. 2538.

IPI i. 357 (from the Peloponnese). The deity was probably a local hero, addrest by an epithet appropriate to the occasion, or the personification of some by-dwelling spirit assumed. Fränkel, without authority, identifies him with Apollo. Those who wish may believe with Fränkel that the frog was likely to please Apollo, because the creature is endowed with "seherische Kraft" (*Jahrb.* i. 48 foll.): ἐμὲ δὲ μὴ ἐνοχλούντων. See fig. 35.

[1] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 301 χειμῶνες δανέων.

[2] Paus. iii. 15. 6.

[3] Paus. i. 28. 5.

[4] Paus. i. 28. 6. Compare Aristoph. *Plutus* 1180.

[5] Paus. ii. 19. 6, 21. 1.

[6] Herod. i. 66; Paus. viii. 47. 2.

[7] Herod. v. 77: of ransomed Boeotian and Chalcidian prisoners, about B.C. 507.

[8] Paus. ii. 13. 4.

at Delphi, and that the god might be asked why he had so deceived him[1].

Two dedications to Nemesis show the goddess trampling upon a prostrate man, and beside her a serpent and a griffin; in one of them she is winged, and holds a wheel. They come from Gortyn and Peiraeus. The inscription which is found on the latter does not imply any special occasion[2]. A late relief is dedicated to Nemesis[3] as a thank-offering for freedom.

A curious group of inscriptions, dating from the end of the fourth century or thereabouts, refer to the dedication of a thank-offering by freedmen[4]. When a slave had acquired his freedom, whether by purchasing himself or by his master's grace, he was expected to perform certain duties to his old master, chief of which was to choose him for patron[5]. The enfranchised now took the position of a *μέτοικος*, and could engage in business. If he failed to perform his bounden duty, an action at law would lie against him[6]. If the former master prosecuted him under this law, and won his case, the man was sold; if he lost, the man was forever free of obligation. From our inscriptions it would appear that the slave on winning his case presented a silver bowl to Athena. Here we have lists of the bowls kept in the treasury, which all appear to have been inscribed with the necessary particulars; they would serve as an official register of the fact. They were periodically melted down into silver hydriae, and a record made of the names[7]. The connexion of these lists with the *δίκη ἀποστασίου* is shown by the recurring word *ἀποφυγὼν* or *ἀποφυγοῦσα*, and by one allusion to the trial[8]. Men, women, boys, and girls appear

[1] Nicolaus Damascenus (Tauchnitz), p. 11: *αἰτοῦμαί σε δοῦναί μοι πέμψαι Πυθώδε τὰς πέδας τάσδε, καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἔρεσθαι τί παθὼν ἐξηπάτα με τῆς χρησμοῖς ἐπάρας στρατεύειν ἐπὶ σὲ ὡς περιεσόμενον. ἐξ ὅτου αὐτῷ τάδε ἀκροθίνια πέμπω.*

[2] *BCH* xxii. 599 ff., pl. xv., xvi.: *εἰμὶ μέν, ὡς ἐσορᾷς, Νέμεσις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων εὔπτερος ἀθανάτα κύκλον ἔχουσα πόλου· πωτῶμαι δ' ἀνὰ κόσμον ἀεὶ πολυγήθεϊ θυμῷ, δερκομένα θνατῶν φῦλον ἀεὶ γενεῶν· ἀλλά με σεμνὸς ἀνὴρ τεύξας σοφὸς Ἀρτεμίδωρος στῆσεν ἐπ' εὐχωλαῖς λαϊνέοισι τύποις.* The voice of Artemidorus will be heard again.

[3] *CIG Add.* vi. 6834 *ἐλευθερίας χαριστήρια τῇι Νεμέσει Ῥαμνουντόθεν Νέαιρα Ἀθηναία χαριτοβλέφαρος ἀνέθηκεν.*

[4] *CIA* ii. 768—775 *ἐξελευθερικός*, not *ἀπελεύθερος*, is the word used. See *AM* iii. 172, *AJA* iv. 154.

[5] *προστάτης.*

[6] *δίκη ἀποστασίου.*

[7] *CIA* ii. 720 A 1, 729 A 8—11.

[8] *CIA* ii. 776 *ἀποστασίου.* The formula is, e.g. *Εὐτυχὶς καπηλίς, ἀπο-*

as parties; they follow all sorts of occupations—shopman[1], shopwoman[2], farmer[3], hired man[4], vinedresser[5], woolspinner[6], shoemaker[7], merchant[8], baker[9], fishmonger[10], secretary[11], harpist[12]. One of the inscriptions is a puzzle[13]. The formula here differs[14], the citizen's name being in the nominative and the other's in the accusative case. It seems natural to assume that in these cases the citizen won his suit; and for reasons, religious or legal, commemorated the fact in the same way. An enfranchised slave's thank-offering for freedom comes from Thessaly[15]. Freed slaves at Epidaurus dedicated a seat in the stadium[16].

The practices of the modern Greeks show in many respects an instructive parallel to the ancient worship of the healing gods. Everyone has heard of the famous sanctuary of the Virgin at Tenos, but this is a quite modern foundation, and there are many local shrines less known but no less effective to their end. The most remarkable of all is perhaps the Church of the Virgin at Ayassos in Lesbos. The panegyris falls at the end of the Sarakosté fast, on August the fifteenth (old style), and thousands of persons assemble from the villages of Lesbos and from all Greek settlements within reach. The last night of the fast is kept as a vigil[17]: there is a service in the church, and afterwards all the world dance and make merry, feasting their eyes on the red joints of meat which to-morrow they hope to consume, which in the meanwhile hang tempting on their hooks, covered with pieces of gold foil[18] and adorned with sprigs

φυγοῦσα Σώστρατον, Μνησίστρατον, Ἀλωπεκῆθεν, φιάλη, σταθμὸν H 768[16]; or *Πλίννα ἐμ Πειραιεῖ οἰκοῦσα* 768. Occasionally the prosecutor is a corporate body, 768. Cp. Arist. *Plut.* 1179 *ὁ μὲν ἂν ἥκων ἔμπορος ἔθυσεν ἱερεῖόν τι σωθείς, ὁ δέ τις ἂν δίκην ἀποφυγών.*

[1] 773 *κάπηλος.*

[2] 768 *καπηλίς.*

[3] 768 *γεωργός.*

[4] 769 *μισθωτός.*

[5] 773 *ἀμπελουργός.*

[6] 772 *ταλασιουργός.*

[7] 772 *σκυτοτόμος.*

[8] 773 *ἔμπορος.*

[9] 772 *ἀρτοπώλης.*

[10] 773 *ταριχοπώλης.*

[11] 772 *γραμματεύς*, 769 *ὑπογραμματεύς.*

[12] 773 *κιθαρωιδός.*

[13] 772 B.

[14] Πολυστράτος Πολυστράτ(ου) Ἐπικηφίσιος Σωσίαν γεωργὸν ἐν Ἡφαιστια-(δῶν) οἰκοῦντα, *φιάλη* H.

[15] Collitz i. 368 *Ἄπλουνι Τεμπείτα Αἰσχυλὶς Σατύροι ἐλευθέρια.*

[16] *IPI* i. 1219—1245 (late).

[17] So Asclepius had his *παννυχίς.*

[18] So the horns used to be gilded, above, p. 13[3].

of leaves. Those who are ill and hope for cure take care to spend the night in the holy precinct. The church stands in a paved quadrangle, the sides being formed by buildings in two stories arranged much like an English College or Inn. The upper floor opens upon a loggia, the lower directly upon the court; the buildings consist of a long series of small cells, with living rooms for the priests, kitchens, stores, and other such necessary apartments. During the panegyris all the cells are filled to overflowing, the balconies and the court itself are strewn with beds, each family with its bundle of rugs, stores of food, and all things needful. Not only that, but the church itself is invaded: the first comers have taken up their abode here, with their blankets and cooking pots, and line the side-aisles and almost every square foot of the floor: there in the church they sleep; and next morning, when the priests march round in solemn procession, the sick ones throw their bodies across the path that the priests may step over them. Every year miraculous cures are said to be wrought here. So too at Tenos, where those who can find room pass the night in a little underground chapel which marks the site where the sacred picture of the Virgin was found. Other shrines have a local reputation, such as the remarkable sanctuary of St Michael of Mandamadhos, also in Lesbos, which can boast of possessing the only image used in the Greek Church, where images are unlawful. Hideous is the archangel, and black as a boot[1]; he is said to be made of plaster, and to be complete, though to outsiders nothing is visible but the head. This curious exception to a strict rule suggests that St Michael has inherited the powers and the form of an earlier deity. But sickness is not confined to the month of August; and those who are so unlucky as to be sick when there is no panegyris to hand, are accustomed to take up their abode in one of these holy quadrangles, or in the nearest monastery, there to remain until they are killed or cured. The priests pray over them regularly, and although no charge is made, the sufferers if cured naturally make what acknowledgment they can: some an offering of value, or even a lock of

[1] I have described him, with a photograph, in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, vol. i.

hair. So it is that all the holy places mentioned, and almost every other church in the Levant[1], has its store of votive offerings in silver. These are dedicated not only for the cure of disease, but for escape from peril of every kind, especially at sea. In Tenos are a host of silver boats, smacks, barques, brigs, and steamers, modelled in the round, and hanging by strings from the lamps; or made of flat foil, and arranged along the walls in rows[2]. There are also human figures of all ages and ranks: soldiers and sailors, men or women in European dress and others with the Albanian petticoat and leggings, boys and girls, and babies in their cradles or in swaddling clothes, and cradles empty. Here is to be found every conceivable part of the body—hand, ear, leg, heart, breast, whole body or half body naked: animals—horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, turkeys, fowls, and fish: coach and four, carriage and pair, horse and cart: trees, barrels, ears of corn: swords, scissors, fiddles, even keys: huts, houses, manufactories with smoking chimneys[3]. Sometimes an attempt is made to represent a scene: in one piece, a patient is represented lying in bed, with the family standing round; in another, a row of men stands, each holding his hat in his left hand and placing his right hand to his breast, a crude method of expressing adoration[4]. From time to time accumulations of

[1] Especially the churches in seaports or fishing villages, often sacred to St Nicholas, the patron of sailors, whose icon hangs in every ship. The old cathedral at Athens, sacred to St Eleutherios (=Eileithyia?), is a favourite for women in labour. Rings, earrings, parts of the body, children, and ships are found here.

[2] A paddle-steamer is inscribed: *ὁ πλοίαρχος καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα ἀτμοπλοίου Πέτρου Φοσκόλου 6 Δεκεμβρίου* 1892. So in Psara, as the historian tells us of the treasure of St Nicholas' church before the Turks destroyed it: *ἦσαν ὅλων τῶν πλοιάρχων τὰ πλοῖα...πάντα ἀργυρᾶ...εἶχον δὲ καὶ ἀνεμόμυλον, ὃν ἀφιέρωσε τυφλός τις* (*Ἡμερούσια Συμβάντα τῆς ἁλώσεως τῶν Ψαρρῶν: ἐν Ἑρμουπόλει*, 1884, p. 7).

[3] In a collection of these which I bought from the monastery of St Michael Panormites at Syme, occur the following: babies in swaddling clothes; women, girls, or boys, the hands folded across the breast; others holding up the right hand, the left laid upon the heart; figures with the left hand or both hands uplifted, or both held by the sides (many of these very grotesque); others holding a cross or a palm-branch; head and bust; eye or eyes, ear, teeth, arm, finger, leg, ribs, and nondescript. One figure is a girl with a swollen face, and an expression of pain, holding one hand to her cheek.

[4] Compare the reliefs, p. 219.

these things are melted down, and a large censer or lamp made out of them, or the proceeds used for the purposes of the church[1].

So far as I have seen, paintings of this class are never used for dedication in Greek lands, but they are very common in Italy; and for the sake of the ideas implied in them, it may be worth while to examine one collection[2]. This is preserved in the entrance corridor of S. Nicolo in Verona, and consists of about one hundred pictures. All the pictures are much of a size; they are oil paintings of ten to twelve inches square, and coarsely painted. Most of them belong to the eighteenth century, but one bears date as late as 1892. They have on them usually an inscription, the giver's name, the circumstances of his deliverance, and the letters, P. G. R., *pro gratia recepta*, or *per grazia ricevuta*, with *ex voto* appended. They depict all sorts of danger and catastrophe. The commonest type is the patient in sick-bed, with or without the friends praying at the bedside. In the air usually hovers the patron saint, or the Virgin; sometimes a group of heavenly beings is seen in the clouds, and below others in the pangs of purgatory. We see a boy tumbling from a ladder; a child falling down stairs; a man run over by a cart, or a cart falling over a precipice; a building falls, carrying some workmen with it; and so forth. Here are shipwrecked mariners on a raft, while a boat rows up to rescue them. There is an attempted murder outside the amphitheatre at Verona, which is unmistakably portrayed in the background[3]. Two women and a man are welcomed by nuns at a convent door, and the legend informs us that they were led by God's invisible hand[4]. One picture, curiously realistic, represents two scenes, which are placed together without division. In the first, a man drest in tail coat and tall hat sits in a dog-cart drawn by a runaway horse. He looks horribly frightened, throws up his hands in despair, and his tall hat has been

[1] The former is done I know at Tenos and Ayassos, and probably elsewhere. The latter is done at Symi.

[2] See my paper in *Folk-Lore*, v. 11 ff.: "Italian Votive Offerings."

[3] Inscribed: P. G. R. 1847 M. P.

[4] *Tre Germani traviati il gran Gaetano conduce a Dio con invisibil mano.*

knockt to the back of his head. Back to back with this we see the same dog-cart quietly stopt at a door, the man looking happy, and his hat straight again[1]. Votive limbs and other offerings like those of ancient times are common not only in Italy but in other parts of the Continent: in France, Austria, Switzerland[2]. The church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, in Venice, has a shrine of S. Vincenzo, who is credited with the power of healing cripples by miracle: near it hang a number of modelled limbs, together with the crutches of grateful patients who no longer had need of them.

[1] Others of great interest, which I have not seen, are in Locarno and Oropa (three hours from Turin by rail). They are mentioned by S. Butler, *Alps and Sanctuaries*, 220, 350, who gives a sketch of one (p. 160). Mr Butler informs me that the oldest he has seen is dated about 1480 in the Museum at Varallo. Others in *Sta Maria in ara Cieli* and *Pantheon* (Rome), Naples, etc.

[2] Ships at Marseilles; eyes at St Ottilien near Freiburg i. B.; etc. At Marseilles are votive pictures: sick-beds, burning houses, runaway horses, lightning, railway train passing over a bridge, ships in rough weather. Even pictures of limbs in *Sta Maria in ara Cieli*. Lever describes similar scenes from South America:—"Upon several of the altars, pieces of solid gold and silver lay in security...while lamps of pure silver hung in profusion on every side, surrounded by votive offerings of the same metal—such as shovels, barretas, picks and sieves....Pictures, representing terrible catastrophes, by falling masses of rock, irruptions of torrents, and down-pouring cataracts, showed what fates were ever in store for those who 'forgot the Church.' And as if to heighten the effect, wherever a cayman or a jaguar was 'sloping off with a miner in his mouth,' a respectable saint was sure to be detected in the offing—wiping his eyes in compassion, but not stirring a finger to his assistance."

VI.

DOMESTIC LIFE.

εἶτ' ἐπὶ Δήλοϝ ἔβαινε μοϝοστόκος Εἰλείθυια,
Δὴ τότε τὴν τόκος εἶλε, μενοίνησεν δὲ τεκέσθαι.
ἀμφὶ δὲ φοίνικι βάλε πήχεε, γοῦνα δ' ἔρεισε
λειμῶνι μαλακῷ· μείδησε δὲ γαῖ' ὑπένερθεν.

HOMER, *Hymn to Apollo Delian*, 117.

SACRIFICE and offering was customary at each of the two great moments of human life: at marriage and childbirth. We may fairly take it that in prehistoric Greece, as elsewhere, puberty and marriage came close together; and that the offerings originally commemorated puberty, which is a natural change, and not marriage, which is an artificial institution. But in civilised countries the second it is which attracts chief attention, and it is not possible wholly to explain how the Greeks regarded the two as connected.

The most peculiar practice connected with puberty is the dedication of the hair, a very ancient survival which held its own long after the Greeks had outgrown any real faith in their theology. It will be well to collect here the various instances of the practice, although some of them will be obviously due to other occasions than puberty[1].

The earliest form of the custom would appear to be the vow or dedication of hair to a river[2], to be cut either at puberty or some other crisis, or after escaping some threatening peril.

[1] See on this subject *Inscriptions du temple de Zeus Panamaros*, *BCH* xii. 479 ff.; Dar. and Sagl. *s.v. Coma*.

[2] See P. Gardner, *Greek River-Worship*, *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.* 1878, 173 ff. For parallels to the hair offering, Frazer on Paus. viii. 34. 3, 41. 3.

The river-worship here, as we have seen it in conjunction with Pan and the nymphs, is a mark of antiquity[1]. Achilles at the funeral of Patroclus shore the locks "long kept for Spercheus, if he should return safe[2]." Ajax made a similar vow to the Ilissus[3]. Orestes laid on his father's tomb the hair he had vowed to Inachus[4], perhaps one lock of hair left to grow long, as the Brahmins use in India. Similar vows are recorded for the Cephisus[5] and the Neda at Phigalea[6], and the same is implied by the story of the mythical Leucippus, who was keeping his hair long for the Alpheus[7]. When the great gods come in fashion, they attract this offering like the rest. Thus Agamemnon in perplexity tore out handfuls of hair as an offering to Zeus[8]; hair was also dedicated to Phoebus[9], Zeus and Artemis[10], the Heroes[11], and Health[12]. It was an old custom, says Plutarch, for lads to "offer firstfruits of their hair" at Delphi, and he describes how Theseus went thither for that purpose[13]; the custom is also recorded in history[14]. The hair offering is known at Athens[15], Argos[16], Delphi[17], Delos[18], Megara[19], Troezen[20], Titane[21],

[1] Like the worship of Poseidon and the Cretan old men of the sea. Cp. the dedication from Asia Minor, *AM* xix. 313 *λαίνεόν με τέχνασμα ἐσορᾷς ἁλιῆα γέροντα, θῆκε δὲ Ἀπολλωνὶς ἀνάθημα Ποσειδάωνι.*

[2] *Il.* xxiii. 141.

[3] Philostr. *Her.* xii. 2.

[4] Aesch. *Choeph.* 6 *πλόκαμον Ἰνάχῳ θρεπτήριον.*

[5] Paus. i. 37. 3. Cp. Philostr. *Imag.* i. 7. 1 (Memnon) *ὁ τῶν βοστρύχων ἄσταχυς οὓς οἶμαι Νείλῳ ἔτρεφε.*

[6] Paus. viii. 41. 3. Frazer in his note gives parallels from India and Australia. See also *North Indian Notes and Queries*, v. 544: children cut off their scalp-lock at a shrine.

[7] Paus. viii. 20. 3.

[8] *Il.* x. 15 *πολλὰς ἐκ κεφαλῆς προθελύμνους ἔλκετο χαίτας ὑψόθ' ἑόντι Διί.*

[9] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 278.

[10] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 242; Plut. *Thes.* 5.

[11] Paus. i. 43. 4, ii. 32. 1.

[12] *CIG* 2391.

[13] Plut. *Thes.* 5 *ἀπάρχεσθαι τῷ θεῷ τῆς κόμης.*

[14] Theopompus *ap.* Ath. xiii. 605 A *εἰς Δελφοὺς παραγενομένῳ τῷ Πυθοδώρου τοῦ Σικυωνίου υἱῷ ἀποκειρομένῳ τὴν κόμην.*

[15] Pollux, *Onom.* iii. 3; Hesych. *γάμων ἔθη*; Diphilus fragm. 66. 6 (Kock).

[16] Stat. *Theb.* ii. 254 with Schol.

[17] Plut. *Thes.* 5.

[18] Paus. i. 43. 4; Callim. *Hymn to Delos*, 296.

[19] Paus. i. 43. 4.

[20] Eur. *Hippol.* 1421; *Orest.* 113, 128; Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, 60.

[21] Paus. ii. 11.

Paros[1], Thessalian Thebes[2], Phigalea[3], Erythrae[4], Hierapolis[5], Alexandria[6], and Prusa[7]; whence it would appear to be a general custom among the Greeks. A special lock seems to have been kept for the sacred purpose[8], and it was so common as to give rise to a proverb[9].

The later records attest the same custom. A child's first hair was so dedicated, with a prayer that he might live to be old, or that Acharnian ivy might afterwards grace his head[10]. The first down on a man's chin was also thus dedicated[11]. Girls also cut and dedicated their hair before marriage (at puberty, that is, according to the original conception), to Hippolytus at Troezen[12], to Iphinoe at Megara[13], to Athena in Argos[14], and at Delos, where lads and lasses both shore it in honour of the Hyperborean Maidens; the lads winding their hair (or first beard) in wisps of a certain grass, the lasses their hair about a spindle, and laying it upon the maidens' tomb[15]. Several Delian inscriptions relate to this. According to Pollux[16] the hair was regularly dedicated before marriage to Hera, Artemis, and the

[1] *CIG* 2391.

[2] Inscribed tablet with hair carved on it, see below.

[3] Paus. viii. 23. 3, 41. 3.

[4] Inferred by W. Robertson Smith from the story of the rope of hair in Paus. vii. 5. 5; see Frazer *ad loc.*

[5] Lucian, *l.c.*

[6] Catullus, *Coma Berenices*; Hygin. *Poet. Astr.* 11. 24.

[7] Himerius, *Or.* xxiii. 7. Berenice vowed if her husband returned from war unwounded to dedicate her hair in the temple, and did so (p. 245).

[8] Diphilus *ap.* Ath. vi. 225 B *ἐνταῦθα γοῦν ἔστιν τις ὑπερηκοντικώς, κόμην τρέφων μὲν ἱερὰν τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς φησίν· οὐ διὰ τοῦτο γ' ἀλλ' ἐστιγμένος, πρὸ τοῦ μετώπου παραπέτασμ' αὐτὴν ἔχει.*

[9] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 310 *ἱερὸς ὁ πλόκαμος, τοὐμὸν ὄνειαρ ἐμοί.* Eur. *Bacch.* 494 *ἱερὸς ὁ πλόκαμος· τῷ θεῷ δ' αὐτὸν τρέφω.*

[10] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 278, 279; *CIG* 2391 *Ἐπαφρόδιτος...ὑπὲρ τοῦ παιδίου ... τὴν παιδικὴν τρίχα Ὑγιεία καὶ Ἀσκληπιῷ*; 2392 *τὴν πρωτότμητον τρίχα τὴν ἐφηβικὴν κείρας*; so 2393 with variations.

[11] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 242; Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, 60: *τῶν γενείων ἀπάρχονται.*

[12] Lucian *l.c.*; Paus. ii. 32. 1; Eur. *Hippol.* 1424.

[13] Paus. i. 43. 4.

[14] Stat. *Theb.* ii. 253 ff. hic more parentum Iasides, thalamis ubi casta adolesceret aetas, virgineas libare comas, primosque solebant excusare toros.

[15] Herod. iv. 34; Paus. i. 43. 4; Callim. *Hymn to Delos* 296 ff.

[16] Pollux iii. 38 *Ἥρα τέλειος ἡ συζυγία, ταύτῃ γὰρ τοῖς προτελείοις προὐτέλουν τὰς κόρας, καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Μοίραις, καὶ τῆς κόμης δὲ τότε ἀπήρχοντο ταῖς θεαῖς αἱ κόραι.* Frazer on Paus. ii. 32. 1 quotes parallels from Fiji and Cambodia, from Africa, and from America.

Fates. In the Syrian Hierapolis, Lucian tells us that the hair when offered was preserved in sacred vases; he himself in his youth had conformed to the custom[1]. A series of inscriptions, found at Panamara in Caria, throw some light on the hair-offering[2]. They belong to Roman times, and to Asia Minor; but there is nothing in them which may not be genuine Greek. The devotees enclose their hair in a small stone coffer, made in form of a stele, which is set up in the precinct. A slab covers the hole, and an inscription is placed upon it. The poorer sort are content to make a hole in the wall, or even hang up their hair with the name only attacht. Even slaves are among the dedicators. It is peculiar that no women's names are found at all, though the inscriptions number more than a hundred; and that the deity honoured is Zeus, never Hera. Possibly, as the editors conjecture, women were not allowed within the precinct.

Pausanias saw the statue or relief of a youth shearing his hair in honour of the Cephisus[3]. A curious memorial of the custom is seen in a stone from Thessaly, upon which are carven two long plaits of hair dedicated to Poseidon[4].

A few further examples may be added from the *Anthology* to show the variety of possible occasions for this rite. A woman offers the hair to Cybele with a prayer for a happy marriage[5], or in honour of Pallas on attaining marriage with her lover,

[1] *De Dea Syria* 60.

[2] See Deschamps and Cousin, *Inscriptions du temple de Zeus Panamaros*, *BCH* xi. 390, xii. 82, 249, 479, xiv. 369 ff. The dedications are in varying forms, and many are illiterate. We find dedications of many persons together as xi. 39 *ἐπὶ ἱερέως* Τιβ. Φλα. *Αἰνείου Ἰάσονος, κόμαι Χαιρήμονος Ἀγαθοβούλου Ἱεροκλέους Διονυσίου Ἡρακλείδου Μαντιθέου*; *BCH* xi. 390: a household, xii. 487 ff. no. 115 *κόμαι φαμιλίας Οὐλπίου Ἀσκληπιάδου*: of children, no. 103 *κόμαι Εὔπαδος καὶ παιδίων αὐτοῦ*, 104 *καὶ υἱῶν*, 111 *καὶ τέκνων*; of brothers, 110 *κόμαι Ἔρωτος καὶ ἀδελφοῦ* and *BCH* xiv. 371, of slaves, 117 *οἰκετῶν*. The singular *κόμη* is found sometimes. Formulae are: 61 *κόμαι Διονυσίου εὐτυχῶς*, 66 *τύχῃ ἀγαθῇ Διὶ Παναμάρῳ εὐχὴν κόμας* with name, 74 *ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς*; indications of a recurring rite no. 80 *δὶς κόμαι*. An interesting name is given in 76, *Ἐπικτήτου κόμαι*. In Egypt, parents used to pay the weight of the children's hair in silver for a vow; see p. 244[9].

[3] Paus. i. 37. 3. The dedication to Cephisus from Lilaea in Phocis may be similar: *IGS* iii. 1. 232.

[4] *Φιλόμβροτος Ἀφθόνητος Δεινομάχου Ποσειδῶνι*. Figured in Dar. and Sagl. *s.v. Donarium*, p. 376, fig. 2543. See fig. 36 below.

[5] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 281.

and after the birth of a male child desired[1]. A man offers his white hair, having vowed it when dedicating the first locks of

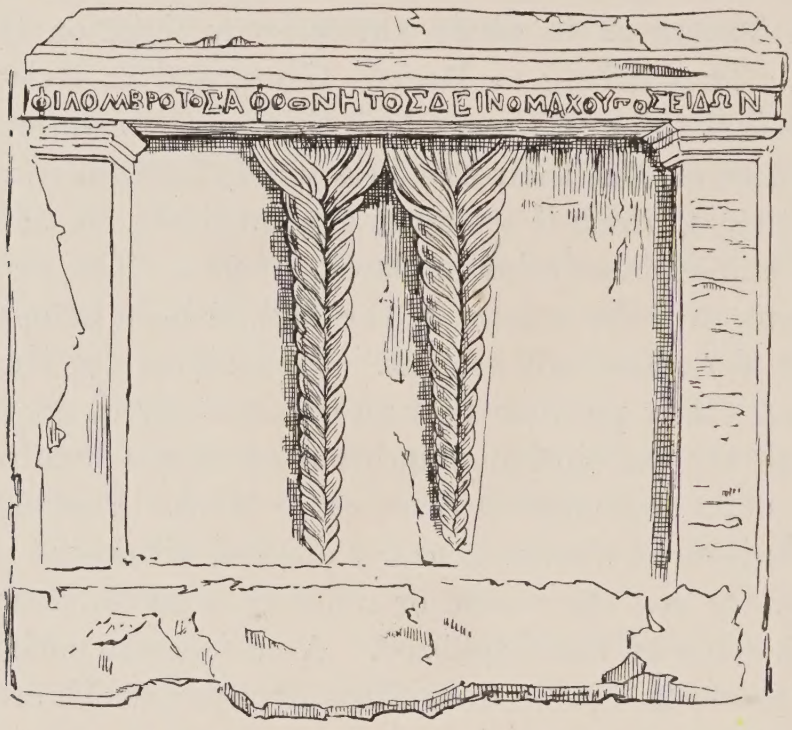

Fig. 36. Votive hair, from Thessaly.
Daremberg and Saglio, *s.v. Donarium*, p. 376, fig. 2543.

his youth[2]. A eunuch after his orgies dedicates his hair to the Sangarian mother[3]. A lock of hair is offered by an elderly courtezan with other gifts to Cypris[4]. So Marcellus on returning to Italy victorious from the east, dedicates the first shaving of his beard[5]. The offering takes a sportive turn, when Lucillius dedicates hair to all the sea deities named in a string, because he has nothing else to give[6]. The growing of sacred hair is also attested for Rome[7]; and Herodotus mentions that the priests of Egypt wore their hair long[8], and that vows were paid by weighing silver against the shorn hair[9]. He also tells us

[1] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 59.
[2] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 193.
[3] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 234, 173.
[4] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 200.
[5] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 161.
[6] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 164.
[7] Suet. *Nero* 12; Xiphil. *Nero* 19; Martial i. 32; Stat. *Theb.* 493; Petron. 29 (see the article cited from *BCH*).
[8] Herod. ii. 36; Plut. *Is.* p. 352.
[9] Herod. ii. 65 *εὐχόμενοι τῷ θεῷ, τοῦ ἂν ᾖ τὸ θηρίον, ξυροῦντες τῶν παιδίων ἢ πᾶσαν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἢ τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἱστᾶσι σταθμῷ πρὸς ἀργύριον τὰς τρίχας. τὸ δ' ἂν ἑλκύσῃ, τοῦτο τῇ μελεδωνῷ τῶν θηρίων διδοῖ.*

that the Arabs used to shave their heads in honour of God[1]. The custom is still used, when Arabs offer the hair to God or the heroised dead[2], and women lay theirs on the tombs of tribal benefactors[3].

When the Delians place locks of hair on a tomb, they furnish a link with another common occasion of dedicating the hair. Heracles built a tomb for Leucippus, and offered there some of his hair[4]. The Achaeans used to cut their hair in mourning[5]. Achilles, as I have mentioned, shore his at the funeral of Patroclus[6]; and the soldiers of Masistius, at their leader's death, clipt not their own hair only but the manes of their horses and mules[7]. So did the soldiers of Pelopidas over their leader's corpse[8]. At Hephaestion's death, Alexander the Great had his animals clipt[9]. It will be remembered that hair is among the things offered to heroes. Oddly enough, we are told that the Syracusans shore the captive horses after Nicias was taken[10]. There are several allusions to the custom in the dramatists[11], and Sappho mentions it[12].

Further, it was often vowed in time of peril and offered in gratitude. Orestes shore his hair when he came to his senses[13]. Berenice vowed and paid her hair for Ptolemy's safety in war[14]. The statue of Health at Titane was covered with locks of women's hair[15]. A mariner offers his hair to the sea-gods[16], and Lucian mentions a similar vow[17]. St Paul, it will be remembered, shore his hair at Cenchreae in fulfilment of a vow[18].

We may now pass on to a general consideration of the marriage offerings in Greece. It is unfortunate that here, as in

[1] Herod. iii. 8; Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Ancient Arabia*, p. 152.

[2] Goldziher, *Rev. de l'Hist. des Religions*, x. 351, xiv. 49.

[3] Goldziher, *op. cit.* xiv. 352.

[4] Paus. vii. 17. 8, where Frazer gives modern parallels.

[5] Eudocia, no. 518.

[6] *Il.* xxiii. 141.

[7] Herod. ix. 24; Plut. *Arist.* 14.

[8] Plut. *Pel.* 33.

[9] Plut. *Pel.* 34, *Alex.* 72.

[10] Plut. *Nic.* 27.

[11] Aesch. *Cho.* 6; Eur. *El.* 91 κόμης ἀπηρξάμην, *Or.* 96 κόμης ἀπαρχάς, *Phoen.* 1525.

[12] Sappho 119.

[13] Paus. viii. 34. 3.

[14] Catull., *Coma Berenices*; Eudocia, no. 218.

[15] Paus. ii. 11. 6.

[16] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 164.

[17] Lucian, περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ μισθῷ συνόντων, *init.*

[18] Acts of the Apostles, xviii. 18.

other things of every day, our information is scanty; but we know that sacrifices were customary before marriage, and where there is sacrifice there may always be votive offerings. In some places initiation formed part of the wedding ceremony[1], and the priestess of Demeter officiated at weddings[2]. The little girls of Athens used to take part in a 'mystery[3],' imitating bears in honour of Artemis Brauronia, whose shrine stood on the Acropolis. The accounts of this rite are confusing, but in one it is said to have been done by all the girls as a preliminary to marriage[4]; and in any case it looks like an ancient ceremony to mark the time of puberty[5]. If another writer be correct in confining the ceremony to a select few[6], the word *δεκατεύειν* used as a synonym for *ἀρκτεύειν* to designate it, suggests that the maidens were a tithe of the women, like the tithe of men described above[7]. When marriage actually took place, a sacrifice was made to the gods of marriage[8], who are variously given as the Furies[9], Zeus and Hera[10], or Hera, Artemis, and the Fates[11], or the Nymphs[12], later to Aphrodite[13]. At Sparta, mothers would sacrifice to Hera and Aphrodite when their daughters married[14]. We may assume that, as in other cases, each tribe would originally sacrifice to its own

[1] Paton, *Inscr. of Cos*, 386: *ταῖς δὲ τελευμέναις καὶ ταῖς ἐπινυμφευομέναις ἦμεν τᾶι δηλομέναι καθάπερ καὶ πρὶν πωλητὰν γενέσθαι τὰν ἱερωσύναν συνετάχθη, πεντοβόλος διδούσαις ἀπολελύσθαι τῶν ἄλλων ἀναλωμάτων πάντων· παρασκευάσαι δὲ ταῖς τελευμέναις τὰς ἱερῆς τὰ νομιζόμενα.*

[2] Plut. *Coni. Praec.* ad init., quoted by Paton.

[3] *τὸ μυστήριον συνετέλουν*, Schol. Arist. *Lys.* 645.

[4] *πρὸ γάμου*, a second schol. *ad loc.*

[5] The age is given as five to ten years, but Mommsen gives reason for believing this to be a mistake (*Heort.* 406 note). He suggests 10 to 15.

[6] *ἐπιλεγόμεναι παρθένοι*, Schol. Arist. *Lys.* 645.

[7] It is usually referred to the children's age as being about ten years.

[8] *προτέλεια γάμων, προγάμεια: θεοὶ γαμήλιοι.* See also *Anth. Pal.* vi. 55, 318, and for Sparta Paus. iii. 13. 9.

[9] Schol. Aesch. *Eum.* 834 *ὡς προτέλεια θυόντων Ἀθήνῃσι ταῖς Ἐρινύσι.*

[10] Diod. Sic. v. 73; Aesch. *Eum.* 214. Cp. Ath. xv. 694 D *Ἄρτεμιν ἃ γυναικῶν μεγ' ἔχει κράτος* (Scolion).

[11] Pollux iii. 38; Artemis in Boeotia and Locris, Plut. *Aristid.* 20. The Furies in Aesch. *Eum.* 835; cp. p. 254 below.

[12] Plut. *Amat. Narr.* 1, p. 944.

[13] Paus. iii. 13. 9 Hera-Aphrodite. It will be remembered that Aphrodite was not a Greek goddess. She was, however, worshipt on the Athenian Acropolis in the sixth century, as inscribed potsherds prove: *AA* viii. 147.

[14] Paus. iii. 13. 8.

gods; and that the country folk, perhaps following the oldest custom, would sacrifice to the nymphs or heroes. But as theology became systematic, Zeus and Hera as the divine wedded pair seem to have gained the chief importance as patrons of wedlock. Hera, indeed, as the Maid, the Wife, and the Widow, represents the whole life of woman on earth[1]; and the Holy Marriage ceremonial is connected with her and Zeus at

Fig. 37. Zeus and Hera, from Samos.
Farnell, *Cults*, pl. v. *b*.

Samos and elsewhere[2]. This ceremonial is perhaps commemorated by a terra-cotta group from Samos, probably representing Zeus and Hera as bridegroom and bride[3], which we may suppose to have been dedicated at some human marriage. The principle

[1] *παρθένος*, *τελεία*, *χήρα*: see Farnell, *Cults*, i. 190 ff. But elaborate symbolism is foreign to early Greek religion.

[2] Farnell i. 192, 200, 208, 244. It appears to have been a very early part of the cult. Athens (Photius *s.v.*), Plataea (Paus. ix. 3. 1, 16. 5—7), Argos (Paus. ii. 17. 3), Euboea (Schol. Arist. *Pax* 1126), Hermione (Schol. Theocr. xv. 24).

[3] Farnell i. 208, 238, plate v. *b*, see fig. 37, in text. A scheme with the same attitude as the metope of Selinus appears in the fragmentary relief, from Athens (?), *Cat. Brit. Mus. Sc.* 770. The relief may, however, commemorate the ceremony; see chap. viii.

would be that of mythological precedent; and that it was natural here is seen not only from a comparison of parallels, but by the fact that Sappho in an epithalamium sings of a mythological wedding[1]. Perhaps this is the origin of an Athenian painted tablet, which bears the apotheosis of Heracles[2]. The sacrifice of a pig before marriage is attested by Varro for the Greeks of Italy[3]; and an inscription to be quoted below may refer to this. Perhaps the dedication of a garland to Hera, which Alcman speaks of, may refer to the marriage feast[4].

Some legendary dedications are connected with marriage, and are of interest as showing how natural the practice was felt to be. Pelops, when he prayed for success in his suit for Hippodamia, dedicated in Temnus an image of Aphrodite made of a growing myrtle tree[5]. Theseus, when he took Helen to wife, built a temple of Bridal Aphrodite[6]. He also dedicated in Delphi a statuette of Aphrodite which he got from Ariadne[7], and set up portraits of Ariadne in Cyprus[8]. Menelaus, after sacking Troy and recovering Helen, set up statues of Thetis and Praxidica ('exacter of punishment') hard by the temple of Aphrodite Migonitis in Gythium[9]. This temple was reputed as the foundation of Paris himself for the rape of Helen[10]: let those believe it who will, and those who will not, may choose. Icarius commemorated the wooing of Odysseus by an image of Modesty[11]. Odysseus himself founded two temples after vanquishing the competitors for Penelope's hand, but the motive must remain doubtful[12]. Equally legendary, no doubt, was the temple to Aphrodite Callipygos built by the two maidens who were so

[1] Sappho 51.

[2] Benndorf, *Gr. und Sic. Vasenb.* pl. iii.

[3] Varro *R. R.* ii. 4. 9 nuptiarum initio antiqui reges ac sublimes viri in Etruria in coniunctione nuptiali nova nupta et novus maritus primum porcum immolant. Prisci quoque Latini etiam Graeci in Italia idem factitasse videntur.

[4] Alcman 18 *καὶ τὶν εὔχομαι φέροισα τόνδ' ἐλιχρύσω πυλεῶνα κήρατῶ κυπαίρω.* Athen. xv. 618 A, 678 A.

[5] Paus. v. 13. 7.

[6] Paus. ii. 32. 7 *Νυμφία.*

[7] Plut. *Thes.* 21.

[8] Plut. *Thes.* 20.

[9] Paus. iii. 22. 2. Kuhnert conjectures Themis for Thetis, *Jahrb. f. Cl. Phil.* 1884, p. 252 n. 3 (Frazer). Praxidica is invoked in curses; see *CIA Defix. Tab.* 109. 2. 6.

[10] Paus. iii. 22. 1.

[11] Paus. iii. 20. 10: see the story there.

[12] Paus. iii. 12. 4.

proud of their figures, when they obtained rich husbands[1]. Charmus, a lover of Hippias, is said to have built an altar to Love in the Academe[2].

Maidens before marriage, originally perhaps at puberty, were accustomed to dedicate along with their hair the dolls and other toys of their past childhood, on the same principle as the warrior dedicates his worn-out arms, or the workman his tools. They also offered their veils[3], or with obvious symbolism their girdles[4]. Thus the Troezenian girls offered their girdles to Apaturian Athena[5]. Timareta, in an epigram which appears to have been copied from the stone[6], mentions drest dolls, ball, tambourine, and her own headdress[7]. Similar dedications occur of garlands, girdle[8], mirror[9], and *μίτραι*[10]. Alcibië (perhaps the well-known courtezan) dedicates her hair-net to Hera on obtaining a lawful marriage[11]. So Calliteles, on coming of age, consecrates to Hermes his hat, buckle, cloke, ball, scraper, bow and arrows[12]; Philocles to the same god ball, rattle, knuckle-bones, and bull-roarer[13].

Such things as these, being perishable and not precious, could not have survived in any numbers. Yet jointed dolls were found at Delos[14], in the shrine of the hero Amynus[15], and

[1] Ath. xii. 554 *ἦν καλλιπύγων ζεῦγος ἐν Συρακούσαις. αὗται οὖν, ἐπιλαβόμεναι οὐσίας λαμπρᾶς, ἱδρύσαντο Ἀφροδίτης ἱερόν, καλέσασαι Καλλίπυγον τὴν θεόν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ καὶ Ἀρχέλαος ἐν τοῖς ἰάμβοις.* The story is of significance as throwing light on the distinctive epithets of the gods. *Καλλίπυγος* is not meant to describe Aphrodite, but to recall the occasion.

[2] Cleidemus *ap.* Ath. xiii. 609 D.

[3] Pollux iii. 38.

[4] *αἱ γὰρ παρθένοι μέλλουσαι πρὸς μεῖξιν ἔρχεσθαι, ἀνετίθεσαν τὰς παρθενικὰς αὐτῶν ζώνας τῇ Ἀρτεμίδι*, Apostolius x. 96 in *Corp. Paroem. Gr.* ii. 513.

[5] Paus. ii. 33. 1.

[6] *ἄδηλον.*

[7] *κεκρύφαλος*: *Anth. Pal.* vi. 280 (Limnatis).

[8] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 59, 210 (Aphrodite).

[9] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 210.

[10] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 276.

[11] Archilochus, 18 Bergk: *Ἀλκιβίη πλοκάμων ἱερὴν ἀνέθηκε καλύπτρην Ἥρῃ, κουριδίων εὖτ' ἐκύρησε γάμων.* *Anth. Pal.* vi. 133. Cp. 206, 270. Compare Herod. ii. 182. The courtezans appear to have had their guilds and their own goddess, unless the curious inscr. of Paros stood alone (*AM* xviii. 17). There they worshipt *Οἰστρώ.*

[12] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 282.

[13] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 309 *παίγνια.* Compare Collitz iii. 3339[70] *Εὐφάνης Ἐπιδαύριος παῖς... ἔδοξε δὲ αὐτῶι ὁ θεὸς ἐπιστὰς εἰπεῖν, τί μοι δώσεις αἴ τυ κα ὑγιῆ ποιήσω; αὐτὸς δὲ φάμεν, δέκ' ἀστραγάλους. τὸν δὲ θεὸν γελάσαντα φάμεν νιν παυσεῖν.* In Thebes, *ἀστραγάλως πέτταρας IGS* i. 2420[22].

[14] *BCH* xi. 423.

[15] *AM* xviii. 243.

on the Acropolis at Athens[1]; dolls, masks, and grotesque heads in the Cabirium[2], at Tegea[3], at Calaurea[4], at Lysi in Arcadia[5], in the temple trench at Cnidus[6], grotesques at Naucratis[7]; and many of the innumerable clay animals found upon sacred sites may have been children's toys. In the Pelopium at Olympia were found a number of miniature bronze kettles, cymbals, small axes, and the like, some of which may have been toys[8], and a miniature bucket of silver in the sanctuary of Athena Cranaia[9]; but all these may be better explained on the principle to be set forth later[10]. The inventories include such things, but there is nothing to show why they were offered; we may however claim as toys the Delian rattles[11], the tops of Oropus[12], perhaps also four little snakes and Timothea's crab[13].

It is probable that three dedications to Limnatis belong to this place; several small cymbals have been found in Laconia, which were probably children's toys[14]. A fourth, the much discussed offering of Camo, is probably dedicated to the same deity for the same cause[15]. All the dedicators are women.

[1] In the Museum.

[2] *AM* xiii. 426, xv. 358: tops and other toys of terra-cotta and bronze, knuckle-bones, small vases, Sileni, children in goat-waggon, caricatures of lyre-players, masks, are among them, not to mention animals.

[3] *AM* iv. 170. Archaic woman on camel, man clinging under a ram.

[4] *AM* xiii. 322—3.

[5] *Jahreshefte* iv. 43, 48: satyr, cocks, horses, little axes marked as dice, swordlets, comic figures: some 5th century. Many miniature vases. But see chap. xiv.

[6] Newton, *Branch.* 397.

[7] *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* v. 72.

[8] *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textb. iv. 3. But see chap. xiv. below.

[9] *BCH* xii. 47.

[10] Chapter xiv.

[11] *BCH* ii. 431 *κρόταλον*. Cp. *παιδικὰ λίθινα ἕξ*, 325.

[12] *IGS* i. 2420[25] *στρόβιλος*.

[13] *δρακόντια, καρκίνος Τιμοθέας*, line 51 *l.c.* A number of supposed playthings of lead were found in the temple precinct of Jupiter at Tarracina: chairs, tables, and other furniture, cooking utensils, candelabrum, boy with tray, plates with viands upon them, etc. *AJA* o.s. x. 256.

[14] See *AM* xxi. 442 ff. *IGA* 50 *Λιμνᾶτις*, 61 *Ὀπωρὶς ἀνέθηκε Λιμνάτι*, 73 *Πολυανθὶς ἀνέθηκε τᾶι Λιμνάτι*: figures given. Above, p. 249[7].

[15] *Καμὼ ὖν ἔθυσε τᾶι κόρϝαι*, *Cat. Ath. Sc.* no. 7959, *IGA* 324. This seems to record the marriage sacrifice of a pig. For another interpretation see *AM* xxi. 240 ff.; it does not touch the present point. Collitz i. 373 takes *ἔθυσε=ἦν θύτης*, which would make it a ritual offering. The aorist could not be used to denote an official. It should be mentioned that the inscr. has also been read *Κάμουν=Κάμων*, a man's name (*AZ* xxxiv. 28).

There is a pair of cymbals, dedicated by a man to the same deity, and one by a man to Asclepius[1]. On this principle I would explain the woman's dedication in Plataea of "what she had on," her trinkets probably to judge from the context[2].

I do not know what to make of the bridal baskets[3], the bridal cauldron[4], and the bridegroom's footstool[5] mentioned in the Athenian Inventories. There is no proof that these were votive offerings, but they may be such.

At marriage, prayers and vows were offered for fruitfulness and prosperity[6]. It seems likely that a relief from Sicily of the second century, dedicated by a man and woman to Artemis, was offered on the occasion of marriage[7]. Artemis Eupraxia is clad in a chiton which leaves bare the right breast; in her right hand she holds a torch, in her left a basket; before her stands an altar. We may suggest the same explanation of Polystrata's offering, an Argive relief of the fifth century, showing Artemis alone clad in Doric chiton, with bow, quiver, and torch[8]; and of others which show the goddess with her usual attributes, and a female worshipper[9], or with male and female[10].

At childbirth, prayer and vow were made to various deities, no doubt to any patron deity of a tribe or a family. Hera and Artemis are the favourites. A late inscription[11] from Paros names a whole group of divinities: Hera, Demeter, Thesmophoros, the Maid, Zeus Eubuleus and Babo. Asclepius was also invoked by

[1] Fαναξίλας K, i.e. *κόραι*: *AA* xii. 73. *IPI* i. 1202.

[2] *AJA* vii. 406[74] *Ἡνιόχα τὰ ἐφ' αὐτῆς.*

[3] *κανᾶ νυμφικὰ CIA* ii. 678 B; *κανοῦν γαμικὸν* ii. 850.

[4] *λέβης νυμφικός CIA* ii. 721.

[5] *ὑπόβαθρα νυμφικὰ δύο CIA* ii. 671; *ἄρρενος ὑποβάτης* 678[55].

[6] Compare Aesch. *Eum.* 834 *πολλῆς δὲ χώρας τῆσδ' ἔτ' ἀκροθίνια, θύη πρὸ παίδων καὶ γαμηλίου τέλους.*

[7] *CIG* 5613 *b* *Πρῶτος καὶ Μενίππη Ἀρτεμίδι Εὐπραξίαι.* Farnell, *Cults*, ii. 531, 575; cp. *Anth. Pal.* vi. 276; Plut. *Aristid.* 20.

[8] *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 682 *Πολυστράτα ἀνέθηκε*: rough bottom to fix in ground or base. Farnell, *Cults*, ii. 539, pl. xxxiv. *a*. A similar one from Asopus, in private collection: Collitz iii. 4559 *Πειπὶς ἀνέθηκε Ἀρτάμι*; *AZ* xl. 145, pl. vi.

[9] *Cat. Brit. Mus. Sc.* 779: huntress Artemis, hound, altar, stag.

[10] *Cat. Brit. Mus. Sc.* 778.

[11] Athenodor. v. 15 *Ἐρασίππη Πράσωνος Ἥρῃ Δήμητρι Θεσμοφόρῳ καὶ Κόρῃ καὶ Διὶ Εὐβουλεῖ καὶ Βαβοῖ.* Farnell, ii. 194, takes it, no doubt rightly, as a thank-offering after childbirth.

the would-be mother[1]. On such occasions a title appropriate would be added, as Courotrophos to Athena[2] and Demeter[3], Epilysamene to Demeter[4], Eileithyia to Hera[5] and to Artemis[6], Locheia to Artemis; and it appears that Eileithyia and Lecho are titles of the divine powers, personified as the protectors of childbirth[7]. The spirits who preside over childbirth were also called Genetyllides[8]. The scanty evidence goes to show that the prayer for a safe delivery was often accompanied by the dedication of a veil or hair-net or some such trifle[9]. Articles of dress were also offered after the birth: sandals it might be, or a part of the robe, a girdle, a breast-band[10]. Later we find these offerings made to Aphrodite; the girl in Theocritus intended her breast-band for this purpose[11]. The clothes of women who died in childbirth were left at the grave of Iphigenia in Halae[12]. Herodotus says that women made a special practice of dedicating their pins in Argos and Aegina[13]. Perhaps some of the dresses dedicated to Artemis Brauronia or to an unknown deity at Thebes were due to childbirth or the like[14]; and the beautiful pins, earrings, fibulae and diadems of Lysi in Arcadia, offered to Artemis[15]. There seems to have been a kind of churching for women, sitting publicly in the shrine of Eileithyia[16].

Women's dedications to Eileithyia, in Laconian Eleuthia,

[1] *Cures of Epid.*, 333$9^{7}$.

[2] The ἀμφιδρόμια were held in honour of Athena Κουροτρόφος: Eudocia, no. 54.

[3] *CIA* iii. 172, etc.

[4] Hesych. *s.v.* Ἐπιλυσαμένη.

[5] Argos, Hesych. *s.v.* Ἥρα ἐν Ἄργει; Athens, inscr. in Roscher, col. 2091 (Farnell). Dedications to Hera, *Anth. Pal.* vi. 243.

[6] Farnell, ii. 615^{2}, gives reff.: Attica, Sparta, Boeotia, Crete. Compare *Anth. Pal.* vi. 201, 271, and see *IGS* i. 3214, 3385—6, 3410—12, Ἀπόλλωνος Δαφναφορίῳ Ἀρτάμιδος Σοωδίνας 3407.

[7] So also Farnell, ii. p. 608. Compare *Anth. Pal.* vi. 200. In Sparta we find an old dedication to Lecho: Λεχοῖ *IGA* 52.

[8] Paus. i. 1. 5, Aristoph. *Clouds*, 52.

[9] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 270—274, 276.

[10] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 200 Eileithyia, 201, 271, 272 Artemis.

[11] Theocr. xxvii. 54 φεῦ φεῦ, καὶ τὰν μίτραν ἀπέσχισας· ἐς τί δ' ἔλυσας; τᾷ Παφίᾳ πράτιστον ἐγὼ τόδε δῶρον ὀπάζω. In Herodotus ii. 181 Ladice vows a statue to Aphrodite ἥν οἱ ὑπ' ἐκείνην τὴν νύκτα μιχθῇ ὁ Ἄμασις.

[12] Eurip. *I. T.* 1464.

[13] Herod. v. 88.

[14] *CIA* ii. 751 ff.; *IGS* i. 2421.

[15] *Jahreshefte* iv. 51 ff., diff. dates.

[16] Isaeus v. 39 τὴν δὲ μητέρα τὴν αὐτοῦ καθημένην ἐν τῷ τῆς Εἰληθυίας ἱερῷ πάντες ἑώρων, καὶ τούτῳ ἐγκαλοῦσαν ἃ ἐγὼ αἰσχύνομαι λέγειν, οὗτος δὲ ποιῶν οὐκ ᾐσχύνετο.

Eleusia, or Lecho, are not uncommon[1], but what was the thing dedicated does not appear. A woman offers a bowl to Eileithyia in Delos[2], and an amphora in Peiraeus to the Nursing Mother[3]. The Acropolis vases dedicated to Aphrodite have been already mentioned[4].

Existing remains are few. We may perhaps regard as a wife's offering the silver pin dedicated to Hera which was found in Argolis[5], and a gilded bronze pin from Cyprus[6]. Innumerable brooches, pins, armlets, and suchlike ornaments have been found in the Argive Heraeum[7], and one of the mirrors is inscribed with a woman's dedication[8]. A number of women's ornaments are mentioned in the inventories, but it is impossible to decide upon what occasion offered. In Delos we find Melitta's crystal or glass unguent box[9], a bronze mirror[10], golden pins[11], and buttons, earrings, necklets or armlets, headbands, fly-flappers, and rouge-pots[12]. In a shrine on the Acropolis slope, probably the Asclepieum, we find mention of earrings[13]. Perhaps it was on such an occasion that Roxana sent a gold vase and necklet to Athens[14]. The shrine of Athena Cranaia has yielded up a gold bangle[15], with buckles, hair-pins, spirals, and fibulae of bronze[16]. At Dodona was found a mirror dedicated by a woman[17]. A glass ring and toilet-casket, inscribed to Habrothaus, have been found in Cyprus[18].

[1] Collitz iii. 4584 (Hippola), 4462 Λεχοῖ (Sparta), 4466 Ἀφροδῖται (*ibid.*), Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1900, 59 Aphr. (Thessaly), all by women: 4431 Μαχανίδας ἀνέθηκε τᾶι Ἐλευσίαι (Sparta).

[2] *BCH* vi. 34, line 50.

[3] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1885, 94 Νικοστράτη Κουροτρόφωι.

[4] *AA* viii. 147; above, p. 246[13].

[5] τᾶς Ἥρας (archaic): *AA* xii. 196: in British Museum.

[6] *JHS* ix. 223, pl. xi.: Ἀφροδίτη Παφία Εὐβούλα εὐχὴν ἡ γύνη ἡ Ἀράτου τοῦ συγγενοῦς καὶ Ταμίσα.

[7] *Bronzes*: Inventory 1105 ff. rings of various sizes, 1571 ff. mirrors, 1614 ff. small discs perforated, 1695 ff. the same larger.

[8] *Bronzes*, 1581.

[9] *BCH* ii. 430[6] ἐξάλειπτρον ὐάλινον Μελίττης.

[10] *BCH* ii. 430[10] κάτροπτον [*sic*] χαλκοῦν.

[11] *BCH* vi. 38[85] πόρπη χρυσῆ.

[12] *BCH* vi. 125 ἀσπιδίσκη, ἐνώιτιον, ἐνωιτίδιον, ἐξάλειπτρα, μυοσόβαι, περισκελίς, περόνη, πόρπη, στλεγγίς, στλεγγίδιον, φυκία χρυσᾶ, ψέλιον.

[13] *BCH* iii. 125.

[14] *CIA* ii. 737.

[15] *BCH* xii. 46.

[16] *BCH*. xii. 54.

[17] Collitz ii. 1369; Carapanos, *Dodone*, xxv. 1: Πολυξένα ταγὲν ἀνατίθητι τοῖ Δὶ καὶ χρήματα.

[18] Collitz i. 129—130 Δαβίδης Ἀβροθάωι.

As regards the other offerings made on this occasion, we read of one or two temples which were due to it. Helen, after bringing forth a daughter, is said to have founded a temple of Eileithyia in Argos[1]. Again, the women of Elis, long barren, when at length they found themselves with child, built one to Athena the Mother[2]. The image of the protecting deity here as elsewhere is a natural offering. Phaedra is said to have dedicated two ancient statues of Eileithyia[3]. A statue of Artemis offered at childbirth is attested by an inscription[4]. There exists also a late statuette of Eileithyia dedicated by a woman[5]; and a pillar inscribed with the name of Asclepius probably supported a statue of him dedicated on the like occasion[6]. Perchance the archaic statue of Artemis, dedicated at Delos by a woman, belongs to this class[7]. Little altars are often dedicated to Artemis the Nurse in Roman times[8].

Three ancient reliefs from Argos are dedicated to the Eumenides by women, and the connexion of these beings with childbirth has been already indicated[9]. The three goddesses stand, holding each a snake in the right hand and a flower in the left, with worshippers in their presence[10]. A relief of two female figures with torches may refer to this occasion[11].

The most characteristic records of this occasion are those which represent the act or process blest by the god. This class is represented by groups of statuary or small figures, and by reliefs. An archaic marble statue from Sparta represents a female figure kneeling, with a small male figure on her right holding one hand to his lips, while on the other a second male figure presses his hand over the woman's womb. It should be remembered that women in ancient Greece knelt to

[1] Paus. ii. 22. 6.

[2] Paus. v. 3. 2.

[3] Paus. i. 18. 5.

[4] *CIG* 24 *Ἄρτεμι, σοὶ τόδ' ἄγαλμ' ἱερῆισ' ὠδῖσιν* **ἀμοιβὴν** *Ἀσφαλίω μήτηρ Φέρσις* **Ἕρω** *θυγάτηρ* (Peloponnesus).

[5] Sybel 3153 *Βαλθία Ἀλεξάνδρου ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῆς Εἰλειθυίη σωζούση εὐχήν.*

[6] Sybel 7215: the inscr., much damaged, contains the words *Ἀσκληπιέ, ἀνέθηκε γυνή, ὑὸν ἔβρυον.*

[7] *BCH* ii. 4 *Νικάνδρη μ' ἀνέθηκεν ἠκηβόλωι ἰοχεαίρηι Φούρη Δεινοδόκηο τοῦ Ναξίου ἔξοχος ἄλλων, Δεινομένους δὲ κασιγνήτη, Φράξου δ' ἄλοχός* **με.**

[8] *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1896, 54 *Ἀρτέμιδι Κουροτρόφῳ χαριστήριον* or *εὐχήν.*

[9] Aesch. *Eum.* 835. Pregnant sheep sacrificed to them at Sicyon, Paus. ii. 11. 4. See p. 246.

[10] *AM* iv. pl. ix., x.; Collitz iii. 3279 f. (name) *Εὐμενίσιν εὐχάν.*

[11] *BCH* iii. 195.

bring forth a child[1]. These two guardian daemons are doubtless assisting at the birth, one as a midwife does, the other signing for silence from inauspicious words[2]. A statue in a similar pose comes from Myconos[3], and a relief from Cyprus[4]. Nude female figures, apparently lying down, with one hand held to the breast, have been found at Naucratis; and these were perhaps thank-offerings for childbirth[5]. An ivory casket from Athens unmistakably portrays a birth. The newly-delivered mother kneels on the ground, and by her side stands a female figure, much damaged, which supports her with one hand. As this figure holds a lance or staff she is interpreted to be Athena. The midwife is bathing the babe. On the left another female figure is standing, half-draped, with a long staff in the left hand, and in her right she holds a jug. I suggest that this casket may have been dedicated as a mother's thank-offering, although there is nothing to prove it[6]. Perhaps I might venture to suggest further, that the female figure of gold sent by Croesus to Delphi, and called locally his 'baker-woman,' was really a woman (his queen perhaps) in the attitude of child-birth, which might easily be mistaken for one kneading dough, or even so miscalled in jest. It should be noted that his queen's girdles and trinkets are mentioned along with it[7].

[1] Homer, *Apoll. Del.* 116 ff., and other citations in an article on this group by Marx, *AM* x. 177 f. It was the position of the image of Eileithyia in Tegea (Paus. viii. 48. 5), which no male eye might see (ii. 35. 11).

[2] *AM* x. pl. vi.

[3] *Mon. dell' Inst.* i. 44; *AM* x. 187.

[4] Cesnola, *Collection of Cypr. Ant.*, i. pl. 66.

[5] *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* v. 83, pl. xiv.

[6] Schöne 149, who refers it to the child Dionysus. I differ entirely from him; the scene as sketcht has every appearance of a transcript from real life. In the sketch, the kneeling figure appears to be naked from the waist down. She is pouring water from a jug into the basin. Without seeing the original it is impossible to judge how far the reproduction is accurate; but I see no trace of an aegis, and if the 'lance' were not so clear this figure would be better taken as a mid-wife or an attendant. The figure on the right may then be Hecate or Eileithyia with a torch.

[7] Herod. i. 51 *γυναικὸς εἴδωλον χρύσεον τρίπηχυ, τὸ Δελφοὶ τῆς ἀρτοκόπου τῆς Κροίσου εἰκόνα λέγουσι εἶναι. πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ γυναικὸς τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς δείρης ἀνέθηκε ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ τὰς ζώνας.* Compare the dedication in Plataea, *Ἡνιόχα τὰ ἐφ' αὑτῆς*, *AJA* vii. 406 [74].— It is fair to add that Plutarch says this baker had saved Croesus' life, and the figure was dedicated in gratitude, *Pyth. Or.* 10.

Other reliefs show different moments. Some from Cyprus have the figure of a woman seated upon a chair, and holding a swathed infant. There is fruit in one hand, and beside her a child stands, also holding a fruit[1]. In a relief from Sigeum, the enthroned figure seems to represent Eileithyia or some suitable divinity: to her approach three women bearing infants upon their arms, and a fourth with a dish or casket[2]. One 'harpist' relief may belong to this place. Apollo, holding lyre and bowl, stands beside Artemis (who pours a libation), Leto and a female figure who is inscribed Κουροτρόφος holding a torch; a male worshipper stands near, holding up one hand[3]. An archaic Italian relief in terra-cotta, where Aphrodite holds Eros on her arm, is too vague to interpret[4].

An attempt has been made to show that the mysterious relief of the Acropolis, where Athena is seen leaning upon a spear in an attitude of grief, and contemplating a square pillar with nothing upon it, is really a dedication to her as Nursing Mother[5]. A vase is cited which shows a similar scheme, but a child's figure is upon the pillar, and the pillar bears a dedicatory inscription[6]. The child's figure on the relief is assumed to have been painted. If this be correct (and it is most ingenious), the relief will be an example of 'divine precedent'; for Athena is supposed to be contemplating the infant Erichthonius. To the same occasion M. Lechat assigns a relief of the fourth century, where a babe lies on the ground between Demeter and the Maid[7]; one which shows a man and a small child before Athena[8]; and one where are a man and wife, with

[1] *Cat. Cypr. Mus.* (Idalion) 6311, 6313.

[2] *Cat. Brit. Mus. Sc.* 789: there taken to be the base of a statue. Similar Roman reliefs show the mother with a child in her arms, or the child being given to her, with other figures: *Arch.-Epigr. Mitth.* xix. 1 ff. Pettau, 18 Italy.

[3] *AA* ix. 26: 5th cent., oldest of the Harpist class, and the only one with dedicator. If it really belongs to birth, this is evidence that the harp has no special meaning in these reliefs.

[4] Farnell, *Cults*, ii. 697, pl. xlviii.

[5] H. Lechat, *Mon. et Mém.* iii. 21, pl. i.

[6] Benndorf, *Gr. und Sic. Vasenb.* xxxi. 1.

[7] *AZ* xxv. 94* ἀνεθήκην (*sic*); cp. Benndorf 57.

[8] Schöne 87.

a child in a tub or basket on the ground[1]. These he interprets to represent the ceremony of the father's acknowledgment.

The act or process is also represented by small figures of nursing mothers, which cannot be meant for the deity[2]. Many have been found in Sicily and Paestum, and although the place of their finding is not conclusive, they were probably a votive type[3]. One of them appears to represent a woman in childbed[4]. We know that the Sicilians used to pray to the Mothers and make them rich offerings[5]. In Cyprus, a great many have been found within temple precincts. In one case the infant holds up its hand in the familiar attitude of adoration[6]. Sometimes a female figure enthroned holds the infant[7]. The figure of a woman erect, holding a child on her arm, was found in an ancient shrine of the healing hero Amynus at Athens[8]. A large archaic group of a woman suckling a child comes from Sparta[9]; and statuettes with the same subject have been found on the Acropolis of Athens[10]. One mother, in Roman times, dedicates an image of her breast to Aphrodite, a cruder hint of the idea[11]. From the Argive Heraeum comes the unmistakable figure of a pregnant woman[12], but I know no parallel.

The modern Greek regularly dedicates her silver babe, in its swaddlings, or even the cradles they lie in, made of the same metal[13]; and it seems to us natural that the ancients should

[1] Schöne 66.

[2] We have one piece of direct evidence in the late romance of *Chaereas and Callirrhoe*. A mother places her babe in the arms of Aphrodite's statue, and the writer says: *καὶ ὤφθη θέαμα κάλλιστον, οἷον οὔτε ζῴγραφος ἔγραψεν οὔτε πλάστης ἔπλασεν οὔτε ποιητὴς ἱστόρησε μέχρι νῦν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐποίησεν Ἄρτεμιν ἢ Ἀθηνᾶν βρέφος ἐν ἀγκάλαις κομίζουσαν* (iii. 8).

[3] Kekulé, *Terracotten von Sic.*, 8, 19, 23; Gerhard, *Ant. Denkm.*, 96. 8.

[4] Kekulé, *Terracotten*, fig. 38.

[5] Diod. iv. 79 *τῶν ματέρων ... ἀναθήμασι πολλοῖς κοσμοῦντες τὸ ἱερὸν αὐτῶν*. Cp. *CIG* 5570 *b*, 5748 *f*; *IGS* 2407. 7 *a—c*. Cp. Usener, *Götternamen*, 124 ff.; *AJA* 1895, 209 ff.

[6] *Cat. Cypr. Mus.*: Idalion 109, nos. 3095—9; Chytri 149, nos. 5217—47; Citium 153, no. 5520.

[7] *Cat. Cypr. Mus.* 5217 ff.

[8] *AM* xviii. 243.

[9] *AM* ii. 297. No. 1 in Dressel-Milchhöfer's Catalogue.

[10] In the Museum.

[11] Sybel 4542 **Ἀφροδίτη** *ἐν τόκοις*.

[12] *Excavations of the Am. Sch.: the Heraion*, I., pl. viii. 19.

[13] So in India: *North Ind. Notes and Queries*, 1893, 198 Saharanpur: "Close to the temple of the Deib, under a tree, on a raised platform, I found the broken

have done the same for the child granted like Samuel in answer to prayer[1]. Yet I can find no evidence for this, even at the time when models of limbs were so common. The marble figures of little children found beside the Ilissus, hard by a dedication to Eileithyia, are not infants; and their interpretation remains doubtful[2]. Equally doubtful are the figures of young children found in the Cabirium, which are most likely toys[3].

head of an image of Debi surrounded by wooden statuettes representing children. Women who pray for birth or longevity of children visit this place, and offer these wooden statuettes touched by the hand of the children."

[1] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 357 ἐξ εὐχῆς τοκέων.

[2] *AM* ii. 197.

[3] *AM* xv. 363.

VII.

MEMORIALS OF HONOUR AND OFFICE.

ἡ δὲ μικροφιλοτιμία δόξειεν ἂν εἶναι ὄρεξις τιμῆς ἀνελεύθερος.

THEOPHRASTUS.

οὔτ' ἂν ἐγὼ Σερίφιος ὢν ἐγενόμην ἔνδοξος, οὔτε σὺ Ἀθηναῖος.

THEMISTOCLES.

IT does not appear that in early times an official dedicated a thank-offering for his office as a matter of course. Only a few instances are found, and we should regard these as due to the same feeling of gratitude which prompts freewill offerings in other cases. In the sixth century we find two altars which may be referred to such an occasion. At Athens the Peisistratids, we are told, kept up the old forms of government, but took care that one of themselves should be archon; and Peisistratus, son of Hippias, who held this office under his father, set up an altar in the market-place to the Twelve Gods, and one to Apollo in the Pythium[1], the inscription of which still remains[2]. Another altar from Amorgos bears an inscription of the same date, recording that it was the offering of two archons[3]. An archon of Ceos makes a thank-offering to Aphrodite[4]. In the year 408/7 the Athenian prytanes of the Erechtheid tribe made a joint dedication to the

[1] Thuc. vi. 54. 6 *Πεισίστρατος ὁ Ἱππίου τοῦ τυραννεύσαντος υἱός...ὃς τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν βωμὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἄρχων ἀνέθηκε καὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν Πυθίου.*

[2] *CIA* iv. *Suppl.* 1. 373 *e*, p. 41: *μνῆμα τόδ' ἧς ἀρχῆς Πεισίστρατος Ἱππίου υἱὸς θῆκεν Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου ἐν τεμένει.*

[3] *BCH* vi. 189 *ἄρχοντες.*

[4] *IGA* 397 *ἄρξας.*

goddess[1]. It is stated that the Athenian college of archons used to dedicate an inscribed herm in the Street of Herms if they had reason to be proud of themselves[2]; and when the Long Walls were begun, they did erect a statue of Hermes[3]. A state herald dedicates a statue of Hermes for a memorial[4]. There is a pillar dedicated on the Acropolis before 480 by an overseer of moneys[5]. Herodotus saw a tripod at Thebes, reputed to have been dedicated by Laodamas to Apollo during his rule[6]. Pausanias also dedicated at Byzantium a bronze bowl as a memorial of his rule[7]. There is even apparently one of that class of offerings which indicates the human activity or process blest by the god: the figure of a man seated, and apparently writing upon tablets, which may be that of a recorder or temple steward, found upon the Athenian citadel[8]. Probably we should also add the ancient statue of Chares, potentate of Teichiusa, which he set up at Branchidae to the glory of Apollo[9]; whether this be regarded as another instance of the plastic representation of human activity, or (in view of the eastern character) as mere self-glorification.

Later, the number of these dedications increases so enormously, that it appears to become the regular thing that an official should make an offering on taking or leaving office[10]. It is in the fourth century that this change begins, and it coincides with other changes in the old simple ways, which rob the

[1] Κατ. 99; *CIA* 338.

[2] Harpocr. *s.v.* Ἑρμαῖ; cp. Dem. *Lept.* 491.

[3] Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, i. 208.

[4] *CIA* iv. 1. 482, *μνημοσύνης ἕνεκα*. For Hermes as the herald's patron see Aesch. *Suppl.* 895.

[5] *CIA* iv. 1. 373[237], p. 199: **ἀνέθηκεν** Ἀθηναία Χαιρίων **τα**μιεύων. So ii. 1209 *ταμίας*.

[6] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 8. Herod. v. 61 *Λαοδάμας τρίποδ' αὐτὸν ἐϋσκόπῳ Ἀπόλλωνι μουναρχέων ἀνέθηκε τεὴν περικαλλὲς ἄγαλμα*.

[7] Herod. iv. 81; inscribed according to Nymphis (Athen. xii. 536 *b*) *μνῆμ' ἀρετᾶς ἀνέθηκε, Ποσειδάωνι ἄνακτι Παυσανίας, ἄρχων Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόρου, πόντου ἐπ' Εὐξείνου, Λακεδαιμόνιος γένος, υἱὸς Κλευμβρότου, ἀρχαίας Ἡρακλέος γενεᾶς*.

[8] *AM* v. 174, pl. vi. (so Furtwängler). Perhaps the recorder of the old Acropolis inscriptions is a case in point: above, note 5.

[9] *IGA* 488 *Χάρης εἰμὶ ὁ Κλείσιος Τειχιούσης ἀρχός· ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος*.

[10] This appears from the aorist tense generally used. The present implies that the dedication is made during office, and its cause can only be inferred.

votive offering of its grace and moral worth, and turn it into a formality. There are indications that these offerings, with those for victory in the games, were even made compulsory by law. A decree of an Attic deme exists which is not likely to be unique in Attica. It appears that the deme, whether by battle, earthquake, or other cause, had fallen on evil days, so that money was scarce for religious purposes; and it was consequently decided that every person elected to an office should pay a contribution. The decree proposes a vote of thanks to a man who had undertaken to help in rebuilding the shrines and in placing offerings in them[1]. A similar record comes from Caria[2]. Here the dedication has become a duty, like the liturgies; and that it was also regarded as a personal honour is clear from inscriptions which expressly give leave to dedicate[3]. Thus the freewill gratitude of earlier days has given place to a feeling which is partly public spirit and partly pride. We are not surprised, therefore, to find dedications made not only to the gods, but to the people.

At Athens, the Senate appears to have made a yearly dedication to Athena at Athens[4], and perhaps to the goddesses at Eleusis[5]. One altar exists dedicated by them to Aphrodite Guide of the People and to the Graces[6]. We now find these dedications made by the Archon[7], the Basileus[8], the Polemarch[9],

[1] *CIA* ii. 588 (late 4th cent.): *καὶ ἀναθήματα ἀναθήσειν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς προσαναλίσκων τοῖς δημόταις παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆι ἐπαρχῆι ἣν ἐπάρχονται οἱ δημόται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἕκαστος ἧς ἂν λάχηι, εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων...ὑπὲρ ὑγιείας αὐτῶν* **καὶ τῆς τοῦ δήμου** *σωτηρίας*. Compare 741 *e* dedications *κατὰ τὸν νόμον*.

[2] *AM* xv. 261 *ὅπως μηθὲν τῶν συμφερόντων παραλείπηται, δέδοχθαι ὅσοι ἂν τῶν φυλετῶν τιμηθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῆς φυλῆς ...ἀνατιθέναι ἕκαστον τῶι Διὶ τῶι Ὑαρβεσυτῶν ποτήριον ἀργυροῦν ἢ φιάλην ἀπὸ δραχμῶν Ἀλεξανδρείων ἑκατόν*, inscribed with the occasion, and weight, within six months; *ἐὰν δὲ ἀφ' ἑτέρας φυλῆς ὑπάρχων τις τιμηθῆι ἀνατιθέτω ἐν τῶι αὐτῶι χρόνωι ποτήρια τρία ἢ φιέλας (sic) τρεῖς.*

[3] *IGI* iii. 170 (Astypalaea): to an *ἀγορανόμος*: *ἐξέστω δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ ἀνάθημα ἀναθέμεν ὅπαι κε χρήιζηι τᾶς ἀγορᾶς.* Not in a temple now, observe.

[4] *CIA* ii. 652[46] *μάχαιρα...ταύτην ἡ βουλὴ ἀνέθηκεν* **ἡ ἐπὶ**...; or crowns (list in 698, restored from others). 741 *e* adds *κατὰ τὸν νόμον*.

[5] *CIA* iv. 2. 767 *b*[48] *φιάλη*.

[6] *CIA* iv. 1161 *b ἡγεμόνει τοῦ δήμου*.

[7] *CIA* ii. 1325, 1348, iii. 88, 97; apparently golden crowns in ii. 698 (371 B.C.). So down to Augustus iii. 1. 88.

[8] *CIA* iii. 95 (Trajan).

[9] *CIA* iii. 91 (Trajan).

the strategus[1], the archon of a clan[2], by thesmothets[3], curators[4], secretaries[5], inspectors of markets[6]; demarch[7], gymnasiarch[8], lampadarch[9]; so the priest[10] or sacrificer[11], the leader of a pilgrimage or religious procession[12], the *πυροφόρος*[13], Superintendent of the Mysteries[14], or of any public place[15], by a board chosen to make a statue of Aphrodite[16] or Dionysus[17]. Demetrius of Phalerum, on being chosen Epistates, makes his offering with the rest[18]. The gymnasiarch at the Dionysia appears once at least to have dedicated tripods[19]. Officials of a guild dedicate a great silver goblet[20], with many fine offerings[21]. The ephebes by custom offered a silver bowl at the Eleusinian Mysteries[22], to the Mother of the gods[23], to Dionysus[24], as it would appear in short at all the great public feasts they were concerned in; the cosmete would join in the offering[25], and the gymnasiarch dedicate arms[26]. The ephebes make a dedication to Hermes when their training is over[27].

In other parts of the Greek world we find the same practice observed within the same limits of time; for earlier days there is no evidence. The earliest official dedication of a prytany outside Attica comes from Corcyra in the fourth or third century

[1] *στρατηγὸς χειροτονηθείς*, *CIA* iv. 2. 1206 *b*; ii. 1195, about 200; 1206—7, in the year 97/6, to Aphrodite Euploia.

[2] *CIA* ii. 1359.

[3] *CIA* ii. 1187.

[4] *CIA* ii. 1209 *ἐπιμεληταὶ καὶ ταμίαι.*

[5] *CIA* iii. 87.

[6] *CIA* iii. 98 *ἀγορανόμος.*

[7] *CIA* ii. 1211.

[8] *CIA* ii. 1227; of a tribe at the Panathenaea 1181; iv. 2. 1233 *b* Rhamnus.

[9] *CIA* ii. 1228 to the Muses.

[10] *CIA* ii. 1205.

[11] *CIA* ii. 1329 *ἱεροποιήσαντες*, iii. 94 *ἱερατεύσασα.*

[12] *CIA* ii. 1325 *πομποστολήσας*; base, Sybel 4999 (2nd cent.).

[13] To Artemis: Collitz iii. 3333—4.

[14] *CIA* ii. 1148 *ἐπιμελητὴς τῶν μυστηρίων γενόμενος.*

[15] *CIA* iii. 89.

[16] *CIA* ii. 1208, dedicated to Aphrodite.

[17] *CIA* iv. 2. 1211 *b.*

[18] *CIA* ii. 584, if correctly restored.

[19] *CIA* iv. 2. 373 *g.*

[20] *CIA* iv. 2. 615 *b ποτήριον.*

[21] *CIA* iv. 2. 673 *d.*

[22] *CIA* ii. 467 *φιάλην Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρηι χαριστήριον.*

[23] *CIA* ii. 467, 468 etc.

[24] *CIA* ii. 470.

[25] *CIA* ii. 471[79].

[26] *CIA* ii. 594 *ἀνέθηκεν δὲ καὶ ὅπλα ὀκτώ* (shields).

[27] *CIA* ii. 1225 ff., iv. 2. 1225 *b*, *d*. In the archonship of Heracleides there was only a solitary one: 1226 *c*.

and is inscribed to Artemis[1]; others more detailed contain the official title[2]. The Damiorgi of Megara[3], and all the public officials of Acrae[4] and Himera[5] in Sicily, make joint offerings to Aphrodite. In Delos the archon was supposed to make a yearly gift to the temple treasury[6]. Dedications are made by the archon in Olbia[7], by the poliarchs in Thessaly[8], by the cosmetes in Crete[9], by the strategus in Olbia[10] and Rhodes[11], by the hieromnamons in Epidaurus[12] and the mnamons in Acrae[13], by the agoranomus in Opus[14], Amorgos[15], Olbia[16], Sicinos[17], and many places[18], by gymnasiarchs in Delos[19], Lesbos[20], Melos[21], Tegea[22], Iulis[23], by the agonothet in Branchidae[24] and other parts of Asia[25], Boeotia[26], Opus[27], Selymbria[28], by the recorder at Cnidus[29], by the harbour-master at Thespiae[30], by a senator in Sparta[31].

The largest number of such dedications are connected with the priesthood or temple service. Oldest I should also have said, were it certain that priests dedicated their own statues, or that the state did this for them; but although statues of these officials existed, there is no information as to who dedicated them, and on what occasion. Most of this class are

[1] *IGS* iii. 1. 706 Φιλόξενος Αἰσχρίωνος καὶ συνάρχοι Ἀρτάμιτι.

[2] *IGS* iii. 1. 706—10 πρυτανεύσας.

[3] Collitz iii. 3030.

[4] Collitz iii. 3240 ff.; *IGSI* 209 ff.

[5] *IGSI* 313.

[6] *BCH* vi.

[7] *CIG* 2076, Achilles Pontarches.

[8] Collitz i. 1330 Ἀθάνα Πολιάδι οἱ πτολιάρχοι.

[9] *BCH* xiii. 69 Ἑρμᾶι Δρομίωι.

[10] *CIG* 2067 ff., Apollo Prostates.

[11] *IGI* iii. 1077.

[12] Collitz iii. 3328. *IPI* i. 978 ff.

[13] *IGSI* 204 ἀγναῖς θεαῖς μναμονεύσαις.

[14] *IGS* iii. 1. 282.

[15] *AM* xxi. 199.

[16] *CIG* 2078 *f*.

[17] *CIG* 2447 *d* Ἑρμῆ.

[18] Hirschfeld, *Zeitschr. f. öst. Gymn.* 1882, p. 502—3, quotes fourteen examples.

[19] *BCH* xv. 251, Apollo and Hermes.

[20] *IGI* ii. 134.

[21] *CIG* 2430 ὑπογυμνασιαρχήσας, Hermes and Heracles.

[22] *CIG* 1517.

[23] *CIG* 2367 *c*, *d* Ἑρμῆι.

[24] The five agonothets offer each a φιάλη: unpublisht (kindly communicated by M. Haussoullier).

[25] *AM* xix. 37 Magnesia; Newton, *Halic.* 802[103] Bargylia.

[26] *IGS* i. 3091, 1830 τὸν ἔρωτα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῶι προναίωι θυρώματα ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπεσκεύασεν.

[27] *IGS* iii. 1. 282.

[28] Collitz iii. 3071.

[29] Collitz iii. 3511 γραμματεύων βουλᾶι Ἀθανᾶι Νικηφόρωι καὶ Ἑστίαι Βουλαίαι (3rd cent.).

[30] *IGS* i. 1826 λιμεναρχήσας δὶς Διοσκούροις καὶ τῆι πόλει.

[31] Collitz iii. 4465 γεροντεύων, τῶι Δελφιδίωι.

honorific and of late date[1]. This is however the proper place to mention that the statues of the priestesses of Hera at Argos, but of what period is not plain, were seen before her temple[2]. The same is related of the temple of Demeter at Hermion[3], and the shrine of the Eumenides at Cerynea in Achaia[4]. There is some evidence for priestly statues at Athens (and the figure of Lysimache has been claimed for one[5]), but not enough to show custom. The Butadae, a very ancient Athenian clan descended from the early kings, furnisht the priestesses of Athena Polias and the priests of Erechtheus, who were both worshipt in the Erechtheum. Paintings of the Butadae were on the walls of that temple[6], and wooden statues of the orator Lycurgus and his sons (who belonged to the family) were also there[7]. Habron dedicated their pedigree on his election to the priesthood, and no doubt all the statues had reference to this right. A priest's statue stood in the temple of Artemis at Cnidus[8]. If this really was an early custom, the statues were doubtless properly characterised, and will have represented the priest's function in plastic form. Mere portraits they could not have been.

In later times priestly dedications are very common. Hierarchs[9], priests[10], overseers of sacrifice[11], and their staff[12] occur amongst these, but the usual designation is vague[13]. The

[1] Thus a priestess characterised, holding a patera, is dedicated by her son in Rhamnus: *CIA* iv. 1380 *b*.

[2] Paus. ii. 17. 3. The *canephorus* cited here by Frazer was a tithe; see above, p. 79.

[3] Paus. ii. 35. 8.

[4] Paus. vii. 25. 7.

[5] Frazer on Paus. ii. 346, quoting *CIA* ii. 1377—8, 1386, 1392 *b*, all late and of no account for our argument.

[6] Paus. i. 26. 5.

[7] Plut. *X. Orat.* 39.

[8] Collitz iii. 3502.

[9] *BCH* xix. 375.

[10] Cyprus: Collitz i. 1. Lindos: *IGI* i. 788. Rhamnus: Sybel 6221. Athens: *CIA* iv. 2. 1205 *b*, on becoming priestess for life. Epidaurus: *IPI* i. 995 ff.

[11] ἀρχιεροθύτας *IGS* i. 788, δαμιουργήσας 704, 705, ἱεραρχήσας Thebes *IGS* i. 2480, ἐπιστάται Delos *BCH* ix. 155.

[12] ἱεροποιοί *IGS* i. 705 Lindos, *IGS* i. 653 Ithaca (archaic), *CIA* ii. 1333 Attica, Delos (yearly) *BCH* ix. 155.

[13] ἱερατεύσασα Athens *CIA* iii. 94, Halicarnassus *CIG* 2661 *b*, ἱερητεύσας Boeotia *IGS* i. 3097, cp. 3215, 3219, Delos *BCH* xii. 250, Corcyra *IGS* iii. 1. 712, Rhodes *IGI* i. 31, 62, 825, 832, etc. (regular), ἐπιλαχὼν ἱερεύς 833; ἱαρατεύουσα Boeotia *IGS* i. 3216; ἱεροθυτήσας Rhodes *IGI* i. 836; ἱαριτεύων Cyrene Collitz iii. 4841 ff.; ἱαριτεύσαντε 4649 (Messenia); two women θευκολήσασαι Aetolia *IGS* iii. 1. 421.

inferior temple officials, such as *ζάκορος*[1], *πυρφόρος*[2], *στεφανηφόρος*[3], *ὑδροφόρος*[4], *προφήτης*[5], are not wanting, nor the band-master himself[6] and the sacred crier[7]. A whole group often act together; as in the dedication to Zeus Soter and Aphrodite, apparently made after some games[8], or in the sacrificial body mentioned above[9], or these and the mystae in Samothrace[10].

The priest of Apollo at Thebes often, if not regularly, used to dedicate a tripod[11]. The sacrificial staff at Cos appears to have made periodic dedications[12]. A woman who carried the jar of water in the rites at Branchidae, dedicated a vessel of some sort in memory of the occasion[13].

The occasion of these offerings cannot be distinctly made out: it cannot be stated, that is, how far they were thank-offerings for election to the office, and how far due to special occasions. The formula now and then seems to indicate that the election itself is the reason[14]; and a similar idea perhaps suggested Peisistratus' altar[15]. But such phrases as 'thank-offering' tell us nothing[16], while those which were made in obedience to a dream[17] do not belong to this place at all. It is fair to assume that where the aorist participle is used, the offering has a direct reference to the office[18]; the present participle implies only that the dedicator was in office at the time. It is possible that where the present participle is used, all, as certainly some, were paid for out of the temple funds and that

[1] *CIA* iii. 102; Asclep. and Hyg.

[2] Argolis: *CIG* 1178 *ἱερεὺς πυρφόρος*. *IPI* i. 1050 ff.

[3] *CIG* 2713 *στεφανηφορῶν*.

[4] *CIG* 2886 *ὑδροφοροῦσα*.

[5] Rhodes: *IGI* i. 833.

[6] *μολπαρχήσας*, Amorgos, *BCH* xv. 597.

[7] *ἱεροκῆρυξ*, Amorgos, *BCH* xiv. 596.

[8] Epirus: *CIG* 1798 *μάντις, αὐλητάς, κᾶρυξ, εἰρός, οἰνοχόος*.

[9] Note [12], p. 264.

[10] *CIG* 2157 *ἱεροποιοὶ καὶ μύσται εὐσεβεῖς*; cp. 2160.

[11] Paus. ix. 10. 4.

[12] Collitz iii. 3708—9.

[13] *CIG* 2855 *ἀνγεῖον ὃ ὑδροφορήσασα ὑπόμνημα ἀνέθηκε*.

[14] *ἱερεὺς γενόμενος* Sybel 6221; *ζάκορος γενόμενος* 6222. So *IGI* iii. 117 (Lesbos) *ἱερατεύσας χαριστήριον*; *BCH* xviii. 290 (Rhodes) *ἐπιστατεύσας χαριστήριον*, to Hermes Propylaeus; *IGI* ii. 112 *καστα θεὶς ὕπο τᾶς βολλᾶς εὐχαριστήριον*; 117 *ἱερατεύσαις χαριστήριον* (Lesbos); *BCH* xviii. 290 *ἐπιστατεύσας χαριστήριον* (Rhodes).

[15] *μνῆμα ἀρχῆς*, above, p. 260.

[16] *IGI* i. 31.

[17] *CIG* 1176 *ὁ ἱεροφάντης κατ' ὄναρ*.

[18] But one inscr. has *ἄρξας, ὑπὲρ τῆς θυγατρός*, and *εὐξάμενος* (Cyprus): *BCH* xix. 340.

the dedicator was acting officially for the hierarchy[1]. These refer perhaps to buildings or repairs, consecrated thus by the officials[2].

A key to the occasion is found in a large class of decrees which record a vote of thanks past to an official after his term, which was usually accompanied by a crown[3], either of leaves or of gold, according to the importance of the person. The recipient seems to have made a sacrifice of thanksgiving[4], and he naturally wisht to commemorate the occasion in some way. Megacles of Rhamnus dedicates a statue to Themis on receipt of this honour from his demesmen[5]; the usual thing was to dedicate the crown at least. The fact is frankly recognised in an inscription which records the gift of a crown to Spartocus and Pairisades, of Bosporus, in 346, who as foreigners might have neglected the wholesome use: they are directed to dedicate their crowns on the Acropolis forthwith[6]. This custom explains the immense number of crowns recorded in the Inventories. One of the Athenian lists, from the latter part of the fourth century, consists wholly of such crowns dedicated by the recipients[7]; three of the persons mentioned, Nausicles, Neoptolemus, and Charidemus, are stated by Demosthenes to have received honorific crowns[8]. Dedications, certainly or probably including the crowns, are made by bodies of

[1] Collitz iii. 4844 *ἐκ τᾶς τῶν τῶ 'Απόλλωνος ἱερέων ἐπιδόσιος*; *ibid.* 4845 *ἐκ τᾶν τῶ 'Απόλλωνος προσόδων*, both of Roman date.

[2] Collitz iii. 4842 *ἱερειτεύων τὰν κράναν ἐπεσκεύασε.*

[3] For a discussion of the inscriptions which are accompanied by a crown carved in relief, see *AJA* vi. 69 ff.

[4] Collitz iii. 3106 *τόν τε ἀνδριάντα ἀναστάσας ἔθυσε πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἐδίπνισε τοὺς πολείτας πάντας.*

[5] *CIA* iv. 2. 1233 *e*. So in Lesbos: *IGI* ii. 96 *ἀγάλματα, ἐξέδραις.*

[6] *CIA* iv. 2. 109 *b*[33] *ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοὺς στεφάνους ἀνατιθέασι τῆι 'Αθηνᾶι τῆι Πολιάδι, τοὺς ἀθλοθέτας εἰς τὸν νεὼ ἀνατιθέναι τοὺς στεφάνους ἐπιγράψαντας· Σπάρτοκος καὶ Παιρισάδης Λεύκωνος παῖδες ἀνέθεσαν τῆι 'Αθηναίαι στεφανωθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ 'Αθηναίων.*

[7] *CIA* ii. 741, p. 511 (338 B.C.).

[8] Dem. *On the Crown* 114, p. 264; cp. Aesch. iii. 46. A Rhodian inscr. tells of several honorific crowns and fillets, dedicated by the recipient to several gods: *IGI* i. 155[115] *ἀνέθηκε Διονύσωι Βακχείωι καὶ τῶι κοινῶι* (the guild), also the odd phrase 155[50] *ἀνέθηκε ταῖς τριετηρίσι καὶ τῶι κοινῶι.* The man was periodically to receive a crown bought by a poll-tax, and after his death the money was to be used to buy a crown, which was then to be sold, the sum being entered in the books,

men in common: by "archons and parasiti" at Pallene[1]; by the senate of Athens in recompense for its services[2]; by a board of arbitrators which has given satisfaction[3]; by the prytanes of the tribe which has best approved itself in the tribal competition[4]; by bodies of thiasotes or orgeons[5]. A decree of Minoa ordains that each year the officials who did sacrifice in the most magnificent way should be crowned[6]. Here is a man thus honoured by a public vote of the senate, the soldiers, and the deme[7]; there is a general so honoured[8], or the trainer of a band of youths[9], or a guild official[10]. Bare justice and upright dealing is cause sufficient[11], or even public spirit[12]. Several crowns conferred by the Athenians upon distinguisht men are found amongst those dedicated on the Acropolis; amongst others, one of Alexander the Great, and one of the Paeonian Tisamenes[13]. Lysander after the defeat of the Athenians received crowns from many cities[14]; and crowns are known to have been dedicated by him both at Delos[15], and, by a refinement of insult, at Athens also[16]. Conon after his victory over the Lacedaemonians, and Chabrias after the sea-fight off Naxos, dedicated crowns on

Διονυσοδώρου εὐεργέτα στεφανωθέντος χρυσέωι στεφάνωι ἐς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον, στεφάνου τοῦ πραθέντος 155 [65].

[1] Ath. vi. 234 F *ἐν δὲ Παλληνίδι τοῖς ἀναθήμασιν ἐπιγέγραπται τάδε· ἄρχοντες καὶ παράσιτοι ἀνέθεσαν οἱ ἐπὶ Πυθοδώρου ἄρχοντος στεφανωθέντες χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἐπὶ Διφίλης ἱερείας.*

[2] Probably: *CIA* ii. 1157 (a statue), cp. 1174.

[3] *CIA* ii. 942, 943 (B.C. 325/4), 1182. Arbitrators themselves offer a silver bowl: ii. 733 with 735.

[4] For the competition, see *CIA* i. 338 (408/7); *BCH* xiii. 346 (360/50), v. 362 (340); for the crowns *CIA* ii. 864 *νικήσαντες, δόξαν τῶι δήμωι*, with the following inscrr.

[5] *CIA* ii. 988, 990 (statue to Asclepius).

[6] *Rev. Arch.* xxix. 79.

[7] *CIA* ii. 1191.

[8] *CIA* ii. 1194 *στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν παραλίαν.*

[9] *CIA* iv. 2. 1571 *b*.

[10] *CIA* ii. 987, etc. One of these dedicates a firstfruit: *CIA* ii. 9 *ἀπαρχὴν στεφανωθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν στασιωτῶν.*

[11] *BCH* xviii. 505 Imbros: *στεφανωθέντες δικαιοσύνης ἕνεκα.*

[12] *IGS* i. 1863 Thespiae: *ἄριστα πολιτευσάμενον.*

[13] *CIA* ii. 741 *f* [4] *στεφάνων δυοῖν, οἷς ὁ δῆμος ἐστεφάνωσε Ἀλέξανδρον*, etc.

[14] Xen. *Hell.* ii. 3 *στεφάνους οὓς παρὰ τῶν πόλεων ἔλαβε.*

[15] *BCH* vi. 153, xiv. 407: *στέφανος μυρρίνης χρυσοῦς, Λυσάνδρου Λακεδαιμονίου ἀνάθημα, ὁλκὴν δραχμαὶ* 𐅄𐅃𐅂𐅂𐅂 *σὺν τῶι ῥόδωι.* He also offers a crown of vine and a third of laurel, 410.

[16] *CIA* ii. 660 [15] *στέφανος χρυσοῦς ὃν Λυσάνδρος Λακεδαιμονίου ἀνέθηκεν, σταθμὸν τούτου* 𐅄𐅃𐅂𐅂𐅂.

the Acropolis, which may be assigned to a similar occasion[1]. Amongst the donors in the Delian treasure lists is Pharax, doubtless the Spartan admiral who aided Dercyllidas in the invasion of Caria (397): he offers a gold crown to Apollo Pythian[2]. Another crown is set down to Ameinondas, perhaps a mistake for Epameinondas, who occurs in a different list, if we may suppose the inscription to have been damaged[3]. Other dedications at Delos are Callicrates, King Demetrius, Antipater, Philocles King of Sidon, and Polycleitus admiral of Ptolemy[4]. A golden circlet, offered by Datis at Delos, may be mentioned here; although whether Datis were the Persian leader, or what the occasion of the offering, does not appear[5]. Flamininus, after his victories in Greece, sent a gold crown to Delphi[6]; and L. Cornelius Scipio one to Delos[7]. Four crowns were dedicated by Nero in Olympia, but these were probably his prizes[8].

Golden crowns were commonly presented to the Athenian people by states which had cause to be grateful to them, and these also were dedicated on the Acropolis. What pride the Athenians took in these memorials is told us by Demosthenes[9]. "I think all of you," he says, "have seen the red letters inscribed under these crowns, setting forth how The Allies crowned the Athenian people for its courage and uprightness, or The Euboeans saved and set free crowned the people." In the fourth century we find these crowns of honour presented to the people by Andros, Arethusa, Carthage, Elaeus, Erythrae,

[1] Demosth. *Timocr.* 756 *ἐπεγέγραπτό που πάλιν· Κόνων ἀπὸ τῆς ναυμαχίας τῆς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, Χαβρίας ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Νάξῳ ναυμαχίας.* So again in *Androt.* 616.

[2] *BCH* xiv. 409.

[3] *BCH* xv. 134. The crown was older than 364; the entry alluded to belongs to 279.

[4] *BCH* xiv. 407, 409.

[5] *BCH* vi. 152, xiv. 410 *στρεπτὸν χρυσοῦν Δάτιδος ἀνάθημα.* A similar circlet was the customary offering of the five generals at Olbia "for the prosperity of the city, and for their own safety and courage," *CIG* 2067 ff.

[6] Plut. *Flam.* 12.

[7] *BCH* vi. 39[90] *στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων.*

[8] Paus. v. 12. 8.

[9] Demosth. *Timocr.* 756 *οἶμαι γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἅπαντας ὁρᾶν ὑπὸ τῶν στεφάνων τοῖς χοινικίσι κάτωθεν γεγραμμένα· οἱ σύμμαχοι τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἀνδραγαθίας ἕνεκ' ἐστεφάνωσαν καὶ δικαιοσύνης· ἢ, οἱ σύμμαχοι ἀριστεῖον τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἀνέθεσαν· ἢ κατὰ πόλεις, οἱ δεῖνες τὸν δῆμον ἐστεφάνωσαν, σωθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, οἷον· Εὐβοεῖς σωθέντες καὶ ἐλευθερωθέντες ἐστέφανωσαν τὸν δῆμον.* He calls them *καλὰ καὶ ζηλωτὰ ἐπιγράμματα.* Cp. the *Androtion*, 616.

Mytilene, Samos, perhaps Thasos and Naxos[1], by Boeotia[2], Alopeconnese, Chersonese, and Samothrace, and by the soldiers in Sciathus. Methymna sends a flute-case[3]. Paros sends a crown to the Boule[4]. Others come from Myrrhina, Tenedos, Pontus[5]. Similarly, a golden crown given by Athens to the sanctuary at Oropus was dedicated there[6].

It is but a short step from these to the honorific statues, which in the later ages and especially under the Roman rule meet us in swarms[7]. The dedication of these is a departure from the simple thanksgiving of the older worshippers, which recognised only the divine help, to a feeling which soon degenerates into flattery or self-glorification. It was in fact an honour pure and simple, so that decrees are past giving the right to dedicate[8]. We see the beginning of the practice in the dedication of the statues of victorious athletes, and in those of groups containing victorious generals and deliverers; and by their side we may place a few others which are not undeserved. The difference is, that they commemorate rather a general respect and feeling that honour is due, than a special deliverance where the man may be looked on as the instrument of God. This seems to be the origin of the statues of Epaminondas, several of which are mentioned. One the Thebans dedicated in Thebes, with an inscription which sums up his achievements[9]; there was another in the sanctuary at Epidaurus[10], and a third in Messene[11]. Several statues or reliefs were erected to Polybius, for his services done to Greece after the conquest; at Mantinea[12], Megalopolis[13], Acacesium[14],

[1] *CIA* ii. 699—701; called *στέφανοι ἐπέτειοι* in 701[18].

[2] *CIA* ii. 736.

[3] *CIA* ii. 660 *συβήνη*.

[4] *CIA* ii. 700.

[5] *CIA* ii. 733.

[6] *IGS* i.

[7] Details are given in many inscrr., e.g. one from Bithynia, where a man is rewarded *εἰκόνι γραπτῇ ἐνόπλῳ καὶ ἄλλῃ εἰκόνι καὶ ἀγάλματι μαρμαρίνῳ*, and a marble statue for his mother: *BCH* xvi. 320.

[8] *CIG* 2152 *b*[13] *ἐξεῖναι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀναθεῖναι καὶ ἀνδριάντας ἐν τῷ ἐπισημοτάτῳ τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν τόπῳ*. Many other examples.

[9] Paus. ix. 12. 6, 15. 6.

[10] Paus. iv. 31. 10.

[11] Paus. iv. 32. 1.

[12] Paus. viii. 9. 2 *τοῦτο Λυκόρτα παιδὶ πόλις περικαλλὲς ἄγαλμα ἀντὶ καλῶν ἔργων ἴσατο Πουλυβίῳ*. The stele, with portrait relief, and part of the inscr., has been found: *BCH* xx. 145. *Inschr. von Ol.* 449 *ἐνταῦθα ἀνὴρ ἐπείργασται στήλῃ Πολύβιος ὁ Λυκόρτα*. See also Polyb. x. 4—6, xl. 8. 11.

[13] Paus. viii. 30. 8.

[14] Paus. viii. 37. 2.

Pallantium[1], Tegea[2], Olympia[3], and Cleitor[4]: and certain exiles, who had been befriended by Aratus, did the same for him[5]. Statues of Isocrates were dedicated at Eleusis by a friend[6], and at Athens by his adopted son[7]. Pupils dedicated the statues of their masters. Thus in Peiraeus, sacred to the Muses, were statues of Artemon, Dionysius, Philetairus[8]; in Athens, Attalus II and Ariarathes V set up a statue of Carneades, who taught them philosophy[9]. A well-known story tells how Pyrrhias went so far as to sacrifice an ox to his benefactor[10].

To enumerate the world of honorific statues or pictures[11] which are attested by inscriptions would serve no useful purpose; but it may be worth while to give a few examples of their kinds. The ground of the dedication is either some specific act of generosity or service, or even the vaguest good life[12] or good citizenship[13]. The people, or the senate and the people, dedicate statues of officials who have done their duty; thus Salamis does honour to her general[14], Athens to her taxiarch[15], trierarch[16], or admiral[17]. The members of a deme erect the statue of a gymnasiarch[18]. The troops on service at Phyle and Eleusis dedicate a statue of their captain to Demeter at Eleusis[19], mentioning on the same slab his victories in the games, as one might now add a man's titles or degrees. The ephebes honour their trainer, and the senate both trainer and

[1] Paus. viii. 44. 5.

[2] Paus. viii. 48. 8.

[3] *Inschr. von Olympia* 449.

[4] *AM* vi. 154 ff. with *AZ* xxxix. 153 ff.

[5] Plut. *Aratus* 14: *BCH* xiii. 193 (Troezen) Ἄρατον Κλεινία Σικυώνιον ὁ δᾶμος ἀνέθηκε.

[6] Plut. *Vit. X. Or.* 27 εἰκὼν χαλκῆ... καὶ ἐπιγέγραπται· Τιμόθεος φιλίας τε χάριν, ξύνεσίν τε προτιμῶν Ἰσοκράτους εἰκὼ τήδ' ἀνέθηκε θεαῖς.

[7] Plut. *Vit. X. Or.* 41 πρὸς τῷ Ὀλυμπιείῳ, ὡς ἐπὶ κίονος καὶ ἐπέγραψεν· Ἰσοκράτους Ἀφαρεὺς πατρὸς εἰκόνα τήνδ' ἀνέθηκε Ζηνί, θεούς τε σέβων καὶ γονέων ἀρετήν.

[8] *BCH* vii. 76—7.

[9] *AM* v. 284—6.

[10] Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* 34.

[11] E.g. *CIA* ii. 621 ἀναθεῖναι δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰκόνα ἐμ πίνακι ἐν τῶι ναῶι. So εἰκὼν γραπτὴ frequently. We also find silver masks mentioned (πρόσωπα). The word ἄγαλμα is used of a honorific statue in Messenia (3rd century or so), Collitz iii. 4651—2, 4660.

[12] Collitz iii. 3435, 3439 (Anaphe) βίον ἄριστα βιώσαντα.

[13] Collitz iii. 4658 ἄριστα πολιτευσάμενον. See also p. 267[12].

[14] *CIA* iv. Suppl. 2. 1161.

[15] *CIA* ii. 1340 (B.C. 346/5).

[16] *CIA* ii. 1354.

[17] *CIA* ii. 1359.

[18] *CIA* ii. 1340.

[19] *CIA* ii. 1217.

ephebes[1]; merchants the captain, who has probably helped to preserve them and their trade[2]; a school of art their poet[3]; similar honour is paid to the gymnasiarch[4] or agonothet[5], to the public physician[6], the hierophant[7], the manager of the Mysteries[8], priest or priestess[9], leader of a pilgrimage or procession[10], the canephori[11] or arrhephori[12], the priestess of a guild[13]. Even the upright judge[14] and the ambassador[15] are not forgotten; an official is dedicated by his colleagues[16]. There seems to be absolutely no kind of service which might not be recognised in this way. It becomes indeed so commonplace a compliment, that parents dedicate the statues of children[17], children of parents[18], and mothers[19], grandfathers[20], sisters[21], brothers[22], uncles[23], husbands[24], wives[25], even nurses[26], are found among the dedicators or dedicated. Commonly these statues were erected in sacred precincts; but when the sacred character of the dedication was obscured, they came to be set up in the gymnasium or the market square or in any place which might be convenient. These statues are seen all over the Greek world; and in particular, the Roman emperors were put up everywhere with a rivalry of adulation, being coupled with gods, called Hero and Founder, or even themselves divine[27]. It may be worth while to mention one peculiar case, that of Artemidorus of Perga in Pamphylia, who was a prominent

[1] *CIA* ii. 1350.

[2] *CIA* ii. 1329, cp. 1206.

[3] *CIA* ii. 1351. Even the senate does this: *IGI* iii. 519.

[4] *CIA* ii. 1340.

[5] *CIA* iv. Suppl. 2. 1402 *b*.

[6] *IGI* i. 1032.

[7] *CIA* ii. 1345.

[8] *CIA* ii. 1346, 1358.

[9] *CIA* ii. 1598.

[10] *CIA* ii. 1358.

[11] *CIA* ii. 1345, 1387, 1388.

[12] *CIA* ii. 1383, 1385.

[13] *CIA* ii. 619 *ἀναθεῖναι δὲ αὐτῆς εἰκόνα ἐν τῷι ναῷι*, etc.

[14] *CIA* ii. 1358 *δικαστὴν δικαιοσύνης ἕνεκεν*. See also p. 267[11].

[15] *CIA* ii. 1359.

[16] *IGI* i. 43.

[17] *CIA* ii. 1402; a daughter 1383.

[18] *CIA* ii. 1397.

[19] *CIA* ii. 1376; *IGS* iii. 1. 287.

[20] *CIA* ii. 1391; *IGS* i. 3423.

[21] *CIA* ii. 1392.

[22] *CIA* ii. 1398.

[23] *CIA* ii. 1403.

[24] *CIA* ii. 1413.

[25] *CIA* ii. 1413.

[26] *BCH* xix. 113 ff. Eleusis: *τὴν ἑαυτῆς τήθην, ἱερόφαντιν νεωτέρας*: *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1900, 31 *Ὑγίαν Σπόνδη τὴν ἑαυτῆς θρεπτὴν μνήμης χάριν* (relief of woman) shows the type used for sepulchral tablet.

[27] As in Sparta, *Ζανὶ Ἐλευθερίοι Ἀντωνίνοι Σωτῆρι*, Collitz iii. 4492; Lesbos *IGI* iii. 140—201.

citizen of Thera under Ptolemy Euergetes. He seems to have had a mania for building altars. Having served in an expedition against the Troglodytes, he built an altar to Pan of the Safe Journey, which was found in Nubia. In Thera he built altars to Hecate, Priapus, and the Dioscuri; and cut a number of others out of the native rock, inscribed to Ὁμόνοια, the Samothracian gods, and others, in verses which he doubtless thought elegant, in all which the name of Artemidorus is prominent. The consequence was that the Therans crowned him, and set up a memorial of himself which was to last "as long as the stars shine in the sky, or the solid earth remains[1]."

As regards the objects dedicated, there is little to say. I have already mentioned statues, crowns, and altars[2]. Once or twice we find an inspector of markets most appropriately dedicating his measures and weights, the measures being cut into a stone table[3]; and it is clear that the object of the dedication was not thanksgiving or prayer, but simply a record of fair dealing. Priests and temple officials, so far as we can learn, seem to have chosen such things as would be useful in the temple; such as a number of stone tables for playing at draughts[4], or stone lavers[5], which have been found at Epidaurus. The same idea may have suggested an omphalos dedicated to Apollo in Rhodes[6]. Now and then the inscription names the gift, as one from Crete names a human statue and a gold crown[7].

[1] F. Hiller von Gaertringen, Ἀρτεμίδωρος, in the local paper Σαντορίνη, Aug. 2, 1899. μνημόσυνον Θήρᾳ καὶ ἕως πόλου ἄστρ' ἐπιτέλλει, γῆς ἔδαφός τε μένει, ὄνομ' οὐ λίπεν Ἀρτεμιδώρου. Again: Θηραῖοι ἐστεφάνωσαν ἐν ...σινέοισιν ἐλαίας ἔρνεσιν Ἀρτεμίδωρον, ὃς ἀενάους κτίσε βωμούς.

[2] Above, pp. 270, 266, 259.

[3] *CIA* iii. 98 ζυγὸν καὶ τὰ μέτρα; *Eph. Nov.* 416 Gythium Σεβαστοῖς καὶ τῇ πόλει Κάρπος ἀγορανομῶν ἀνέθηκε τὰ μέτρα, with stone table as described. A leaden weight found in Euboea, near a shrine of Artemis, is inscribed Ἀρτέμιδος, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1900, 21. It should be noted that standard weights appear to have been kept in temples, but not inscribed as sacred. Thus on the Acropolis of Athens we find one with a dolphin upon it, with the words ἡμιστάτηρον, δημόσιον Ἀθηναίων; also a δεκαστάτηρον (both early). Lolling, Κατάλογος i. 122, 123 (= museum numbers 6994, 11457).

[4] *AM* xxiii. 1 ff. with figures. These bear merely names, no titles.

[5] *AM* xxiii. 21 ἱερομνάμονε, p. 22 ἰαρευτέων.

[6] *IGI* i. 733.

[7] *Mus. Ital.* iii. 588 Itanos: Ἀπόλλωνι Πυτίωι ἰαρατεύσας...τὸν ἀνδριάντιον καὶ τὸν χρύσεον στέφανον.

In later times a large number record buildings put up or repaired or something done for the beautifying of the temple property. It would appear to be one of the prerogatives of office to pay for any necessary repairs, which were regarded as 'dedicated' by the official[1]. Thus we find seats[2] or an exedra erected[3], a fountain with images beside it[4], shrines[5], porticoes[6], even a proscenium[7] and pillars[8]. A gymnasiarch of Cythera commemorates his tenure of office by dedicating a vapour-bath and an arena to Hermes[9]. Dedications are found of pillars, pediment, and screen[10], of a stage in the theatre of Dionysus[11], windows or doors[12], colonnades[13], a fountain and conduit[14], a wine-fat[15], a round-house[16], guest-rooms[17], a treasure-chest[18], and chambers or shrines[19]. Even two large tiles are dedicated by two persons, whose calling is uncertain[20], and a clock in Cos was dedicated to Good Luck, the Good Spirit, and the people[21]. On the same principle, the ephebes were in later days expected to make certain contributions to the public good; amongst them, the gift of a hundred volumes to the 'Ptolemaeum.' These they are said to 'dedicate,' but in doing so they obeyed a law[22].

[1] See e.g. *CIA* ii. 489 *b*, where an official is thanked for this kind of dedication (*ἀνέθηκεν*); and iv. 2. 169 *b*, 623 *d*; Rhodes, *IGI* i. 832; Aetolia, Collitz i. 311; Aspendos 1260. Cp. *CIA* iii. 385 ff.

[2] *CIA* ii. 1570.

[3] *CIG* 2430; *IGS* iii. 1. 96.

[4] *IGS* i. 3099, iii. 1. 282.

[5] *γένει Σεβαστῶν καὶ τῇ πόλει τὸν ναὸν Ἀρτέμιδι*, etc. *IGS* i. 2234.

[6] *γυμνασιαρχήσας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν τὴν στοὰν καὶ τὴν εἴσοδον καὶ τὰς θύρας Ἑρμῇ, Ἡρακλεῖ, καὶ τῇ πόλει IGS* i. 2235; *τὴν παστάδα καὶ τὸ πρόπυλον* Collitz ii. 1519.

[7] *IGS* i. 423. 3409.

[8] *CIG* 2713—4 Mylasa: *στεφανηφορῶν...κίονα σὺν σπείρῃ καὶ κεφαλῇ*; *AM* xv. 260 *ἱερεὺς Διὸς Ὀσογῶ Ζηνοποσειδῶνος.*

[9] Collitz iii. 4553 *γυμνασιαρχήσας τὸ πυριατήριον καὶ τὸ κόνισμα Ἑρμᾶι.*

[10] *CIA* iii. 162.

[11] *CIA* iii. 239; cp. Collitz iii. 3738 *βᾶμα.*

[12] *IGS* i. 1830, 2873, 2876, 2235; *BCH* iii. 324 (Chios).

[13] *IGS* i. 2235, 2874.

[14] *IGS* iii. 1. 47, 282, 390; *IGI* iii. 129.

[15] *IGS* iii. 1. 282.

[16] *BCH* xix. 46 (Magnesia).

[17] Collitz iii. 3634 (Cos).

[18] *IGI* iii. 443 *θησαυρόν*, 3rd cent.

[19] *BCH* xviii. 26; *AM* xx. 468; *IGS* i. 2873 f., 2233, etc.

[20] *CIA* iii. 206 *ἱερὰν Μητρὶ θεῶν Διονύσιος καὶ Ἀμμώνιος.*

[21] Collitz iii. 3650.

[22] *CIA* ii. 468, 482; cp. 466, 478.

VIII.

MEMORIALS OF FEASTS AND CEREMONIALS

TOGETHER WITH HUMAN AND DIVINE FIGURES, MODELS OF ANIMALS, AND INDETERMINATE RELIEFS.

αὐδῶ Ἐρεχθείδαιcιν, ὅcοι Πανδίονοc ἄcτυ
ναίετε, καὶ πατρίοιcι νόμοιc ἰθύνεθ' ἑορτάc,
μεμνῆcθαι Βάκχοιο, καὶ εὐργχόρογc κατ' ἀργιὰc
ἱcτάναι ὡραίων Βρομίωι χάριν ἄμμιγα πάντας,
καὶ κνιcᾶν βωμοῖcι, κάρη cτεφάνοιc πγκάcαντας.

Oracle of Dodona.

Very many of the recorded dedications cannot be assigned to any of the above classes, and it will be convenient to group the more important of them together now as memorials of recurrent festivals. Since an offering might commemorate any rite which a worshipper took part in, so at certain customary feasts it was the custom to make a dedication, public or private, in a general spirit of thanksgiving and prayer. It is possible that many of the dedications we are now to speak of were given on some occasion of private importance, but there is nothing to show it, and hence provisionally they are placed here. That votive offerings were to be expected at festival times is clear from the Andanian inscription[1], not to mention other indications.

The ancient Greek sanctuaries had naturally their special celebrations yearly on fixt days, as a modern church observes the holy day of the saint. It seems to have been a common thing, that the most ancient and revered idol of a city, itself

[1] Collitz iii. 4689[91] *ἄν τι ἀνάθεμα ὑπὸ τῶν θυσιαζόντων ἀνατιθῆται.*

often hideous or without form, was deckt out on solemn occasions with magnificent robes of state. Such robes would be an appropriate offering, whether in time of special need, or at intervals when the old robes were worn out. For worn out they were, inasmuch as they would be worn from time to time, and washed, and perhaps regularly discarded, as is still done in India. The earliest mention of such customs is found in the *Iliad*, where Hecuba propitiates Athena by the gift of the finest robe in her stores; which by the priestess is laid on the goddess's knees[1]. The statues of Eileithyia in Attica were draped[2]. Amongst the catalogues of temple treasures are lists of sacred robes belonging to different sanctuaries. There is one list of the divine robes from Samos,—tunics, girdles, veils, clokes, and so forth[3]; there are others of those belonging to Artemis Brauronia at Athens, for whose wardrobe the English language is insufficient[4]; dress of Athena at Lindos[5] is also mentioned, and of Dione at Dodona[6], to whom the Athenians sent a whole outfit; Asclepius at Titane was clad in a woollen shirt and a mantle[7]; and there is no reason to suppose that these were exceptional, especially in view of the practice of other nations[8]. Garments were offered to the Cabiri in Boeotia[9]; Laodice sent from Cyprus a robe to Athena at Tegea, in memory of her ancestral connexion with Arcady[10]; King Amasis sent an embroidered linen tunic to Athena of Lindos[11], and another to Samian Hera[12]. A statue said to have been once worshipt as Poseidon, seen by Pausanias in the city of Olympia, wore clothes of linen and wool[13]. Alcman's *Partheneion* seems to commemorate the dedication of a robe to Artemis Orthia

[1] *Il.* v. 87, vi. 301.

[2] Paus. i. 18. 5. He does not imply that others were not draped, only not so fully.

[3] Curtius, *Samos*, pp. 10, 17; *BCH* ix. 90.

[4] *CIA* ii. 751—8 (some inscribed); see Indices. Cp. Paus. i. 23. 7.

[5] *IGI* i. 764 contributions *ἐς τὰν ἀποκατάστασιν τοῦ κόσμου τᾶι Ἀθανᾶι.*

[6] Below, p. 278. Hyperides iii. col. 35—37 (Blass), quoted by Frazer.

[7] Paus. ii. 11. 6.

[8] See Frazer's *Pausanias* ii. p. 575, and note on v. 16. 2.

[9] *IGS* i. 2421, 3rd cent.

[10] Paus. viii. 5. 3.

[11] Herod. ii. 182 *ὅτι τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Λίνδῳ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηναίης λέγεται τὰς τοῦ Δαναοῦ θυγατέρας ἱδρῦσθαι.*

[12] Herod. ii. 182 *κατὰ ξεινίην τὴν ἑωυτοῦ καὶ Πολυκρατέους.*

[13] Paus. vi. 25. 5 *ἐσθῆτα ἐρεᾶν καὶ ἀπὸ λίνου τε καὶ βύσσου.*

by women[1]. In the great pomps described by Athenaeus, the divine and heroic figures are quite naturally drest[2].

We see then in the famous *peplos* at Athens no isolated offering, but a kind which was probably more general than we now know. It was presented at the Panathenaea, which included a harvest thanksgiving, sacrifices to Athena Health and Athena Victory, a watchnight and dances; which feast being celebrated in autumn appears to be an old agricultural feast with such additions as city life would suggest. The great ship, which was drawn in procession with the *peplos* outstrecht as a sail, looks towards the imperial power of Athens won at sea[3]. But although there are thus late elements in the feast, its origin was older than the Athenian empire, older perhaps than the city of Athens itself. Although Peisistratus was the first to make the dedication of the *peplos* customary, we may infer from the other evidence that he did not invent the practice[4]. At this feast, chosen maidens of Athens, the Ergastinae, under the priestess and two Arrhephori, embroidered the robe with the exploits of Athena[5]; and in the procession were other maidens bearing baskets upon their heads (*canephoroi*). Besides the *peplos* itself, other offerings were sometimes given by the maidens thus honoured, but the examples do not come from early times. An inscription giving a list of the Ergastinae records that the people dedicated a bowl in memory of their public spirit[6]. Often the maidens who took a prominent part in the ceremony had their statues dedicated, in later times at least; and a number of the bases have been found which once bore *arrhephoroi*[7]. A girl who bore

[1] Alcman, 23 (Bergk); better in Smyth, *Greek Melic Poets*, p. 6: *ταὶ πελειάδες γὰρ ἅμιν Ὀρθίᾳ φᾶρος φερούσαις νύκτα δι' ἀμβροσίαν ἄτε σήριον ἄστρον ἀνειρόμεναι μάχονται.*

[2] Ath. v. 198 A, 200 C, etc.

[3] It is not known when this practice began: Mommsen, *Feste*, 115 [1].

[4] Mommsen, *Feste*, 113. With P. it was offered every four years; later every year. Diod. xx. 46 (late 4th cent.); Schol. Arist. *Knights* 566.

[5] See Harpocration and *Et. Mag.* *s.v.* *ἀρρηφορεῖν*; Hesych. *s.v.* *ἐργαστῖναι*; *AM* viii. 57 ff.; Mommsen, *Feste*, 107. They might be as young as seven, Arist. *Lys.* 641 and Schol. Doubtless, as M. suggests, their touch was supposed to be lucky.

[6] *AM* viii. 57 ff.; *CIA* ii. 477, which doubtless refers to the *ἐργαστῖναι*; *CIA* iv. 2. 477 *d.* 15.

[7] *CIA* ii. 1378—85, 1390—1, 1393; iii. 887, 916—18; Symmachus, *Ep.* i.

water in the sacred feast of Branchidae offers a piece of tapestry to Artemis[1]; and small figures of water-bearers are known in Tegea[2]. A priest at Magnesia on the Maeander dedicates a hydria[3].

Two other dedications of the same kind as the *peplos* are recorded. Sixteen Elean women every four years made a similar robe and dedicated it to Hera at Olympia[4]; and at Amyclae, women made a tunic for Apollo[5].

Priests and priestesses seem occasionally to have dedicated their own robes or ornaments, used on solemn occasions. Such occasions were no doubt commemorated by the toilet reliefs of late date, found near Amyclae; on which are carven mirror, torch, spindle, phial, a nest of boxes, pestle and mortar, knife, strigil, bottle, two bodkins, a pair of shoes, a cap, and other like objects[6]. The dedications of robes to Brauronian Artemis may be similar[7], and the marble footstool dedicated by a priestess to Demeter at Cnidus[8]. We shall see that the mystae dedicated their garments at Eleusis[9]. It seems likely that the *stlengides* of the Sybarites were dedicated at Delphi as part of the ceremonial costume[10]; and possibly a series of bronze fillets found in Laconia were dedicated to Apollo Hyperteleatas by the priests whose names they bear, although it is true the formula of dedication is wanting[11]. A stlengis found at Dodona, with a nonsensical inscription, which seems to refer to ritual, is a real scraper[12]. When the *θησαυρός* or offertory-box was

33. There is no evidence earlier than these inscrr. The statuette of a so-called canephorus found at Paestum has been otherwise explained: p. 79.

[1] *ὑδροφοροῦσα τὸ παραπέτασμα*, *CIG* 2886.

[2] See below, p. 288.

[3] *AM* xix. 42 Κλέαινος Κλεαίνου *ἀρχιερητεύων τὴν ὑδρίαν*.

[4] Paus. v. 16. 2, vi. 24. 10. The Sixteen appear to represent the chief cities of Elis, v. 16. 5.

[5] Paus. iii. 16. 2.

[6] *Cat. Brit. Mus. Sc.* 811 *Ἀνθούση Δαμαινέτου ὑποστάτρια*; 812 Κλαυδία *Ἀγήτα Ἀντιπάτρου ἱέρεια*; F-W. 1851—2; Newton, *Essays*, 193.

[7] *CIA* ii. 751 ff.; above, p. 275.

[8] Newton, *Halic.* 392.

[9] Below, p. 282.

[10] Below, p. 281.

[11] *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1884, p. 79 ff. Names, *ἱερεύς*, *πυροφόρος*, etc. Ancient dedications to the same god found with them, 198 ff.

[12] Carapanos 107, pl. xxvi. 3: *Ζῆν' ἱκετῆ βασιλεῖ χρῆσαι...Διὸς* Νάου καὶ Διώνας *χρῆμα καὶ ἐργασίας ἅπασ... αὐτὸς ἐπισταμένα τελέσας....*

opened at Eleusis, part of the money found there was used in buying an offering[1].

It is natural to suppose that a sacred embassy, which undoubtedly performed sacrifice, brought also some offerings for dedication; and there is not a little evidence which points that way. It is recorded that an Athenian who conducted an embassy to Delphi took a tripod with him[2]. Hyperides gives details of one of these sacred missions[3]. From Demosthenes we learn that the Athenians were on one occasion commanded by an oracle of Dodona to deck out the statue of Dione, and to send certain victims, a bronze table, and the gift which the Athenian people had offered[4]. A phiale or bowl appears from our records to have been the usual gift of a theoria. Cyzicus sends a bowl to Branchidae, yearly if we may argue from the scanty evidence[5]; and occasional dedications are recorded of the theori from Ephesus[6], of those from king Ptolemy and the people of Alexandria[7], of kings Prusias[8], Seleucus, Antiochus[9], and Queen Camasarya[10]. A tribal offering is also mentioned[11]. In one year were dedicated at Branchidae silver bowls from Alinda, Carthage, Chalcis, Chios, Clazomenae, Cos, Cyzicus,

[1] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1883, p. 125[3].

[2] *BCH* xviii. 92. In the previous inscr. (p. 87), it is true, he brought it back again (*ἀπεκόμισεν*), so perhaps the object of the mission was to get it blest. Or did he fetch the sacred fire, as the Lemnians did each year (Philostr. *Her.* xix. 14)? So did the allies: *CIA* i. 37.

[3] Hyperides, *Euxenippus* xxviii.: delegates were sent to sleep in the shrine and report their vision: *ὁ δῆμος προσέταξεν Εὐξενίππωι τρίτωι αὐτῶι ἐγκατακλιθῆναι εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, οὗτος δὲ κοιμηθεὶς ἐνύπνιόν φησιν ἰδεῖν ὃ τῶι δήμωι ἀπαγγεῖλαι.* Then xxxv.: *ὑμῖν γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Δωδωναῖος προσέταξεν ἐν τῆι μαντείαι τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Διώνης ἐπικοσμῆσαι· καὶ ὑμεῖς πρόσωπόν τε ποιησάμενοι ὡς οἷόν τε κάλλιστον καὶ τἆλλα πάντα τὰ ἀκόλουθα, καὶ κόσμον πολὺν καὶ πολυτελῆ τῆι θεῶι παρασκευάσαντες καὶ θεωρίαν καὶ θυσίαν πολλῶν χρημάτων ἀποστείλαντες ἀπεκοσμήσατε τὸ ἔδος τῆς Διώνης ἀξίως καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς θεοῦ ...ἐὰν μὲν τοίνυν τὰ περὶ τὴν φιάλην γεγονότα ἐν ἀδικήματι ψηφίσησθε εἶναι*, etc.

[4] Dem. *Meid.* 531 *ἐκ Δωδώνης μαντεῖαι. τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ὁ τοῦ Διὸς σημαίνει· ὅτι τὰς ὥρας παρηνέγκατε τῆς θυσίας καὶ τῆς θεωρίας, αἱρετοὺς πέμπειν κελεύει θεωροὺς εἵνεκα διὰ τάχεων, τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ναΐῳ τρεῖς βοῦς καὶ πρὸς ἑκάστῳ βοῦ δύο οἷς, τῇ Διώνῃ βοῦν καὶ ἄρνα ἱερεῖα, καὶ τράπεζαν χαλκῆν πρὸς τὸ ἀνάθημα ὃ ἀνέθηκεν ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων.*

[5] *CIG* 2855, 2858.

[6] *CIG* 2860.

[7] *CIG* 2860 (thrice repeated).

[8] *CIG* 2855.

[9] *CIG* 2852.

[10] *CIG* 2855.

[11] *CIG* 2855 *κανοῦν τῆς φυλῆς τῆς Ἀσωτίδος* (?).

Erythrae, Iasus, Megalopolis, Mylasa, Myrrhina, Rhodes and Smyrna[1]. At the public feasts of Delos too, foreign cities and potentates regularly sent their offerings[2]. Thus the islands of Cos, Calymnos, and Rhodes sent a bowl thither year by year in the hands of their theori[3]. So too the kings of Egypt and Macedon, less regularly of Syria[4]. We have mention of Ptolemy, and Berenice, Demetrius, Stratonice, Philocles of Sidon, and others.

The temple officials dedicated bowls yearly at the feasts of Eutychea and Philadelphea[5]; and from the names of other vessels it would appear that private persons may have left a sum of money for such a yearly gift, as the mediaeval Christians founded their chantries[6]. Delian women, the dancers at the feast, appear again and again offering a crown[7]; and the Thyestidae and Ocyniadae, two Delian trittyes, offer a bowl each year[8].

It will be convenient here to gather together some vases with dedications upon them: again not to assume that they all commemorate a ritual act, but that they may. Often, no doubt, vases were dedicated for their own worth, and we have seen that there were many occasions when such offerings were made. Some of them were dedicated by priests, as in the Boeotian Cabirium[9]. A number of bronze vessels on the Acropolis of Athens bear dedications[10], but many of these were firstfruits. In the same place was found a vase of pottery, with the formula of dedication painted upon it; this contains a picture of Artemis, and in the missing part there is room for her name[11]. One Acropolis vase is inscribed Of the Good God[12].

[1] MS. catalogue from an inscr. discovered by M. Haussoullier, who kindly sent me a copy.

[2] *BCH* vi. 144; Ziemann, p. 4.

[3] *BCH* vi. 29 ff., lines 31, 35, 37, 38, 39, 94, 95, 107, 109, 162; xiv. 408; xv. 125.

[4] *BCH* vi. 157, 158; xiv. 407 (gold crowns, myrtle, ivy), 409.

[5] *BCH* vi. 111: they are called εὐτύχειος and φιλαδέλφειος.

[6] *BCH* vi. 110, 111: γοργίειος named from Gorgias, μικύθειος from Micythus. θηρίκλειον is a special kind named from its maker, and possibly these were the same: Athen. xi. 467 B. For endowments see *IGS* i. 43.

[7] *BCH* xiv. 407, xv. 120.

[8] *BCH* xv. 139.

[9] *AM* xv. 409[89] ἰαρεύς, [90] Φιλόχορος ἰαρεύς: cp. [88].

[10] *JHS* xiii. 126 foll.

[11] *AM* v. 256, pl. x.: ὁ παῖς καλός. ἀνέθηκε....

[12] *Rev. Arch.* xxxii. 185 ἀγαθοῦ θεοῦ. Another from Athens, Διὸς Σωτῆρος, *ibid.*

In Boeotia a few have lately been found, inscribed to Apollo Coryceus or Pythian[1]; at Dodona vases dedicated to Zeus Naïos[2]. Vases inscribed to Athena were found in the temple of Athena Cranaia at Elatea[3]. A fragment dedicated to Asclepius was found in the shrine of the hero Amynus at Athens[4].

Stone vessels, perhaps for holy water, were dedicated in Athens[5]. A kind of stone laver was dedicated at Epidaurus, meant no doubt, like the draught tables, for use in the precinct[6]. At Naucratis, numbers of pottery fragments were found, with dedications to Apollo and Aphrodite scratcht on them[7]: others were dedicated to Hera and the Dioscuri[8], to Heracles[9], and to the "gods of Greece[10]." Among the dedicators is one historical name, if the Phanes who presented a magnificent bowl[11] be the same who deserted Amasis for Cambyses[12]. Perhaps the sculptor Rhoecus is another[13], and the courtezan Archedice[14]. The vessels are cups and bowls, plates, ewers and craters, in great variety[15]. A vase dedicated to Hermes comes from

[1] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1900, 107 ff.: Δημοθέρης ἰαρὸν Ἀπόλωνος Καρυκεῖο; ἰαρὸν τοῦ Πυθίου Ϝισϝόδιϙος ἀνέθηκε. Apollo Pythian at Epidaurus: *IPI* i. 1169.

[2] Collitz iii. 1373 Σώταιρος ἀνέθηκε Διὶ Ναίωι. 1374 adds ἃ εὔξατο. Cp. 1375.

[3] *BCH* xii. 41 Ἀθανᾶς ἱερός, and fragments with **ἀνέθηκε**. The editor suggests these may have been the ἀσάμινθοι in which the child-priestesses of Athena bathed: Paus. x. 34. 8.

[4] *AM* xxi. 294. Epidaurus: *IPI* i. 1203.

[5] *CIA* i. 343.

[6] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1898, 17 Εὐαρχίδας Ἀριστοδάμας.

[7] *Naucratis*, i. 12, 47, 54, ii. 61 ff., pl. v.—viii. No. 1 Πολέμαρχός **με ἀνέθηκε τὠπόλλωνι** καὶ τὴν πρόχουν καὶ τὸ **ὑποκρητήριον**; 1 *a* Ἀπόλλωνός εἰμι; 1 *b* **Ἀπόλλω** σός εἰμι; 3, 4 Ἀπόλλω σοῦ εἰμι; 109 ff. Ἀπόλλω σόν εἰμι, Ὠπόλλω σόν εἰμι. No. 752 τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, **ἀνέθηκεν** Ἑρμογένης; 753 Εὐκλῆς ἀνέθηκεν ἱερὴν τὴφροδίτηι; 776—7 Χάρμης **με ἀνέθηκε** τὴφροδίτηι εὐχωλήν; 787 τᾶι Ἀφροδίται; 787—93 are in Aeolic, and use κάθθηκε; they are made of different ware, probably Lesbian.

[8] No. 833 Διοσϙούροις; 845 Ἥρηι. [Argive Heraeum **τᾶς** Ἥρας εἰμί. *IPI* i. 507.]

[9] *Ann. Br. Sch. Ath.* v. 39.

[10] *Ann. Br. Sch. Ath.* v. 55[73–76] θεοῖς τοῖς Ἑλλήνων.

[11] No. 218 Φάνης με ἀνέθηκε τὠπόλλωνι **τῶι Μ**ιλησίωι ὁ Γλαύϙου.

[12] Herod. iii. 4, quoted by the editor.

[13] *Naucratis*, i. (*Inscriptions*).

[14] *Ann. Br. Sch. Ath.* v. 56[108]; Herod. ii. 135.

[15] These inscrr. are often scratcht anyhow over the design, and the editor explains them as discarded fragments thus markt to keep from profane use after they were cast into the temple limbo. It is unsafe, however, to argue from the carelessness of the inscriptions, for in votive inscriptions all variety of carelessness is found. Moreover, the variety and beauty of the

Clazomenae[1]; vases probably dedicated to Zeus have been found at Megara[2], to Apollo at Cynuria[3], and Epidaurus Limora[4], to the Paphian in Cyprus[5]. Besides these, there are innumerable fragments of pottery uninscribed, from Argos, Athens, Eleusis, Naucratis, Olympia, and all the chief temple-sites.

At Delphi we find mention of four golden *stlengides*, which have obvious reference to a sacred pomp, dedicated by the Sybarites; a silver goblet by the Phocians; a gold crown of ivy-leaves by the Peparethians, others of laurel by Ephesus and Lampsacus, which may have had some connexion with the same occasion[6]; we also find mention of many others at Olympia[7]. In the temple of Apollo Ptoan (Boeotia), there are several dedications from delegates of the Boeotian confederacy[8], and several from separate cities, such as Thespiae and Acraephiae. A bronze vase found at Olympia was dedicated by the people of two cities of Elis[9], and one by the Spartiates[10]. So too the initiated mystae made dedications in Samothrace[11] and elsewhere. Such an offering is attested by inscriptions found in Thessaly[12] and at Magnesia on the Maeander[13]. We learn

fragments indicate that they were offered by votaries, not used and then discarded. Nor are there such inscriptions on the rude cups characteristic of Hera (ii. 61), nor is the supposed custom found elsewhere.

[1] *AM* xxiii. 63 Ἀθηναγόρη Ἑρμῆι.

[2] *IGS* i. 3493 **Εὐκλείδας** καὶ Μέιλο... **ἀνέθεν**; 3494 **Διὶ Ἀφεσίωι** carelessly scratcht.

[3] Collitz iii. 4535 **Μενοίτιος** *ἀνέθηκε τῶι* Πυθαιεῖ; *IGA* 59.

[4] Collitz iii. 4539, 4541, 4540 *τῶι* Ἀπέλωνι *ἀνέθηκε* **Εὐώνυμος**.

[5] Collitz i. 62, 77, 96, 102.

[6] Theopompus *ap.* Ath. xiii. 605 B, C *Συβαριτῶν ἀναθήματα, στλεγγίδια χρυσᾶ τέσσαρα, καρχήσιον ἀργυροῦν Φωκαέων καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν κιττοῦ Πεπαρηθίων, στέφανον δάφνης, Ἐφεσίων ἀνάθημα*, etc.

[7] Polemon *ap.* Athenaeum xi. 480 A *ναὸς Μεταποντίνων, ἐν ᾧ φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα δύο, οἰνοχόαι ἀργυραῖ δύο, ἀποθυστάνιον ἀργυροῦν, φιάλαι τρεῖς ἐπίχρυσοι. ναὸς Βυζαντίων, ἐν ᾧ Τρίτων κυπαρίσσινος, ἔχων κρατάνιον ἀργυροῦν, Σειρὴν ἀργυρᾶ, καρχήσια δύο ἀργυρᾶ, κύλιξ ἀργυρᾶ, οἰνοχόη χρυσῆ, κέρατα δύο. Ἐν δὲ τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἥρας τῷ παλαιῷ φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ τριάκοντα, κρατάνια ἀργυρᾶ δύο, χύτρος ἀργυροῦς, ἀποθυστάνιον χρυσοῦν, κρατὴρ χρυσοῦς, Κυρηναίων ἀνάθημα, βατιάκιον ἀργυροῦν.*

[8] *BCH* xiv. 200; four in 4th cent., six in 3rd cent.

[9] *IGA* 120 Ἀλασυῆς καὶ Ἀκρώρειοι *ἀνέθηκαν*.

[10] *IGA* 63.

[11] *CIG* 2157.

[12] A slab shaped like a shrine, once painted: Δάματρι καὶ Κόρα Μέλισσα τελείουμα, *AM* viii. 110.

[13] *AM* xvi. 249 *θεῶ* Διονύσω Ἀπολλώνιος Μοκόλλης *ἀρχαῖος μύστης ἀρχαῖον χρησμὸν ἐπὶ στήλης ἀναγράψας σὺν τῶ βωμῶ* **ἀνέθηκεν**.

from Eudocia's notes that mystae used to dedicate their dress at Eleusis[1]. At Megara was a yearly sacrifice to Apollo Protector, and the magistrates on this occasion used to make a dedication of some sort[2].

Even a joyous celebration of any kind might suggest an offering. The state gave the men of Phyle a thousand drachmas for a sacrifice and votive offerings[3]. When Demetrius Poliorcetes came to Athens, he was received in triumphal procession, and a decree was past to give a prize in money to him who made the most sumptuous show, which money he was to expend on a votive offering[4].

Again: colonists sent offerings to the great feasts of the mother city. We know that the Athenian colonies sent an ox each to the Panathenaea[5]; and two dedications of colonies made in Athens are extant[6]. In Sparta was a statue of Athena dedicated by the Tarentine colonists[7].

Private persons of course also made dedications on consulting an oracle. There is a fine relief from the Pythium at Athens, representing the god seated upon the tripod, and two other figures, female, of divine size, one with her hand upon the god's shoulder[8]. This may be a thank-offering for some oracular response. In later times the offering seems commonly to have taken the form of a small altar. One such comes from Troezen, and is inscribed with the question put to the oracle and the answer[9]. This was the custom at the oracle of Libyan Ammon, and Pausanias saw there altars with the questions of Eleans and the answers given them[10]. The first celebration of the *taurobolium* at Athens was commemorated by an altar, and

[1] Eudocia (Teubner) 656 *περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι μυστηρίων: πάτριόν ἐστι ταῖς θεαῖς ἀνιεροῦν καὶ τὰς στολὰς τοὺς μύστας ἐν αἷς τύχοιεν μυηθέντες*, quoting Melanthius.

[2] *IGS* i. 39; Collitz iii. 3027 f. For the god see Paus. i. 44. 2.

[3] Aesch. *Ctes.* 187.

[4] Plut. *Demetr.* 12.

[5] Schol. Arist. *Clouds* 385; cp. *CIA* i. 9 (of Erythrae), 31 (Brea).

[6] *CIA* i. 339, 340, 5th cent.: Eretria, Potidaea.

[7] Paus. iii. 12. 5.

[8] *Cat. Ath. Sc.* 1389: ...*Βακχίου ἀνέθηκε.*

[9] *BCH* xvii. 85 *Εὐθυμίδας ἀνέθηκε, ἃ κα ποιῶν ποὶ τὸν θεὸν ἰοίηι λουσάμενος δαῆναι χρῄζων.—θύσαμεν Ἡρακλεῖ ...ἰως ἰδόντα ἐπὶ λαιὰ οἰωνόν.* 4th cent. *IPI* i. 760.

[10] Paus. v. 15. 11.

the same offering was repeated at a later date[1]. A series of altars, all late, were found in the port of Delos[2], which may be assigned to pilgrims; they record the dedication of other things, such as a shrine[3], a circuit-wall[4], statues of Athena[5], Heracles[6], Maia[7], and other gods. Memorials of a periodical sacrifice to some deity unknown are cut in the rock at Lindos, with the names of those who performed it[8]. In Egypt records have been found of the pilgrimage of devotees to the shrine of Isis, all of late date[9]. The answer of a god might be dedicated alone[10].

A large number of dedications have reference to the sacrifice itself. We may classify them thus:

(1) Figures or groups which represent the devotee prepared for sacrifice, or engaged in some ritual act.
(2) Models of the thing sacrificed.
(3) The articles used in the ritual.
(4) The deity to whom sacrifice is made.

(1) *Figures or groups which represent the devotee.*

The figures found in the temple precincts are difficult of interpretation. The question is, whom do they represent; the deity, the priestly person, the devotee, or (it is even asked) the devotee in the garb and aspect of the deity? The last suggestion may be dismist. Whatever be the origin of sacrifice, whatever the practices of savages, I know of no evidence to show that the Greek devotee in sacrificing regarded himself as one with the god. Indeed, Pausanias speaks of a figure of Alexander in the garb of Zeus, with a tone which suggests that it was an impious thing[11]. If one priest on a great day wears the mask of Demeter[12], if a priestess of Artemis rides in a car drawn by

[1] *CIA* iii. 172, 173; Sybel 581; to Attis and Rhea.

[2] *BCH* xxiii. 60 ff.

[3] No. 6 *οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς οἳ καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἀνέθηκαν.* This has a relief also.

[4] No. 9 *οἳ καὶ τὸν περίβολον.*

[5] No. 8 *οἳ καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν.*

[6] No. 7 *οἳ καὶ τὴν Ἡρακλῆν (sic).*

[7] No. 5 *οἱ τὴν Μαίαν οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ τὸν βωμόν.* So in Epidaurus: *IPI* i. 873.

[8] *IGI* i. 791 ff.: e.g. *τῶν Θάλλιος καὶ Δαιπόλιος ἐργόνων προσχάραιος θυσία.* The name of the ceremony was *Βουκοπία.*

[9] *CIG* 4846 *τὸ προσκύνημα Ἀπελλᾶς Λόγγου*; 4897 ff., 4981 ff., 4917 *ἦκω καὶ προσκεκύνησα τὴν κυρίαν Ἶσιν καὶ πεποίηκα τὸ προσκύνημα τῶν φιλούντων με.* See also *JHS* 1899, p. 13.

[10] *IPI* i. 492 Mycenae (6th century).

[11] Paus. v. 25. 1.

[12] Paus. viii. 15. 1.

deer[1], these need prove no more than that a mystery-play was being acted; and even so, they are exceptions. This mystical notion was, if I read aright, foreign to the sanity of the Greek intellect, and their idea of the sacrifice was much more simple. As regards the other interpretations, some figures are quite clearly meant for the deity, others, as male figures offered to a female deity[2], quite clearly are not; very many are doubtful. Again: of those which are not divine, some may be priestly persons, some cannot. The last class cannot be all ornaments, because many of them are not ornamental; even supposing toys to have been used and dedicated at an early date, they cannot all be toys, because some have direct reference to cult (as the ring-dancers), some have the attitude of worship, some represent the phases of human life at which votive offerings were customary. We have already seen how war[3] and athletic prowess[4], the earning of daily bread[5] and the birth of children[6], are indicated in this way. It follows, then, that the devotee was sometimes represented by votive figures. But, as I have before pointed out, it is the devotee doing something or other. Portraits are out of the question, so is all idea of substitution by similitude. The figures represent the act or process, the human activity which has been blest by the god, or which the man desires to keep in remembrance. The sacrificial group of Oenoe is the most complete example of the attempt to perpetuate the memory of a sacrifice[7].

Here we have specially to consider those human figures which suggest the rites of sacrifice; and I shall first name the most significant examples, passing on to interpret others in the light of these.

First, the archaic statue of Rhombus or Combus found on the Acropolis of Athens, bearing a calf on his shoulders[8]. He is clad in a shepherd's cloke of thick frieze or hide, which hangs

[1] Paus. vii. 18. 12.

[2] Examples will be given p. 289; to which add a find of male and female statuettes together at Corinth: *AJA* xi. 371 ff., *JHS* xvi. 340.

[3] Above, p. 129.

[4] Page 163.

[5] Page 80.

[6] Page 254.

[7] Page 130.

[8] *CIA* iv. 1. 373[235], p. 198: Ῥόνβος ἀνέθηκεν ὁ Πάλου.

down before and behind him. I am aware that this is the attitude of Hermes Criophorus[1], but here we are in Athena's shrine; moreover, the attitude is exactly that of the modern Greek peasant, who may be seen any Good Friday in the streets of Athens, thus bearing the lamb which he is to slay for his Easter Feast. I take Rhombus, then, to have set up this memorial of the sacrifice which he did, perhaps for some unexampled prosperity or the present help of the goddess. A bronze statuette from Crete[2], like Rhombus bearing an animal, clad in the ancient loincloth of the Mycenaeans[3], and standing upon a base, was no doubt dedicated for the like reason. A ram-bearer of the same type comes from the Theban Cabirium[4], and one was found at Gela[5]. Pausanias saw in the temple of Apollo Lycaeus at Argos the statue of a man Biton with a bull on his shoulders: a story was told to explain it, of course; but we may place him by the side of Rhombus[6]. In the Cabirium too[4] were several figures holding a lamb under the arm, which we may now interpret in the same way. Others carry a cock or some other bird[4]. In the temple of Apollo at Naucratis there are two figures of a man leading a bull[7]. A bronze ox being led to sacrifice stood in the Eleusinium at Athens[8]. Very ancient figures, from Praesus in Crete, hold some offering in the hand[9]. Finally, some figures of Artemis found in Corcyra show a human figure dancing before her, or clasping her knees[10].

[1] On this divine type see A. Veyries, *Les fig. criophores dans l'art grec*, Thorin, Paris, 1884; K. Friederichs, *Apollon mit dem Lamm*, Winckelmannsfest, 1861. Hermes Criophorus at Corinth, Paus. ii. 3. 4; in Messenia, iv. 33. 4; at Olympia, v. 27. 8. Compare Stephani, *Compte Rendu*, 1869, 96 ff.

[2] *Annali* lii. 213, pl. S.

[3] The loin-cloth also on archaic statuettes from Olympia (*Bronzen*, pl. xvi.), statuettes and the great Naxian Apollo of Delos (*AZ* xl. 329), perhaps Delphi (*BCH* xxi. pl. x.), statuettes in the Dictaean cave (*Ann. Br. Sch. Ath.* vi. 107).

[4] *AM* xv. 359: why should they be called Hermes?

[5] Kekulé, *Terrac. v. Sic.*, pl. iii. 3.

[6] Paus. ii. 19. 5.

[7] *Naucratis*, i. 13. It may be worth while to mention that figures of a man riding upon a ram (*AZ* xl. 320), and of a man clinging beneath a ram, perhaps Odysseus (*AM* iv. 170 foll.), are also known; the first from Tarentum, the second from Tegea: both are probably toys.

[8] Paus. i. 14. 4.

[9] *AJA* N.S. v. 381.

[10] *BCH* xv. 1 ff., pl. i.—viii. See fig. 38.

We have now a criterion to determine the interpretation o the numerous figures which bear a calf, pig, cock, dove, or othe bird, fruit or flowers, and other things which could actually be offered. Other figures, again, have reference to the ritual. Unmistakable are the ring-dances of women, a whole series of which were found at Olympia[1] and in Cyprus; and by their help we shall explain figures which play upon the pipes or the harp, or which carry a musical instrument, a bowl and jug or a lustral spray, or a jar of water upon the head, which clap the hands, or imitate any act of the possible ceremony. Further: figures are found which hold up the hand in the attitude of worship, as at Cyprus and Tegea. It will now be useful to consider the centres one by one, in order to give some idea of the variety to be found in each.

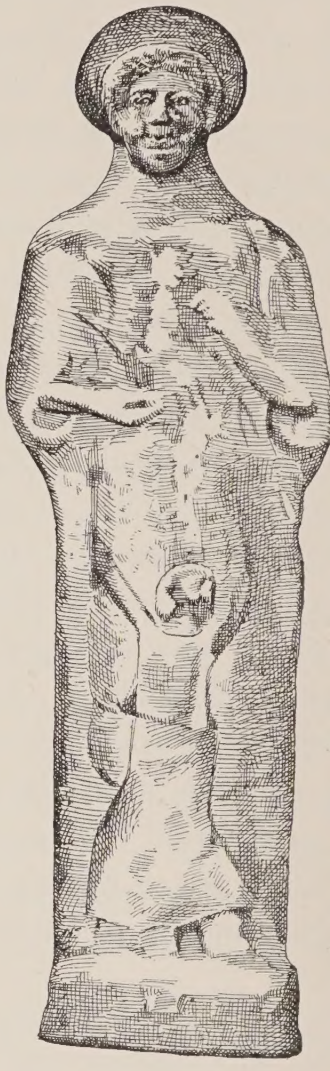

Fig. 38. Artemis wit fawn and dancing votar (Corcyra).

BCH xv. pl. vii.

Beginning with the Mycenaean age, a few figures are known which play upon the harp or the pipes[2]. In the Argive Heraeum, probably the most ancient shrine in Greece, we find both male and female figures, but few human figures which have reference to ritual. There are however a few women who appear to be carrying something; and male figures are found, which cannot represent the goddess. At Olympia the ring-dancers, and a number of figures of both sexes one a female holding a dove[3], but nothing else characteristi of cult[4]. At Dodona we have bronze ritual figures whic

[1] *Bronzen von Ol.* 263, pl. xvi. See fig. 39, p. 287.

[2] Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, vi. 751.

[3] *Bronzen von Ol.* 56, pl. ix.: calle Aphrodite by the discoverers.

[4] *Bronzen von Ol.* 263, 38, 44.

may be meant for the priest, holding in his hand objects used in the cult; the priestess, holding a dove, vase and saucer, or some similar object; and a sacrificer, with a knife[1];

Fig. 39. Ring-dancers, from Olympia.
Bronzen xvi. 263.

also a flute-girl with double flute, of the sixth century[2]. At Amyclae was found a bronze male figure in ceremonial head-dress, which once held something in the hand[3]. On the Acropolis of Athens are a male[4] and a female[5] figure of bronze which appear to be dancing; and a naked man holding up a wreath as if offering it[6]. Large numbers of clay figures here found are unarmed, and hold a bird, an apple or a pomegranate[7]. Stone figures of boys holding a dove or some such object[8], and of a girl with a holy-water basin, are also known at Athens[9]. From Eleusis comes the figure of a boy carrying a bundle of sticks, which are familiar in the cult[10]. The Cabirium yielded some hundreds of male figures, both clothed and naked, carrying a lamb, or holding a cock to the bosom, and in the other hand a jug or bowl, or holding hare and bowl, lyre and

[1] Carapanos, pl. xiii. 3, xxi. 4; *BCH* xiv. 159, pl. iv., v. A dove held in the hand: Carapanos xxi. 4 *bis*.
[2] Carapanos 31, pl. x. 1.
[3] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1892, pl. 2.
[4] *Cat. Acr. Br.* 757.
[5] *Cat. Acr. Br.* 787.
[6] *Cat. Acr. Br.* 731.
[7] *AM* xix. 492.
[8] Sybel 4301—5.
[9] Sybel 4308.
[10] *AM* xx. 357; *AA* 1892, p. 106.

bowl, or a bird, or with jug and bowl together[1]. At Tegea were some hundreds of girls bearing water-pitchers, female figures standing with a pig or a wreath in the hand, and a few dancers[2]. Figures of girls carrying pigs were found at Paestum[3] and several places in Sicily, Acragas, Camarina, and Gela[4]; girls with pig and torch at Camarina[5], girls with dove or wreath at Megara[6]. A shrine near Catania contained many archaic figures of girls holding a pig[7], a flower or fruit[8], basket of eatables[9], torch or sceptre[10]; but some are probably divine. Naucratis gives us stone figures of the sixth century holding the libation bowl, and females in terra-cotta playing upon the pipes or the lyre[11]; from the temple of Aphrodite came male figures draped and nude[12], flotist and harpist[13]. The female figures holding bird, goat, or flower to the breast, are perhaps the goddess[14]. The girl flotists in the hero-shrine at Therapne have been mentioned already[15]. There were silver and gold statuettes in Delos, and one held two Attic drachmae in the hand: a new motive[16]. The scheme of the Hero Feast is represented in ninety-nine per cent. of terra-cotta examples from Tarentum[17]. In the Dictaean cave of Crete were figures

Fig. 40. *Mon. Ant.* vii. 237, fig. 29.

[1] *AM* xv. 359.

[2] *AM* iv. 170 ff.; *Gaz. Arch.* iv. 42 ff.; *Nuove Memorie dell' Inst. di Corr. Arch.* 72—6, pl. vi.; *Gaz. des beaux Arts*, xxi. 108. Gerhard, *Bilderkreis von Eleusis*, *Arch. Aufs.* ii. 561, 563, quotes parallels from Megara, Thebes, Sicily, Thespiae, Cnidus.

[3] *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1835, p. 50.

[4] Kekulé, *Terracotten*, 19, 25, 23.

[5] Kekulé, *Terracotten*, pl. v. 1—8; *Mon. Ant.* ix. 231, figs. 23—6.

[6] Kekulé, *Terracotten*, 9, 10.

[7] *Mon. Ant.* vii. 235, figs. 25, 29, 30, pl. vii. See fig. 40.

[8] *Mon. Ant.* vii. pl. iv.

[9] *Mon. Ant.* vii. fig. 38.

[10] *Mon. Ant.* vii. figs. 39—41.

[11] *Naucratis*, i. 13, 14.

[12] *Naucratis*, ii. 56.

[13] *Naucratis*, pl. xvii. 4, xiv. 14.

[14] *Naucratis*, ii. 56; *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* v. 72 ff., 83.

[15] *Rev. Arch.* xxx. 13.

[16] *BCH* x. 464 [72, 95] ἀνδριαντίσκος; ἀνδριαντίσκος χρυσοῦς on silver base; ἀνδρ. ἀργυροῦς πρὸς τῇι χειρὶ ἔχων δραχμὰς ἀττικὰς II, coins affixt to the hand.

[17] *AZ* xl. 286 ff.; *Gaz. Arch.* vii. 155 ff.

both male and female, the hand being frequently raised to the head as in adoration[1]. Similar is a statuette from Athens, of a female deity holding a torch or staff, whose hand rests on the head of a small figure of a man by her side[2]. Abundant evidence for this practice comes from Cyprus. At Voni, in the sanctuary of Apollo, were found a host of figures, draped, and all male except two, ranging from the archaic to late periods. Some are playing on the double flute[3], some hold a dove and pyxis[4], or a pyxis and a branch[5], others have no attributes at all[6]. They are bearded[7] or beardless[8], and some of later date appear to be meant for portraits[9]; one is inscribed[10]. There is great variety of type. The two female figures[11] are explained by the compilers of the catalogue as "inappropriate offerings brought from home," a somewhat lame explanation. At Chytri, a sanctuary of the Paphian goddess, there are "crouching boys," holding a bird or a patera, perhaps the temple attendants[12]; female devotees, erect, with hands raised to the head, or by the sides, or touching the breasts[13], holding a pyxis[14], drum or tambourine[15], or a flower[16], playing on the flute[17] or dancing in a ring[18]. At Soli both male and female figures are found[19], with a number of ring-dances[20]. At Citium, in the sanctuary probably of Artemis, most of the figures are female, but male are found. Commonest is the votary, male or female, playing upon the tambourine[21]; two or three play upon the harp[22]. Others bring a flower or wreath[23], dish of cakes[24] or bowl of wine[25], bird[26], or calf[27];

[1] *Ann. Br. Sch. Ath.* vi. 107, pl. x.

[2] *Annali* xxxvi. pl. G. *Jahreshefte* iv. 37, 38, fig. 30.

[3] *Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum*, 5001—2.

[4] *Catalogue*, 5019—31.

[5] *Catalogue*, 5032—47.

[6] *Catalogue*, 5003—10.

[7] *Catalogue*, 5012 ff.

[8] *Catalogue*, 5003 ff.

[9] *Catalogue*, p. 141.

[10] *Catalogue*, 5009 Γιλλίκας κατέστασε ὁ Στασικρατέος (Cypriote script).

[11] *Catalogue*, p. 141.

[12] *Catalogue*, 5201 ff.

[13] *Catalogue*, 5253 ff.

[14] *Catalogue*, 5284.

[15] *Catalogue*, 5296 ff.

[16] *Catalogue*, 5289.

[17] *Catalogue*, 5302—3.

[18] *Catalogue*, 5315—34, 5290—95.

[19] *Catalogue*, 5484 ff.

[20] *Catalogue*, 5401 ff.

[21] *Catalogue*, 5501 ff.

[22] *Catalogue*, 5516.

[23] *Catalogue*, 5533—4, 5538.

[24] *Catalogue*, 5522—4.

[25] *Catalogue*, 5525—7.

[26] *Catalogue*, 5529—31; swan or dove, 5535—7.

[27] *Catalogue*, 5528, 5532.

a few, all female, have a lamp on their heads[1]. These objects are of importance, because some of them have the hands in a posture of supplication, and are therefore unmistakable as devotees[2]. In the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Idalium, all the statuettes are female. Many have no attributes, but there are others bearing flowers[3], cakes[4], or birds[5], clapping the hands[6], playing upon lyre[7] or tambourine[8], or with arms raised or extended[9]. A series of large terra-cotta figures come from Salamis, which from their look and costume seem certainly meant for human votaries[10]. The female type holding fruit, flowers, or animals[11], tambourine or bowl[12], is represented, and male figures also hold flowers[13] or kids[14]. From Tamassos come a number of statuettes, all male, apparently of the votary[15], sometimes offering a plate of fruit[16], or holding a bird, pyxis, or lustral spray[17]. At a sanctuary in Asia Minor, probably that of Artemis Anaitis, were found a number of objects which show an economical way of representing this idea: they consist of the hand as far as the elbow, holding fruit, birds, or some other offering[18]. In view of this evidence, we must conclude that the statuettes were not all meant for the deity; that some at least were meant for human beings; and that probably there were worshippers as well as priests among them. But once more, these are not portraits: they represent an act.

It will be convenient here to enumerate such votive reliefs as we have not been able to find a place for. We have seen that these reliefs (with one possible exception)[19] never represent a myth or legend as such, but are divisible into those which exhibit (1) the power of the deity, (2) the act or process which

[1] *Catalogue*, 5540.
[2] *Catalogue*, 5517—9.
[3] *Catalogue*, 5604, 5641, 5650, etc.
[4] *Catalogue*, 5660—1.
[5] *Catalogue*, 5717.
[6] *Catalogue*, 5705.
[7] *Catalogue*, 5674, 5710—15.
[8] *Catalogue*, 5601, 5707—9.
[9] *Catalogue*, 5686—5704.
[10] *Catalogue*, p. 161; *JHS* xii. 163.
[11] *JHS* xii. 140.
[12] *JHS* xii. 158.
[13] *JHS* xii. 147.
[14] *JHS* xii. 155.
[15] *Catalogue*, 6014 ff., 6156 ff.
[16] *Catalogue*, 6025.
[17] *Catalogue*, 6092 ff.
[18] In Leyden Museum.
[19] Page 87[11].

he has made to prosper, or (3) the ritual. It is likely that most votive reliefs commemorated not an ordinary but an extraordinary moment, some signal favour of the god for which his worshipper has done sacrifice; but generally we cannot divine the occasion. The indeterminate pieces cannot, however, fairly be left unnoticed; and provisionally they may be placed here. I shall include any which do not violate the principles shown in the others; feeling quite certain that the presence of worshippers or a sacrificial scene is conclusive for their interpretation as votive.

An unmistakable votive tablet, found lately in Euboea, shows Artemis, Apollo, and Leto in the presence of a worshipper: Apollo is playing upon the harp, Leto apparently holds a sceptre (painted), and Artemis holds torches[1]. Sacrifices to the three deities together were made at Delphi[2]. One with a similar scheme, on which however Artemis takes an arrow from a quiver, and a gazelle stands by her side, and which lacks the worshipper, is in the Athenian Museum[3]; and a third is inscribed with a dedication[4]. These are strong evidence that the series of Harpist reliefs is votive; but prove nothing for the occasion, which may be other than a musical victory. A fragment, inscribed as a dedication of two men, from the late fifth century, shows Apollo seated upon a rock[5]. The society of Pythaists, singly or in groups, made similar dedications to Apollo. The god sits on the *omphalos,* a bowl in his right hand, a lustral spray in his left; beside him Artemis, with quiver; a worshipper uplifting his hand completes the scene[6]. Another shows Apollo playing upon the lyre, Artemis, and Leto, with a male worshipper[7]. Other thiasi or similar societies thus commemorated their festival times. Thus Xenodotus dedicates a

[1] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1900, 4 ff., pl. 2. 1.

[2] Collitz ii. 2642[55].

[3] *Cat. Nat. Mus. Sc.* 1400.

[4] *Cat. Nat. Mus. Sc.* 1380 Γόργων... ἀνέθηκε (Thessaly).

[5] *AM* vii. 320 ...ράτης καὶ Δημο..., ...ιμύλου υἱεὶ ἀνεθέτην, Central Mus. Ath.

[6] *AJA* v. 471, pl. xi.: Icaria, 4th cent.: Πυθαιστὴς Πεισικράτης Ἀκροτίμου ἀνέθηκεν.

[7] *AJA l.c.* Buck, *Papers of the Am. School,* v. 119, pl. vii. 3; *CIA* iv. 2. 1190 *b, c.*

feast-relief to Apollo[1]; and Golgos yields a relief of Apollo enthroned, with a procession of worshippers; the lower division of the slab shows a feast and a ritual dance[2]. Apollo is also associated with Athena[3], and in a piece from Cyzicus, with Dionysus and Zeus[4]. The beautiful terra-cotta relief of Aphrodite from South Italy is probably meant to suggest the goddess's divine power. She stands before Hermes, holding out to him in one hand a pomegranate, in the other a winged love[5]. Another, of the type called Aphrodite and Ares, shows a goddess pouring a libation into a bowl held by an armed warrior over an altar; a worshipper in the corner proves the votive character[6]. Arctinus and Menecratia dedicate a relief to her as Leader of the People[7]. Athena also appears on reliefs which tell no plain tale, other than by their altar or sacrificial scene or inscription that they are votive[8]. The Acropolis relief of Athena offering a hand to a seated man has been spoken of already[9]. Again, an archaic female figure offers a cake or garland with one hand, and holds some vessel in the other[10]. A man and a small boy appear as worshippers in another case, but all that remains of the goddess is her hand with an owl percht on it[11]. The goddess sometimes brandishes her spear[12], sometimes sits with her helmet upon her lap[13], or by her side[14], or stands in a quiet attitude[15]. Once she appears robed like the archaic Maiden statues of the Acropolis, but with a helmet, in company with two other female figures of divine size before a group of three worshippers who are leading a sow[16]. There is also the much discussed relief-niche in which

[1] *Rev. Arch.* xxv. 159 Ξενόδοτος Ἀπόλλωνι.

[2] *Rev. Arch.* xxv. 159.

[3] Sybel 4319.

[4] *Cat. Br. Mus. Sc.* 817 Διὶ ὑψίστῳ καὶ τῷ χορῷ τὸν τελαμῶνα ἀπέδωκα.

[5] Farnell, *Cults*, ii. 697, pl. 48.

[6] Farnell, *Cults*, ii. 702, pl. 50 *b*.

[7] Farnell, *Cults*, ii. 662 (3rd cent.) ἡγεμόνηι τοῦ δήμου.

[8] *CIA* iv. 1. 418 *i* ...Ἀθηναίαι ἀνέθηκεν.

[9] Above, p. 219. No. 577 in the Acropolis Museum: Schöne 83; cp. 77.

[10] No. 593.

[11] Schöne 87: the man's face looks like a portrait.

[12] Schöne 84, 95.

[13] Schöne 91.

[14] Schöne 92.

[15] Schöne 61, 94.

[16] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1886, 179, pl. 9. So *Acrop. Mus.* no. 581.

are two armed Athenas side by side[1]. She is joined also with Cybele and a bearded male figure in a mantle who holds a club, probably from Asia Minor[2].

Characteristic offerings to Cybele were the votive niches or small shrines, none of them early, in which she is seated upon a throne with various accessories. She sits in the shrine alone, holding a bowl and tympanum[3]; or she has attendants, a youthful male with sacrificial vessels, and a bearded deity, perhaps Hermes and Priapus[4]. On the pilasters of the shrine are often engraved the figures of worshippers[5], who also appear within[6]; even Pan appears on the pillar[7]. A lion is at her feet[8], or two lions[9], or she is even seated upon a lion. An altar sometimes appears, or a scene of sacrifice[10]. These little shrines come from Peiraeus[11], Ephesus[12], Minutoli[13], Sardis[14], Perinthus[15], and Samos[16], and go back to the fourth century. One fine specimen of terra-cotta was found in a tomb[17]. They are sometimes inscribed[18]. A double Cybele

Fig. 41. Relief dedicated to Cybele. *Cat. Berl. Sci.* 691.

[1] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1890, 1, pl. 1; explained by Mylonas as Athena in two aspects, those of peace and war, or Polias and Parthenos. But Athena is also Ergane, Hygieia, and so forth; and there is no difference between the two figures. Mylonas compares several other double Athenas, and also double Cybele, Zeus, Hermes.—This was found on a tomb, but the type is votive.

[2] F-W. 1845. Unexplained.

[3] *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 692, 694, etc.

[4] *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 697; F-W. 1846 (Petersburg).

[5] *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 692.

[6] *Cat. Brit. Mus. Sc.* 782.

[7] *AM* xxi. 280.

[8] *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 697, 703, etc.

[9] *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 732.

[10] *Cat. Br. Mus. Sc.* 782.

[11] *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 692, 694, etc.; probably *Cat. Br. Mus. Sc.* 782, etc.

[12] *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 699, 704.

[13] *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 701.

[14] *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 702.

[15] *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 703.

[16] Samos Museum 51; *AM* xxv. 174.

[17] *AM* ii. 48, pl. iii.

[18] *CIG* 6837 Μητρὶ θεῶν Ἀγγίστει Ἀμέριμνος οἰκονόμος τῆς πόλεως εὐχήν. *AZ* xxxviii. p. 1 ff. Μάνης Μητρὶ καὶ Μίκα Μητρὶ θεῶν; Sybel 3099 (4th cent.).

has also been found in several examples[1], like the double images of Athena and Pan. There is also a fine relief of the early fourth century, where Cybele sits sideways, holding bowl and tympanum, a lion at her foot, and facing her is a female figure bearing a torch. Here also 'Hermes' appears[2]. Another relief is in Venice, and shows Cybele with attributes, Attis, a woman worshipper and a female attendant[3]. A relief bust from Mysia is inscribed[4].

Dedications to Demeter and the Maid, which represent scenes from the Mysteries, belong to this place. One such appears to be the famous relief from Eleusis, representing the goddesses with Triptolemus standing between[5]. Another represents Triptolemus on a throne before the goddesses[6], or on a waggon with snakes attendant[7]. Demeter sits on a throne, holding sceptre and ears of corn, while the Maid with her torches draws nigh; or the Maid stands behind Triptolemus, who sits on a winged throne, whilst a train of worshippers approaches[8]. Others similar exist, one inscribed[9]. On a slab in the Eleusis Museum the Maid holding torches approaches Demeter enthroned; and others show Triptolemus seated in a throne with snake and wing, the Maid holding torches on his left, and Demeter on the right, with four worshippers. Other reliefs, which show two female divinities, one with a torch, the other resembling the typical Demeter, are assigned to this pair; the presence of worshippers will attest the votive character[10]. A late relief from Sparta represents standing in the centre Demeter and the Maid, holding torches; one is seated, and Cerberus beneath the throne; to their right, a man with a long staff, and to their left a girl holding a bundle and some fruit; over the girl's head is a winged figure with wreath.

[1] F-W. 1133; Sybel 386 (Eleusis), 3049, 4381, 6139; *AM* xxi. 280. Explained as Cybele and Aphrodite by Foucart, *Ass. Rel.* 100. See *AZ* xxxviii. pl. 2. 1, xxxix. p. 1.

[2] *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 691. See fig. 41.

[3] *Monuments Grecs*, p. 11, pl. 2.

[4] *CIG Add.* iv. 6836 Ἀνδιρήνη Γλύκιννα Μηνοφῶντος θεῶι ἁγνῆι εὐχήν.

[5] F-W. 1182.

[6] *AA* xi. 100; *AM* x. pl. vi.

[7] F-W. 1132.

[8] *AM* xx. 245 ff., pl. v. (early 5th century), vi. (4th century).

[9] *AM* xx. 258 Πλατοὶς Διονυσίου Κυδαθηναιέως ἀνέθηκε. Another in *AM* xxvi. 49.

[10] *Cat. Brit. Mus. Sc.* 793; Sybel 323, cp. 361, 1488; *Münch. Glypt.* 198; *AA* 1855, 57.

It is inscribed as a thank-offering; the meaning is not clear, but a ritual act most likely[1]. It may be worth while to mention a beautiful vase found in Eleusis, depicting the Rape of Persephone, and with a dedicatory inscription scratcht upon it[2].

Dionysus also appears in groups which do not suggest a musical or dramatic victory. Thus in a Theban relief he sits on a rock, thyrsus in hand, and before him stands a female deity[3]. He appears on his throne, a snake beside him[4]; or as Sabazios he is seated in a biga, having snake and eagle[5]; or he is in company with a goddess clad in the fawnskin[6].

The usual scenes of adoration and sacrifice occur[7].

Many offerings are made to Hecate; and the variety of her functions, as a chthonian deity and therefore connected with the worship of the dead, as well as likely to be appealed to for help, or as connected with marriage and birth, or in other capacities, makes it impossible to guess at the occasion. None of the reliefs are archaic. She appears triform in a votive niche, holding torches and the vessel of libation[8]; or in the hideous oriental shape[9]. Hestia is also thus commemorated on a Thessalian stone[10]. There are one or two dedications to Zeus Philios, whose occasion can only be guessed[11]; and another relief to Zeus, with worshipper, is a thank-offering[12].

The crudest example of this idea in art is the relief of two hands alone[13].

(2) *Model of the thing sacrificed.*

We have already seen animal models forming part of a

[1] *AZ* xli. 223, pl. 13. 1: Τισικράτης Ἀγαθόκλειαν τὰν ἰδίαν θυγατέρα Δάματρι καὶ κόραι χαριστήριον; = *AM* ii. 378[193].

[2] *AM* xxi. pl. xii. Ἀνθίππη ἀνέθηκε.

[3] Sybel 352; Schöne 110.

[4] Conze, *Inschr. d. thrak. Meer*, pl. 17. 7.

[5] Roscher i. 1111.

[6] Sybel 585.

[7] Sybel 373: man, woman, and child. Dionysiac precinct, Athens.

[8] Farnell, *Cults*, ii. 552, pl. 39 *c*; F-W. p. 165; Baumeister 632.

[9] *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 683: from Magnesia. Also Stephani, *Compte Rendu* 1870, 191: hecateum Βάθυλλος Δέρκιος Ἑκάτη Σπάρτης μεδεούσῃ.

[10] *BCH* xii. 184.

[11] Farnell, *Cults*, i. p. 118.

[12] *CIG Add.* iv. 6831 Διὶ εὐχαριστήριον.

[13] *CIG Add.* iv. 6845 *b* Λουκιφέρα ὁσίῳ καὶ δικαίῳ (Trieste).

sacrificial group, and we are prepared to find them dedicated alone. This is in fact the simplest permanent memorial of a sacrifice, if the offerer wishes to commemorate it at all. It is well known that the Greeks often dedicated cakes in the form of animals: at the Diasia, for instance, an ancient agricultural feast, held in honour of Zeus Meilichios, cakes were offered in this shape by tradition[1]. The lexicographers mention a cake in ox-shape[2], which was offered no doubt by the poor; and a peasant in the *Anthology* offers cakes in the shape of oxen to Deo[3]. The cake itself was even modelled in marble[4], and the clay model of a tray of edibles was found in the Argive Heraeum[5]. The relief of Philombrotus's hair is another example of the same principle[6].

But we are not left to inference from analogy in the interpretation of animal models. By a great stroke of luck, the Acropolis of Athens has furnisht a beautiful sheep, bearing the legend in very ancient letters, "The supplication of Peisis[7]." The proverbial Mandrobulus, too, having found a treasure in Samos, offered to Hera a golden sheep the first year, one of silver the second, and one of bronze the third[8]. This may be the true explanation of the bronze oxen sent to Olympia by the Corcyraeans and the Eretrians[9], the bronze oxen at Delphi

[1] Thuc. i. 126, or gloss: *θύουσι πολλοὶ οὐχ ἱερεῖα, ἀλλὰ θύματα ἐπιχώρια*; *schol.* cited by Poppo *τινὰ πέμματα εἰς ζῴων μορφὰς τετυπωμένα*; Plato *Laws* 782 c *πέλανοι καὶ μέλιτι καρποὶ δεδευμένοι καὶ τοιαῦτα ἄλλα ἁγνὰ θύματα*. Mommsen thinks the first-fruit corn at Eleusis was workt up into such cakes.

[2] Hesych. *s.v. ἔβδομος βοῦς· εἶδος πέμματος κέρατα ἔχοντος.—βοῦς· πόπανόν τι τῶν θυομένων οὕτως ἐν ταῖς ἁγιωτάταις Ἀθήνησι θυσίαις· ἦν δὲ βοὶ παραπλήσιον*. Suidas *s.v. β. ἔβδ.* adds that it was made like the crescent moon; if this refers not to shape but to interpretation, it is naught. *CIA* ii. 1666 altar **θύειν** *τρεῖς ἑβδόμους βοῦς*.

[3] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 40: he gives a new turn to the traditional offering by praying that Deo will bless his real oxen.

[4] Sybel 4014.

[5] Dr Waldstein. In the Castle at Mytilene are a number of such trays of food in relief, all of late date.

[6] Pages 243, 244.

[7] *CIA* iv. 1. 373 *a*, p. 41; Ridder 529 *Πείσιδος ἱκεσία*.

[8] *Corp. Paroem. Gr.* Zenobius iii. 82; Greg. Cypr. iii. 50; Aelian, *Hist. An.* xii. 40.

[9] *IGA* 373 *Φιλήσιος ἐποίει· Ἐρετριῆς τῶι Δί* (early 5th cent.); Paus. v. 27. 9. Bronze oxen seem to have stood on a base dedicated to Zeus Atabyrius in Rhodes: *IGI* i. 31 *τοὺς βοῦς* **χαριστήριον**.

given by the Plataeans and the Carystians[1], the bronze bull dedicated by the Areopagus[2], and a bronze ox by the courtezan Cottina in Sparta[3]. Another explanation has been suggested of the bulls and rams which have been found: but it is clearly possible they may be sacrifices like that of Peisis. It will be well, then, briefly to enumerate here as well those animals which are inscribed as those which are not.

But first we must form some idea, what animals could be sacrificed. It is true, certain deities preferred certain animals, as Demeter and Persephone the swine, or refused them altogether, as this creature was refused by Aphrodite. Local and special rules, again, prescribed certain victims, for certain places and times. But sheep and oxen were always welcome, and wild animals were never part of the ordinary sacrifice[4]. It is probable, however, that there was more licence than we now imagine. Thus there was no necessity in most cases for the sex of the victim to be that of the deity. And further, the poor could probably sacrifice much as they would. The cock must have been a common offering, to judge from the way Aristotle speaks of it, and we are given to understand that they were not necessarily slain but simply presented[5]. I take this to have been the poor man's offering to other gods than Asclepius[6]. I shall venture, then, to cite the models of cocks in this section, not forgetting that they may sometimes be fighting cocks offered for other reasons[7]. So also, the doves and other birds held in the hands of votive figures are fairly to be taken as meant for offerings given or accepted; and if so, models of these creatures may be interpreted in the same way. The dove is certainly not a necessary attribute of Aphrodite, as we have

[1] Paus. x. 16. 6.

[2] Paus. i. 24. 2.

[3] Polemon *ap.* Ath. xiii. 574 D *ἀνάθημα δὲ αὐτῆς ἐστι βοΐδιόν τι χαλκοῦν.*

[4] For the rare exceptions see Stengel, *Die Griech. Kultusalterthümer* (Müller's Hdbch), 83—5.

[5] Arist. *Hist. An.* 614 *a* 8 *ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ὅπου ἄνευ θηλειῶν ἀνάκεινται, τὸν ἀνατιθέμενον πάντες εὐλόγως ὀχεύουσιν.* So Ath. ix. 391 D.

[6] Herodas iv. 15. The last words of Socrates have probably caused a mistaken idea of some close connexion between the cock and Asclepius.

[7] Suid. *s.v. ἀλεκτρύονα ἀθλητὴν Ταναγραῖον· ᾄδονται δὲ εὐγενεῖς οὗτοι. ἀφίησι τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ ἀνάθημά τε καὶ ἄθυρμα εἶναι, οἱονεὶ θεράποντα καὶ οἰκέτην περιπολοῦντα τῷ νεῷ, τὸν ὄρνιν ὁ Ἀσπένδιος οὗτος.*

seen[1]. To Artemis Laphria at Patrae were offered "edible kinds of birds and victims of every sort[2]," and it would be rash to assert that she was alone. To the Mistress in Lycosura, every one sacrificed what he had[3]; at Aulis all victims were lawful[4]. In Messene, says Pausanias, at a "hall of the Curetes, they sacrifice all victims alike; they begin with oxen and goats, and end with birds, throwing them all into the flames[5]." A sacrificial calendar from Marathon, which gives details of many sacrifices, does not observe any rule as to the sex of the victims being the same as that of the deity. Ram, goat, sheep, kine, and pig are mentioned; and the sacrifice made to Athena is an ox, three sheep and a pig[6]. In the shrine at Patrae wild boars, deer, and roe were offered, even the cubs of wolves and bears, or the full-grown beasts. I regard these as originally the firstlings of the hunter, and have already cited other examples under the same head[7]; they will therefore not come in here. Nor will the models of horses, which were only sacrificed on the rarest occasions[8], and which are more naturally regarded as firstlings; nor the figures of dogs, although the sacrifice of these creatures is not unknown[9]. The general principle seems to have been that the victims should be edible food for men; and Suidas mentions as the regular ones sheep, kine, swine, goats, fowls, and geese[10].

We may now take a general review of the animal models: not to imply that they must commemorate a sacrifice, but that they may. The Argive Heraeum yielded hundreds of animals in bronze and clay[11]: bulls, cows, oxen and ox-heads, goats,

[1] Page 289.

[2] Paus. vii. 18. 12.

[3] Paus. viii. 37. 8.

[4] Paus. ix. 19. 7.

[5] Paus. iv. 31. 9.

[6] *AJA* x. 210.

[7] Page 50, above.

[8] Paus. iii. 20. 9 Tyndareus sacrificed a horse and swore the suitors of Helen upon the pieces of it.

[9] Puppies to Enyalius by Spartans, black female puppies to Einodia at Colophon, Paus. iii. 14. 9; to Hecate in the Zerinthian cave, Schol. Arist. *Plutus* 277, Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 52 (who also mentions the custom for Argos); Hesych. *s.v.* Γενετυλλίς· *γυναικεία θεὸς ...ἐοικυῖα τῇ Ἑκάτῃ· διὸ καὶ ταύτῃ κύνας προετίθεσαν.*

[10] Suidas, *s.v.* *θῦσον· ὅτι ἐξ θυσίαι ἐξ ἐμψύχων ἐθύοντο, προβάτου ὑὸς βοὸς αἰγὸς ὄρνιθος χηνός, ἐθύετο ἕβδομος ὁ ἐξ ἀλεύρου.* See *βοῦς ἕβδομος*. Dogs were eaten by the Thracians, "and this may have been an old Greek custom"; Sext. Empir. (Bekker), 174.

[11] Dr Waldstein. A sheep, no. 22; wild goat, 27; duck, 44; and others.

sheep, cocks, ducks and other birds, including perhaps a swan. Olympia[1] yielded thousands of beasts cast in bronze

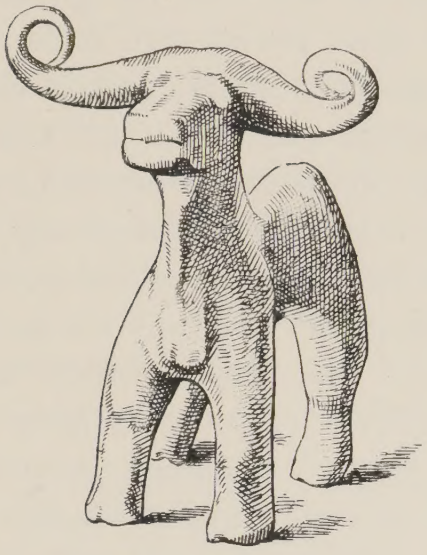

Fig. 42. From Olympia.
Bronzen xi. 148.

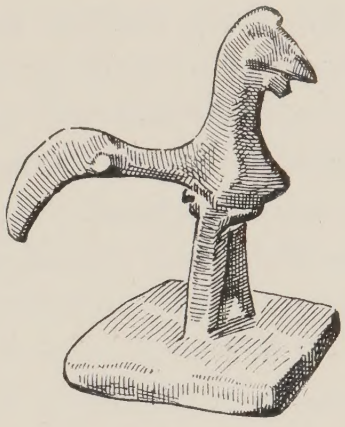

Fig. 43. Cock, from Olympia.
Bronzen xiii. 212.

or copper, a few of metal foil cut in profile, mostly cattle[2]; they belong to the earliest strata and become fewer as time goes on:

Fig. 44. Animal in thin foil, from Olympia.
Bronzen x. 99.

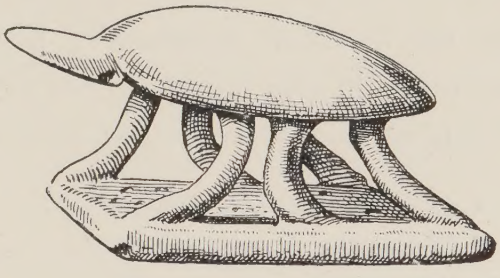

Fig. 45. From Olympia.
Bronzen xiii. 213.

bull[3] and ox[4] appear, ram[5], goat[6], and pig[7], cocks[8] and other birds[9]. One of them is an oddity which I cannot name[10]; if it

[1] *Bronzen von Ol.* 28 ff.
[2] *Bronzen von Ol.* x. 99; see fig. 44.
[3] *Bronzen von Ol.* pl. xii. 187.
[4] *Bronzen von Ol.* pl. xi. 148, 224; see fig. 42.
[5] *Bronzen von Ol.* pl. xii. 195.
[6] *Bronzen von Ol.* pl. xiii. 225.
[7] *Bronzen von Ol.* pl. x. 133, xii. 196.
[8] *Bronzen von Ol.* pl. xiii. 212; see fig. 43.
[9] *Bronzen von Ol.* pl. xiii. 210, 211, etc.
[10] *Bronzen von Ol.* xiii. 213; see fig. 45. I do not know why a *sechsbeiniger Käfer* should be dedicated.

had fewer legs it might be a tortoise. At Dodona were fewer: but the bull[1], ram[2] and dove[3] appear. In the Cabirium[4] is a total of more than 500 animals in bronze and lead, the greatest number being bulls or oxen; more than twenty-five bulls are inscribed[5]. They include a few goats and rams; and in clay were hundreds of bulls or oxen, sheep, and pigs. All whose sex can be made out are male, but many are indeterminate. Numbers of bulls and horses were found in the sanctuary of Poseidon at Taenarum[6]. Models of animals were found on the Acropolis of Athens[7]: besides the sheep of Peisis, and the stone ram[8], there are the bull[9] and the ox[10], the sheep or ram[11], and cocks[12]. Other birds there were, which were probably parts of vases or held in the hand of some figure[13], as indeed the cocks may have been[14]. The bull and bullock were found at Eleusis in bronze, with fragments of earthen rams and oxen[15]. A bronze ram from Prasiae is inscribed to Apollo Maleatas[16]. Fragments of rams came to light at Amyclae[17]. At Lusi animals were found, but mostly wild ones; there were doves, however, among them[18]. From Crete we have a bull and fragments of animals in the Idaean cave[19]; oxen, goats, rams, kine, of bronze and terra-cotta, in the cave of Hermes[20]; bulls, with rams and many other animals, in the Dictaean cave[21]. In a shrine near the Boeotian Orchomenus were found numbers of beasts, with an ox-head

[1] Carapanos, pl. xx. 4.

[2] Carapanos, pl. xxi. 2.

[3] Carapanos, pl. xxi. 5. This must not be taken alone, and referred to the oracular doves, but explained along with other doves.

[4] *AM* xv. 355 ff.

[5] *AM* xv. 365, 388; *IGS* i. 2457, 2459: three had Δαιτώνδας ἀνέθεικε, one adding τῶι Καβείρωι; others ἱαρὸς Καβίρω, τῶι παιδί, ὁ δεῖνα Καβείρωι, etc. One has found its way to the Athenian Acropolis: Κατ. i. 129 Ἐπιϙύδης Καβίρωι: Ridder 515.

[6] Frazer, *Pausanias*, iii. 396.

[7] *AA* ix. 140.

[8] Above, pp. 296, 75.

[9] Ridder 514, 517—21.

[10] Ridder 513.

[11] Ridder 525—8; *JHS* xiii. 242.

[12] Ridder 535, 378—9.

[13] In particular, owls, for which see chap. xiv.; and a crow, Ridder 541.

[14] See *CIA* ii. 742[16].

[15] *AM* xx. 306 ff.

[16] *IGA* 89; more probably a breeder's offering, see p. 75.

[17] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1892, pl. 3.

[18] *Jahreshefte* iv. 39. The cocks, p. 49, were brooch-pins or something of the sort.

[19] *Mus. It.* ii. 736.

[20] *Mus. It.* ii. 914, pl. xiv.

[21] *Mus. It.* ii. 906, pl. xiii.; *Ann. Br. Sch. Ath.* vi. 108.

and a rabbit[1]. In Therapne were found some of the bases which support models of animals[2]. A marble ram was dedicated at Cnidus to the Maid[3]. Archaic Greek models of votive oxen were found in Apulia[4], and in Tarentum (where was a shrine of Persephone) a whole series of pigs[5]. Some of the golden or silver animals mentioned in the lists may have been dedicated on the principle here discussed[6]. There were fifty or sixty golden ox-heads, modelled with an axe between the horns, found in one of the tombs at Mycenae; perhaps representing sacrifice to the dead. The same may be true of the magnificent ox-head in gold and silver[7]. It is recorded that a priest spent the price of a ram on a votive offering[8].

(3) *Articles used in the ritual.*

From the long series of vases found in the tomb at Menidhi, it would appear that the vessel used to hold the food or what not which was brought to the sacred place was left with it and formed part of the offering. This will explain the hosts of rude vases, usually all of a shape, found at sacred places. Examples are: the Argive Heraeum[9], the Dictaean cave[10], Naucratis[11], at Olympia seemingly[12], and at Eleusis, in which last place the visitor may still grub up tiny pots from the loose earth. To dedicate these was probably a common custom.

Lamps appear also to have been offered, and a number were found in Athens[13], Bathos[14], and the Cretan cave[15]. There are some indications, though I cannot call them conclusive, that models of the wreaths which were worn, or some other objects, were possible dedications. A few of these were found in the

[1] *AM* xix. 171; above, p. 69.

[2] *Rev. Arch.* xxx. 17; found with animals on them at Olympia.

[3] Collitz iii. 3518 **Κούρη** Πλαθαινίς, Πλάτωνος γυνή.

[4] *CIA* ix. 120. Oxen also at Este: *Not. degli Scavi*, 1888, pl. vii. ff.

[5] *JHS* vii. 24.

[6] As the τραγίσκοι at Delos, *BCH* xiv. 404.

[7] Schliemann, *Mycenae*, 218.

[8] *CIA* ii. 836[33] ἱερεὺς Λυσανίας ἐκ τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ κριοῦ (Asclepius).

[9] Dr Waldstein.

[10] *Ann. Br. Sch. Ath.* vi. 101.

[11] Gardner, *Naucratis*, ii. 61; cp. i. 12, etc.

[12] *Bronzen von Ol.* 198; Frazer, *Pausanias*, iii. 556.

[13] Ridder, *Cat.* 425–7.

[14] *JHS* xiii. 227 ff.

[15] *Ann. Br. Sch. Ath.* vi. 105. At Cnidus: Newton, *Halic.* 494.

hero-shrine at Amyclae[1]; and in Olympia, fragments of bronze wreaths or sprays[2]. It is not likely, but not impossible, that models of wreaths might be dedicated, since the figure of a man bearing a wreath has been found. The wreath would bear the same relation to the figure as the separate animal to a figure holding an animal. I can see no other reason for the dedication of models of torches made of the precious metals, recorded in Boeotia, than that they are memorials of some vigil or ceremony where the dedicators had held them[3].

(4) *The deity.*

We have seen that one of the most common offerings for occasions of all sorts was the figure of the deity; and we may assume therefore that a pilgrim would as naturally dedicate one when he paid his devoirs at the shrine, as the pious Catholic offers a figure of the Virgin and Child. I propose here to consider those large series of divine figures, which have come to light in many parts of the Greek world, which were offered on occasions unknown by generations of worshippers, and which in default of direct evidence may be supposed to have been given at the recurrent feast or pilgrimage. And first, the facts.

The earliest figures of this class are rude female idols of stone, quite naked, of which examples have been found in Delphi[4] and on the Acropolis of Athens[5]. The former, being made of Parian marble, should have been carried to Delphi by a visitor, perhaps when Delphi was the oracle of her whom Aeschylus calls Themis, or the Earth[6]. Others of this type have been found in the islands, placed in ancient tombs. There are also figures of a female deity with wings, found at Amyclae and Therapne, which may be referred to another ancient goddess, she who is identified by the Greeks with Artemis[7]. A series of goddess-figures with animal heads is said

[1] *Rev. Arch.* xxx. 19: but the object has a handle, and is really a hoop with jags attacht.

[2] *Bronzen von Ol.* 1171 ff.

[3] Plataea: a catalogue. All the dedicators are women; 33 δαίδες; offered singly, once three, once five ꝗᴆ a time. *AJA* vii. 406.

[4] *AM* xvi. 361, Perrot and Chipiez, vi. 738, fig. 325.

[5] *AM* xvi. 57.

[6] Aesch. *Eum. init.*

[7] *Rev. Arch.* xxx. 10, 19.

to have been discovered[1]. But these are isolated; and the types we have next to consider show a series long and unbroken, reaching back to pre-historic times.

In the Argive Heraeum[2] thousands of terra-cotta figures are found in pockets, probably round altars which go back beyond the Mycenaean age. They range from the earliest primitive idol, shapeless, without mark of sex, and naked, to the seated and standing figures of the so-called Tirynthine type, to the class called Mycenaean, these more nearly indicating the human head on a rude body, down by regular transition through the Dipylon stage to archaic Greek: and there they stop. A few bronze figures are also found. The immense preponderance of female figures suggests that the goddess is represented by most of them; for men worshipt Hera, and men were not forbidden her temple; moreover, after reading the earlier chapters of this book, the reader will I think not be inclined to admit special deities for males and females in the ancient days[3]. It will be noted that the goddess is not characterised by cuckoo, peacock, or other distinctive attributes.

The earthen fragments found on the Acropolis at Athens number about five thousand. They include two shapeless idols in a standing posture, and some three hundred seated idols of the same class, which appear to belong to the Mycenaean age; about a thousand standing and seated female figures of a more advanced style, clothed, and not unlike the 'Maiden' statues, but for a headdress which they wear. The standing figures are for the most part without attribute; but some have the shield and gorgon's mask[4], or a plume on the head, and hold a fruit or bird to the breast with the right hand; others have the right arm raised as if in battle, although no trace of a spear was found. The seated figures sit on a throne wide or narrow[5], wearing *stephane* or *polos*, a hand sometimes holding fruit. A

[1] *BCH* xxiii. 635. The heads may have been meant for human shape.

[2] For this information I am indebted to Dr Waldstein. See also the *Preliminary Report of Excavations*.

[3] Perrot points out that the stone female idols are found in warriors' tombs: *Hist.* vi. 759.

[4] *Acrop. Mus.* no. 625; no. 593 holds oil-flask to bosom.

[5] This is evidence for a seated Athena in this place. But the seated goddess has been found in the shrine of the hero Amynus, *AM* xxi. 293.

number of pieces are the head only, in high relief and hollow, or upon a flat slab, with holes for hanging. As these are all female, and not distinctly marked as the devotee, they should be meant for the goddess herself[1]. In the same place statues of Artemis were found, but less numerous. She also appears both seated upon a throne and standing erect. The seated figures hold a fawn with one hand or the other; those standing hold a fawn in the right hand, a flower or leaf in the left[2]. At Eleusis is a whole series of seated goddesses of the familiar type, not distinguishable from those found elsewhere[3]. In a sacred precinct at Tegea, much the same features reappear. There are figures both seated and standing, fifteen hundred in number, all female with perhaps one exception; which makes it likely that the figures are meant for the deity, were it Athena, Demeter[4], or who not. This must be true of the most part, but some which hold pigs in their arms, or carry jars of water, or dance, may perhaps be human beings who took part in the sacrifice. The enthroned figures generally hold a bird, or a flower, close to the breast; grapes lie sometimes upon the lap[5]. In a sanctuary of Artemis in Corcyra were some thousands of draped female figures[6], mostly

Fig. 46. Artemis with fawn (Corcyra). *BCH* xv. pl. iii.

[1] *AA* viii. 140 ff.; *AM* xix. 491. Castriotes explains them as devotees, virgins who took part in the Panathenaic procession, made in Athena's type. No proof is given.

[2] *AA* viii. 146. Artemis Brauronia was seated in historical times.

[3] In the Museum.

[4] Paus. viii. 53. 7.

[5] *AM* iv. 170 ff. Offerings were laid on the knees of seated deities, *Il.* vi. 273.

[6] In Carapanos Museum, Athens. See *BCH* xv. 1 ff., pl. i.—viii. See fig. 46.

archaic, which hold a garland or flower, a bird, fruit, or some such offering, or nothing at all. The interpretation of these is as before doubtful; but there are others which represent the goddess herself, in her character of goddess of the wild woodland. She holds a deer with one hand to her breast; or animals fawn upon her, which she caresses, hare, deer, boar, panther, or lion; again she holds her bow, and in the other hand a bird, deer, or lion, dangling by one leg; sometimes she stands in a chariot behind a pair of deer[1]. Most characteristic of this shrine are others which show a small human figure in front of the goddess, apparently in the act either of dancing past or of clasping her knees[2]. Thus the goddess is clearly intended by independent figures similarly attired. Figures of a similar type, the goddess with her hand on the head of a lion or stag, or with a dog or some animal fawning upon her, come from a grotto near Syracuse[3]. Characterised figures of Artemis come from Locri[4]. Figures of the goddess have also been found in the precinct of Athena Cranaea; and amongst the hundreds labelled "nondescript" we may see the goddess herself without attribute[5]. So in the shrine of Aphrodite at Naucratis, figures were found which are believed to represent the goddess[6]; for one female figure dedicated by a man Polyhermus, cannot be meant for the dedicator[7]. Figures of Apollo occur at his shrine in Voni (Cyprus), with eagle, fawn, or Victory as attributes, and with the "temple boy" or votary[8]. A rough female head, from Thessaly, is dedicated to the Earth by a man[9].

In the western colonies similar series have been found. Thus at a shrine near Catania, we see the matronly type and the maiden type, both standing, the latter holding pig, fruit, flower, or torch; and seated female figures of wooden modelling[10]. At Megara Hyblaea are the upright draped figure, xoanon type, the seated Demeter type, having the *calathos* headgear, and

[1] Compare Paus. vii. 18. 12.

[2] See above, p. 286, fig. 38.

[3] *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1900, 353 ff.

[4] *Jahreshefte* iv. 48 ff.

[5] *BCH* xi. 412 with pl. v.

[6] *Naucratis*, i. 58.

[7] *Naucratis*, pl. xxi. 794: Πολύερμος μ' ἀνέθηκε τῇι Ἀφροδίτηι.

[8] *Cat. Cypr. Mus.* 5048 ff.

[9] *Rev. Arch.* xxxiv. 329, pl. xii. (3rd century) Γᾶ Πανταρέτα Καινεὺς Πειθούνειος.

[10] *Mon. Ant.* vii. 217 ff., pl. iii. ff.

the maiden standing with hand to breast, and holding a bird or other object in it[1]. Masks are also found in some places.

The female standing type called Maiden is also known in two series of large marble statues at Athens and at Delos, and in scattered analogues elsewhere[2]. One holding a dove comes from Marseilles[3]; one from Eleusis[4], two from the neighbourhood of Apollo Ptoan[5]; one from Samos is dedicated to Hera and differs somewhat from the rest in appearance[6]. A certain variety in the costume is to be seen at Athens, but, magnificent as it is, the costume is human, no doubt the Athenian lady's gala-dress of the sixth century[7]. As a rule they carry nothing in the hand, but one holds a strigil and a flask[8]. The human air of these figures is most markt, and has suggested that they may be meant for priestesses or arrhephori. I have already given strong reasons for thinking that some must, and all may have been meant for the goddess[9]; and pointed out, that as there is no evidence for the honorific dedication of priestesses thus early, so the statue of an official, if it was dedicated, must be more than a mere human figure, and must in some way represent the function fulfilled. The question becomes clearer still when viewed in the light of these large series of divine figures. It was clearly needless to characterise a deity always in the same way; whilst various deities are drest alike, stand in the same pose, and are indistinguishable from each other and from human beings[10]. A seated statuette, which otherwise might be taken for Demeter, is inscribed as Hecate[11]. A statue from Samos, inscribed to

[1] *Mon. Ant.* i. 913 ff.

[2] *Gaz. Arch.* ii. 133 pl. 31; Collignon, *Hist. Sc. Gr.* i. 120, 340.

[3] *Gaz. Arch.* ii. 133, pl. 31.

[4] Collignon i. 122, fig. 60.

[5] Collignon i. 122, 123, figs. 61, 62: perhaps Artemis.

[6] Collignon i. 163.

[7] Collignon i. 342. One is inscribed. *IGS* i. 2729 ...ρων ἀνέθεικε τῶι Ἀπόλωνι τῶι Πτωιεῖ· ...οτος ἐποίϝεισε.

[8] Collignon i. 353, fig. 178.

[9] Page 90. It is strange that the word κόρη has been taken to imply humanity, seeing that Demeter's daughter goes by that name alone.

[10] The reader will no longer dub a goddess Aphrodite because she holds a dove (as Lenormant does, *Gaz. Arch.* ii. 133); or he must see Aphrodite in Athens, Tegea, and Corcyra.

[11] *AZ* xl. 267; *CIA* iv. 1. 422[3] Αἴγων ἀνέθηκε θεᾶκάτηι. These are very rarely inscribed; another from Aegina, perhaps Athena therefore, has ...ΞVIA

Hera, much resembles the archaic Delian series[1]. When the conception of a deity becomes clearer, the attributes emerge; and Athena protectress assumes now helmet, now shield, now spear, or all together. This brings us to the definite type of armed Athena, in act to strike with the spear, which is represented by a number of bronzes found on the Acropolis[2].

The question of the male figures, found in the shrines of male deities, is similar, but it is complicated by the fact that such figures may be meant for athletes. There is a series of archaic stone figures from the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoan, quite naked and without attributes of any kind, some inscribed[3]. One found in Samos[4], and an archaic bronze figure of a similar type, probably from Thebes, are both inscribed like these to Apollo[5].

Single examples of a similar type are known from Orchomenus[6], Thera[7] and Sparta[8], in the same attitude but of style more advanced from Tenea[9] and Naxos[10], from Melos, Paros, Phigalea, Actium and many other places[11]. It will be noticed that all those inscribed are dedicated to Apollo. Now an athlete statue must be either honorific, or by the principles we have everywhere seen, it must represent somehow the act recorded. But honorific statues were known before the fourth century in no divine precinct except at Olympia, and perhaps the other

...⊕ᚱᛕᚱ, *AZ* xxv. 123, pl. 228. 3. A goddess enthroned, doubtless Hera, comes from Samos: *AZ* xxii. 140, pl. 182. 2.

[1] *BCH* iv. 483 ff. Χηραμύης μ' ἀνέθηκεν τῆρηι ἄγαλμα.

[2] Ridder, *Cat.*

[3] *BCH* x. 66, 98, 190, 269, pl. iv.—ix.; xi. 275, 354, pl. ix.—x.; x. 196; *IGS* i. 2732 Κίδος ἀνέθεικε τῶ Πτωιεῖι; *BCH* x. 78 ...ον ἀνέθηκε τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι τῶι Πτωεῖ (boustrophedon); *IGI* Εὐ . ειτίας ἀνέθηκε· τῶ Πτωιεῖος; 270 (corrects xi. 287) Πυθίας ὠκραιφιεὺς καὶ Αἰσχρίων ἀνεθέταν with a fragm. of ἀργυροτόξωι; *IGS* i. 2729, 2730. Collignon i. 196 ff. An inscription found in the same precinct, Ἵππαρχος ἀνέθηκεν ὁ Πεισιστράτου, in sixth century alphabet, may perhaps belong to one such.

[4] Λεύκιος ἀνέθηκεν τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι: Gymnasium Museum, Vathy, no. 25. The name Lycius occurs in Branchidae. Apollo in Samos, Paus. ii. 31. 9.

[5] *AJA* N.S. ii. 250 Μάντικλος μ' ἀνέθεικε Ϝεκαβόλωι ἀργυροτόξωι τᾶς δεκάτας· τὺ δὲ Φοῖβε δίδοι χαρίϝετταν ἀμοιϜάν.

[6] Collignon i. 114.

[7] Gardner, *Gr. Sc.* 123.

[8] Collignon i. 132.

[9] Collignon i. 202.

[10] Collignon i. 253.

[11] Gardner, *Hist. of Gr. Sculpt.*, Index, *s.v.* Apollo.

centres of the great games; therefore they can hardly be seriously considered for the Ptoan precinct. As the statues are naked, most of the contests are excluded also. A runner ran naked, and so far the statue might be an athlete; but as we saw in the hoplite-runner of Tübingen, he could assume a characteristic attitude. If therefore these were athletes, duly dedicated to Apollo, they should show it in their attitude. It must be admitted, however, that the statues might possibly be meant to represent the γυμνικὸς ἀγών[1]; so that this argument by itself is not conclusive. Further: athletic dedications always record the occasion; these use mostly a bare formula, but the only one which says anything of the occasion calls the statue a tithe. It follows that one of the Ptoan statues was not an athlete, that none of them need have been an athlete, and that such evidence as is to be had goes to show that they were not. We may therefore assume that they were meant for Apollo; and his naked figure stands in the same relation to that armed with the bow, as the Athenian Maiden to the Promachos. How far the same explanation is true of the so-called Apollos depends on the place they stood in; and as this is generally unknown, I leave them alone. But the Samian and Theban figures go with the Ptoan[2]. Figures of Apollo have been found at Delphi[3] and Amyclae[4]; and we are told that an Apollo was the oldest of all the dedications at the Delphic shrine[5].

The question of Zeus is easier. Most of his figures (there are not many) found at Olympia and Dodona are characterised by holding the thunderbolt, or seem to have held it[6]. Two have the bolt and what is called an eagle[7]. So also at Dodona[8]. But the bearded male figure in a mantle, which once held

[1] This was suggested by Prof. E. A. Gardner.

[2] The male figures on the Acropolis of Athens (*Cat.* 734, 736, 737, 740) all appear to have held something in the hand. These were certainly not Apollos; but no doubt athletes. A figure called Apollo at Delphi, *BCH* xxi. pl. x., xi., is naked but for a metal girdle.

[3] *BCH* xxi. pl. xi.

[4] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1892, pl. 2.

[5] Paus. x. 16. 8.

[6] *Bronzen von Ol.* vii. 43, 46.

[7] *Bronzen von Ol.* vii. 45, viii. 44; see fig. 47.

[8] Carapanos xii. 4 (2nd cent. archaistic).

something (now gone) in his left hand[1], may be Zeus as truly as the Maiden type may represent Athena. I do not know

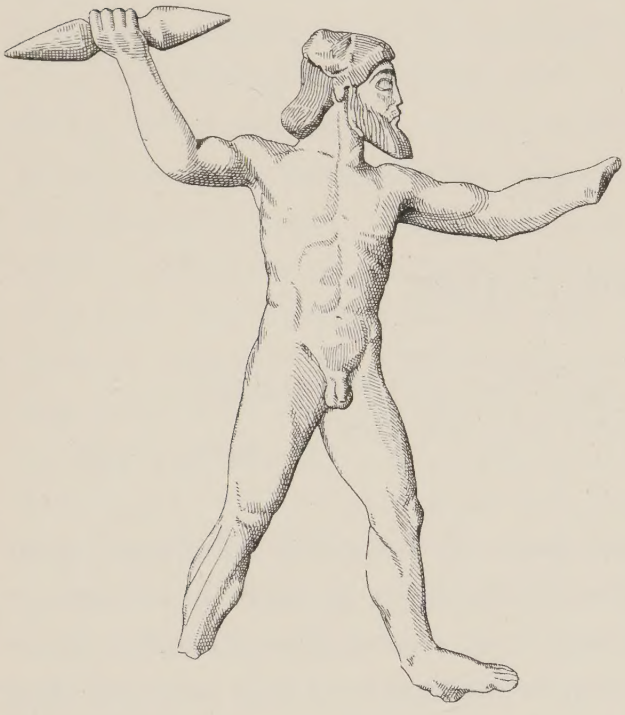

Fig. 47. Zeus with thunderbolt, from Olympia.

Bronzen viii. 44.

Fig. 48. Figure from Olympia (Zeus?).

Bronzen vii. 40.

how to interpret the seated male figure with long braided hair and conical hat, also found at Dodona[2].

[1] *Bronzen von Ol.* vii. 40; see fig. 48.

[2] Carapanos x. 2.

IX.

PROPITIATION.

οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐκέλευον τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
τὸ ἄγος ἐλαύνειν τῆς θεοῦ.

THUC. i. 126.

ALTHOUGH the greatest part of recorded offerings were promised or given, from thankfulness for favours bestowed or intelligently anticipated, there were others due to fear. It is possible, as I have already suggested, that fear may have entered into the offering of firstfruits; but the feeling is clearer where a votary has to propitiate some offended deity. The feeling is illustrated by the words of Telemachus to Odysseus, whom he takes for a strange god of unknown tastes: "Be gracious, that we may give thee sacrifices to please thee, aye and gifts of wrought gold[1]." Sin-offering and thank-offering are mentioned as natural complements in a story of Orestes[2]. Such offerings, it is true, lack the freewill which is the essence of the rest, but it would be amiss to pass them by without notice.

The most of this class were dedicated to atone for a definite breach of rule or of duty. So, in Homeric days, Artemis must be appeased by the sacrifice of Iphigenia, and sacrifice has to be rendered for the violation of the priest[3]; Aegisthus propitiates heaven with gifts of garments and gold[4]; and

[1] *Od.* xvi. 184 ἀλλ' ἵληθ' ἵνα τοι κεχαρισμένα δώομεν ἱρὰ ἠδὲ χρύσεα δῶρα τετυγμένα.

[2] Paus. viii. 34. 3.

[3] Cp. *Iliad*, i. 22, 428, 441.

[4] *Od.* iii. 274 πολλὰ δ' ἀγάλματ' ἀνῆψεν, ὑφάσματά τε χρυσόν τε.

it is likely that sacrifice was often done on similar occasions. The crew of Odysseus, about to steal the oxen of the sun, vow to build a temple to the sun, and fill it with fine offerings[1]. So Croesus, who had offended the oracles of Greece by doubting their power, which he put to the test by asking them a ridiculous riddle, tried to appease[2] the two which were found true, by offering magnificent gifts. At Delphi, after first sacrificing, he presented the shrine with a large number of golden ingots of two standard sizes, which were piled in a heap to be the base of a great golden lion; a gold and a silver crater, four pitchers of silver, a gold and a silver holy-water basin, and other objects[3]. To Amphiaraus he sent a gold shield and a golden spear[4]. Xerxes too, after flogging the Hellespont, propitiated the powers of the sea by sacrifices done on the bridge, and by casting into the waters the golden bowl which he had used in libation, with a golden crater, and a Persian sword[5]. When the Lacedaemonians had so treacherously murdered the Plataean prisoners, and razed their city to the ground, they built a new temple for Hera and used the bronze and iron they found within the place to make fittings for it[6].

At Olympia, he who broke the rules of the games had to pay a fine, which was used to purchase a bronze statue of Zeus; these

[1] *Od.* xii. 343 ἀλλ' ἄγετ', Ἠελίοιο βοῶν ἐλάσαντες ἀρίστας ῥέξομεν ἀθανάτοισι, τοὶ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν. εἰ δέ κεν εἰς Ἰθάκην ἀφικοίμεθα πατρίδα γαῖαν, αἶψά κεν Ἠελίῳ Ὑπερίονι πίονα νηὸν τεύξομεν, ἐν δέ κε θεῖμεν ἀγάλματα πολλὰ καὶ ἐσθλά. εἰ δὲ χολωσάμενος, etc.

[2] So I interpret ἱλάσκετο; cp. ἱλασμοί for bloodguilt, Plut. *Solon* 12.

[3] Herod. i. 50, 51. These were not dedicated all at the same time; see above, p. 255. It should be mentioned that he also burnt a number of articles, furniture and fabrics included, ἐλπίζων τὸν θεὸν μᾶλλόν τι τούτοισι ἀνακτήσεσθαι.

[4] Herod. i. 52.

[5] Herod. vii. 54: at sunrise, θυμιήματά τε πολλὰ ἐπὶ τῶν γεφυρέων καταγίζοντες, καὶ μυρσίνῃσι στορνύντες τὴν ὁδόν. ὡς δ' ἐπανέτελλε ὁ ἥλιος, σπένδων ἐκ χρυσέης φιάλης Ξέρξης ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, εὔχετο πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον...εὐξάμενος δὲ ἐσέβαλε τὴν φιάλην ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, καὶ χρύσεον κρητῆρα καὶ Περσικὸν ξίφος τὸν ἀκινάκην καλέουσι. ταῦτα οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως διακρῖναι, οὔτε εἰ τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνατιθεὶς κατῆκε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, which is far from likely, οὔτε εἰ μετεμέλησέ οἱ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον μαστιγώσαντι, καὶ ἀντὶ τουτέων τὴν θάλασσαν ἐδωρέετο. Offerings of gold, silver, and fine raiment were thrown into a river at Aphaca in Syria: Zosimus, i. 58.

[6] Thuc. iii. 68 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις (ἐχρήσαντο) ἃ ἦν ἐν τῷ τείχει ἔπιπλα, χαλκὸς καὶ σίδηρος, κλίνας κατασκευάσαντες ἀνέθεσαν τῇ Ἥρᾳ.

Zanes, as they were called, stood in a row near the Treasuries. The first offence recorded is that of Eupolus of Thessaly[1] (98th Ol.) who bribed his competitors in the boxing. The whole six of them were fined, and appropriate inscriptions were placed upon the statues, as thus: "the victory is won by strength and swiftness, not by money": "the statue stands for honour to God, for the piety of the Eleans, and for a terror to evildoers." In Ol. 110 Callippus of Athens bribed his rivals in the pentathlon[2]. The Athenians took the matter up, and sent the orator Hyperides to plead for him; but he lost the case. Still, the Athenians refused to pay, and consequently all of that city were excluded from the games until by oracle from Delphi they were persuaded to pay the fine. A curious case was that of the Alexandrian boxer, Apollonius[3]. He arrived late, and pleaded baffling winds; but the fact was he had been prize-hunting all over the Aegean, and this made him to be late. When the judges refused to admit him to compete, and the victor had the wreath awarded to him without a contest, in fury Apollonius rusht at him; and for this contempt of court he was fined. In Ol. 192 even an Elean dared to cheat. The competitors, Polyctor and Sosandrus, were on this occasion held guiltless, or at least one of them[4]. The two fathers were punisht in the usual way. In Ol. 201 Serapion of Alexandria, who had entered for the pancratium, played the coward and departed before the event, and for his cowardice was fined[5]. Fines were customary at Olympia for other breaches of sacrificial rules[6].

When the Athenians fell into arrears with their sacred mission to Dodona, they were enjoined to sacrifice, and to offer a bronze table with some other object not specified[7].

There is an indication that the practice was wider than we know, in a late inscription from Coloë. On a slab of marble, beneath a relief of a mounted hero or god holding a double axe, is a legend which informs us that this was dedicated by Antonia to Apollo, as atonement for having attended a cere-

[1] Paus. v. 21. 2.
[2] Paus. v. 21. 6.
[3] Paus. v. 21. 12.
[4] Paus. v. 21. 16.
[5] Paus. v. 21. 18.
[6] Collitz i. 1158.
[7] Quoted by Dem. *Meid.* § 15, p. 530.

monial dance in a dirty dress[1]. The base of a "thank-offering and atonement" was found at Cnidus[2]. The Epidaurian pig demanded as a punishment for scepticism, will be remembered[3]. Two entries in the catalogue of the Asclepieum suggest fines[4].

In some sanctuaries, where the worshipper's dress was prescribed, jewels and ornaments were not to be worn; any so brought in were forfeit, and consecrated in the shrine and to the deity[5]. This was the law in the temple of Despoina at Lycosura, for garments purple or black, or of any bright colour, sandals, rings, and gold ornaments[6]. A similar rule held in Andania[7], Ialysus[8], and perhaps elsewhere. We find "false staters," apparently confiscated from Lacon, in the temple of Brauronian Artemis at Athens[9]. So also at Delos[10]. Dionysius of Syracuse made all the women dedicate their ornaments, which he then seized; if anyone thereafter wished to wear gold, she had to dedicate a votive offering of some sort[11].

For the crime of bloodguilt, expiation was sometimes made in the same way, as Plutarch implies[12]. The Metroum at Athens was founded to propitiate the soul of a murdered man[13]. In the story of Coroebus and his slaying of Poene, the oracle of Apollo commanded him to expiate the guilt by founding a temple[14]. A statue of Cylon on the Acropolis[15] may perhaps have been dedicated because of the murder of the conspirators in violation of the sanctuary of the

[1] *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 680 Ἀντωνία Ἀντωνίου Ἀπόλλωνι θεῶ Βοζηνω διὰ τὸ ἀναβεβηκένε με ἐπὶ τὸν χορὸν ἐν ῥυπαρῶ ἐπενδύτη, κολασθῖσα δὲ ἐξωμολογησάμην κὲ ἀνέθηκα εὐλογίαν ὅτι ἐγενόμην ὁλόκληρος.

[2] Newton, *Branchidae*, i. 380.

[3] Page 226, above.

[4] *CIA* ii. 835[18] ἀλύσιον τὸ εἰσπραχθέν, [64] κυμβίον τὸ εἰσπραχθέν.

[5] Cp. σίγλοι καὶ ἀσκοὶ ἐξάγιστοι, in a catalogue of Eleusis, *CIA* iv. 2. 767 *b*.

[6] ἀναθέτω ἐν τὸ ἱερόν, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1898, 249.

[7] Collitz iii. 4689[22, 26, 39, 88].

[8] *IGI* i. 677.

[9] *CIA* ii. 652 B στατῆρες κίβδηλοι **ἐν κιβωτίωι σεσημασμένοι** οἱ παρὰ Λάκωνος; *CIA* ii. 654B **ἀργύριον κίβδηλον** τὸ Ἐλευσινόθεν.

[10] *BCH* vi.

[11] Arist. *Oec.* ii. 1349*a* 24 ἐκέλευσε τὴν βουλομένην χρυσοφορεῖν τάγμα τι ἀνατιθέναι εἰς τὸ ἱερόν.

[12] Plut. *Solon* 12 ἱλασμοῖς τισι καὶ καθαρμοῖς καὶ ἱδρύσεσι.

[13] Suidas *s.v.* μητραγύρτης, βάραθρον; Photius *s.v.* Μητρῷον; Schol. Arist. *Plut.* 431; Frazer, *Pausanias*, ii. 67.

[14] Paus. i. 43. 8.

[15] Paus. i. 28. 1.

goddess[1]. The same principle is seen in two statues of Pausanias, dedicated in the Brazen House at Sparta, from which he had been dragged forth and slain[2]. Perhaps we may conjecture that one was intended to lay the ghost of Pausanias[3], and the other to lay the ghost of the hapless Cleonice, who was killed by Pausanias in mistake. We are told that Pausanias had tried in vain to set her spirit at rest, what with wizards and what with sacrifices to Zeus, as god of Flight[4]. These dedications were enjoined by the Delphic oracle. When a certain Timagoras, a foreigner, was bidden by his Athenian lover to cast himself down from the Acropolis, he did so; whereupon the lover did the same. For this the foreigners of Athens dedicated an altar to Anteros, or as Suidas says, a statue of the Athenian[5]. A temple of Artemis at Tegea was built to expiate the slaying of the tyrant Aristomelidas by one Chronius, who did it in obedience to a vision of Artemis[6]. The Argives, after an internecine feud, expiated the bloodshed by setting up a statue of Gracious Zeus[7]. We might be tempted to place here the reliefs dedicated to Zeus under this title, but that he was worshipt as Gracious by the farmers[8]. Propitiatory offerings were certainly made to him under this title[9].

Treaties and laws were sanctioned with fines for the breaking of them[10]: although these are assessed in money, the sums were, sometimes at least, expended in a votive offering, so that they cannot be excluded. Periander decreed that anyone who helped his banished son should pay a fine to Apollo[11]. In the ancient Elean treaties, the violator was to pay a sum of money to Zeus Olympius[12]. Similar rules appear in Athenian documents[13],

[1] Herod. v. 71: Schäfer, *A. Z.* xxiv. 183. It may have been dedicated by himself for his Olympic victory in 640.

[2] Paus. iii. 17. 7, 9; Thuc. i. 134.

[3] Plut. *de ser. num. vind.* 17.

[4] Paus. i. 28. 1.

[5] Paus. i. 30. 1, Suid. *s.v.* Μέλητος. Suidas says Meletus offered Timagoras some cocks, and when they were scorned, threw himself down. The statue, we are told, represented a youth holding two cocks.

[6] The tyrant himself was blood-guilty. Paus. viii. 47. 6.

[7] Paus. ii. 20. 2.

[8] Above, p. 83.

[9] Paus. ii. 20. 1.

[10] So in Assyria: a common penalty for breach of contract was to dedicate a bow to Ninip. Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, i. 616.

[11] Herod. iii. 52.

[12] *IGA* 112, 115.

[13] *CIA* i. 41, ii. 11.

and in the treaty between Orchomenus and the Achaean League[1]. The Amphictyonic Council imposed fines, not only on states (as in the case of Phocis[2]) but on single persons for breach of oath[3]. Other ordinances of Delphi, such as a vote of privilege to a distinguisht man, were guarded by fines in case of violation[4]. For any offence against a certain decree of Acraephia, two thousand staters were to be paid as sacred to Apollo[5]. Emancipations were sometimes similarly guarded. At Messene, he who infringed the liberty of an enfranchised slave paid ten minae to Limnatis[6]; at Delphi, a silver talent to Apollo[7]; at Elatea, ten minae to Asclepius[8]. So in Coronea[9], Daulis[10], Hyampolis[11], Stiris[12].

At Athens, officials who broke their oath or neglected their duty were compelled to make an expiatory offering. Under the Solonian constitution the nine archons swore in such case to dedicate a golden statue, which from the words used appears to have been meant for a portrait[13]. Suidas[14] appears to imply that three were to be offered, in Delphi, Olympia, and Athens, one each; and Plato[15] and Plutarch[16] add, that it was to be of equal weight with the offender. The archon who failed in his duty to orphan heiresses, by not compelling the next of kin to wed or to dower them, paid a thousand drachmae to Hera[17]. Archons who failed to punish tradesmen for using false measures, were fined a thousand drachmae sacred to Demeter and the Maid[18]; and those who violated a law concerned with trierarchy paid a like sum to Athena[19], as also did prytanes or

[1] Collitz ii. 1634.

[2] *IGS* iii. 1. 110, 111.

[3] *CIG* 1688[19], etc.

[4] Vote of thanks to an architect: Collitz ii. 2522.

[5] *AM* xvi. 349 δέκα μνᾶς ἀργυρίου ἱαρὰς τᾶι Λιμνᾶτι.

[6] Collitz ii. 1532*b*.

[7] Collitz ii. 1548.

[8] *IGS* i. 2872.

[9] Collitz ii. 1523[15]; *IGS* iii. 1. 66.

[10] *BCH* xiv. 21, line 21: ἀποτεισάτω ὁ ἀδικῶν δισχιλίους στατῆρας καὶ ὃ ἂν καταβλάψηι, τὰ δὲ καταδικασθέντα χρήματα ἱερὰ ἔστω τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πτωΐου.

[11] *IGS* iii. 1. 86.

[12] *IGS* iii. 1. 34.

[13] Arist. *Const. Ath.* 7 οἱ δ' ἐννέα ἄρχοντες ὀμνύντες πρὸς τῷ λίθῳ κατεφάτιζον ἀναθήσειν ἀνδριάντα χρυσοῦν ἐάν τινα παραβῶσι τῶν νόμων. ὅθεν ἔτι καὶ νῦν οὕτως ὀμνύουσιν. So ch. 55. 5. See next two notes.

[14] Suid. *s.v.* χρυσῆ εἰκών.

[15] Plat. *Phaedr.* 235 D χρυσῆν εἰκόνα ἰσομέτρητον.

[16] Plut. *Solon* 25.

[17] Law *ap.* Dem. *Macart.* 1064.

[18] *CIA* ii. 476.

[19] *CIA* ii. 809*b*[5] (about 330).

presidents who failed in their duty[1]. The magistrate who had not past his audit was forbidden to make any votive offering at all[2]; possibly to prevent a sham dedication after the principle of *corban*. If a member violated a rule of the phratry he paid a hundred drachmae to Zeus Guardian of the Phratry[3]; a similar penalty fell on the offending priest of a body of thiasotes[4]. A breach of law at Eleusis involved a fine to Dionysus[5]. At Chalcedon, any proposal contravening a sacrificial law, made in the assemblies, was atoned for by a fine to Asclepius[6]. A similar provision was made at Lampsacus[7]; and a Carian law was sanctioned under a thousand drachmae paid to Zeus[8]. A tomb in Asia Minor is guarded against violation under fine to Hephaestus[9]; a very common thing in the later times. Even in a decree for army transport during the Peloponnesian war, the provision is made that a neglect of contract should involve a fine to Athena[10].

The tithe of certain fines was due to the gods. This was done when a man was mulcted for damaging the sacred olives at Athens[11], in Rhodes for violating a certain decree[12]. A portion of confiscated goods was also consecrated. After the fall of Polycrates, his secretary dedicated in the Heraeum the splendid furniture and ornaments of his hall[13]. At Athens, it was the tithe of the confiscations which the goddess claimed[14]. Anyone who spoke or acted against the constitution of Brea, a colony founded about 444, must forfeit his goods, of which one tenth went to Athena[15]. In the treaty between Athens

[1] Law *ap.* Demosth. *Timocr.* 707.

[2] Aesch. *Ctes.* 21, 373. The law *τὸν ὑπεύθυνον οὐκ ἐᾷ τὴν οὐσίαν καθιεροῦν, οὐδ' ἀνάθημα ἀναθεῖναι.*

[3] *CIA.* ii. 841*b*[90] (about 350) *ἐὰν δὲ ψηφισαμένων τῶν θιασωτῶν εἶναι αὐτοῖς φρατέρα οἱ ἄλλοι φρατέρες ἀποψηφίσωνται ὀφειλόντων ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς ἱερὰς τῶι Διὶ τῶι Φρατρίωι.* So 841*b* p. 535 (396/5), and *CIA* iv. 1, p. 206.

[4] *CIA* ii. 614.

[5] *CIA* iv. 2. 574*b*.

[6] Collitz iii. 3052.

[7] *CIG Add.* 3641*b* 33.

[8] *AM* xv. 269.

[9] *CIG Add.* 4325*i*.

[10] *CIA* iv. 1. 35*c*.

[11] Law *ap.* Dem. *Macart.* 1074.

[12] *IGI* i. 977[25].

[13] Herod. iii. 123 *τὸν κόσμον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρεῶνος...ἐόντα ἀξιοθέητον ἀνέθηκε πάντα ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον.*

[14] Law *ap.* Andoc. *Myst.* 96; Xen. *Hell.* i. 7. 10 *τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτοῦ δημευθῆναι καὶ τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ἐπιδέκατον εἶναι*; Plut. *X. Or.* 834.

[15] *CIA* i. 31, cp. 32[21].

and Chalcis, all men of age had to swear good faith on pain that his goods be confiscate, and a tithe of them given to Zeus Olympius[1]. The same provision was made for a tithe to Athena in the treaty made between Athens and a number of states in 378[2].

The fines and votive offerings touch in the Zanes; and they touch also in the case of Themistocles, who, when overseer of the water supply, used the fines of those who had diverted the water to purchase and dedicate a bronze 'maiden,' that is on our supposition a statue of Athena, which the Persians afterwards carried away amongst their booty to Sardis[3].

[1] *CIA* iv. *Suppl.* 1. 27 *a* (about 445).
[2] *CIA* ii. 17^{57} (378 B.C.) ἐπιδέκατον, cp. ii. 65.
[3] Plut. *Themist.* 31.

X.

RARITIES AND VALUABLES.

cὺ ὧN NŶN MOI ΠEIΘÓMENOC, ΠOÍHCON ΠPÒC TÀC EỲTYXÍAC TOIÁΔE· ΦPONTÍCAC TÒ ἍN EỶPḮC ἐÓN TOI ΠΛEÍCTOY ἍΞION, ΚΑÌ ἐΠ᾽ Ὧ cὺ ἀΠOΛOMÉNῼ MÁΛICTA THǸN ΨYΧHǸN ἀΛΓḮCEIC, TOŶTO ἀΠÓBΑΛE OỶTῼ, ŐΚῼC MHKÉTI ḦΖEI ἐC ἀNΘPŴΠOYC.

AMASIS TO POLYCRATES: HEROD. iii. 40.

How David poured out before the Lord the water which his chiefs brought him from the well of Bethlehem, is a story familiar to all. The same spirit which moved David is seen amongst the Greeks also: it is in fact what prompted the dedication of the *ἀκροθίνιον*. Anything rare or strange would naturally be a fit offering for a god; and the legends of heroic ages gradually became attached to these offerings. Thus the pious Greek could behold at Delphi the very stone which Cronus swallowed in place of Zeus, still ceremonially anointed with oil and held in honour[1]. At Chaeronea he could see that sceptre, made for Zeus by Hephaestus, which had past through the hands of Hermes, Pelops, Atreus, Thyestes, and Agamemnon, and was found buried on the confines of Phocis; to which the Phocians ever after paid supreme honour, doing sacrifice before it, and setting out a sacred table laden with all manner of meats[2]. At Olympia were the bones of Geryones, dedicated by Heracles[3]. The shrine of Asclepius in Megalopolis contained enormous bones, greater than human, which had once been those

[1] Paus. x. 24. 6.

[2] Paus. ix. 40. 11 *θεῶν μάλιστα σέβουσιν*: it was kept by a priest elected yearly in his own house. It was said to have been found along with gold, and therefore may have been laid in some prehistoric tomb-chamber. See *Iliad* ii. 101—107.

[3] Philostr. *Her.* 289 (672).

giants who helped Rhea in her revolt[1]. So in later days, the fisherman dedicated to the sea-gods a huge rib which his net had caught[2]. The flutes of Marsyas were preserved at Corinth, in the shrine of Persuasion, where they had been dedicated by the shepherd who found them[3]. The Golden Fleece found a last resting place in one temple[4], and in another were the wings of Daedalus[5]. Of the Calydonian boar, both skin and tusks were preserved in the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea; the tusks were three feet round, and no doubt belonged originally to some mammoth[6]. So mammoth ribs found in Warwickshire have been popularly assigned to the terrible Dun Cow slain by Guy of Warwick. Meleager was so considerate as to leave the spear he slew the boar with at Corinth, where it was dedicated rather inappropriately in the shrine of Persuasion[7]. Even the fatal necklet of Eriphyle was dedicated at Delphi by the sons of Phegeus[8]; and an imitation of it is mentioned in the temple catalogues of Delos[9]. It consisted of "light-coloured stones," amber perhaps, strung upon gold. In Gabala, Pausanias saw the robe which was wrapt round the infant Alcmaeon, when he was delivered to Eriphyle[10]. The gold-hafted knife of Oenomaus was in the Treasury at Olympia[11]; there also the sword of Pelops, with a golden hilt, was preserved[12], and his chariot stood on the roof of the Anactorium at Celeae[13]. At Olympia, under a roof set up to protect it, stood a wooden pillar which once supported the roof of Oenomaus' house, thus inscribed:

καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ κλεινῶν εἴμ' ὦ ξένε λείψανον οἴκων,
στῦλος ἐν Οἰνομάου πρίν ποτ' ἐοῦσα δόμοις·
νῦν δὲ παρὰ Κρονίδην κεῖμαι τάδ' ἔχουσα τὰ δεσμά,
τίμιος· οὐδ' ὁλοὴ δαίσατο φλόξ με πυρός[14].

[1] Paus. viii. 32. 5.
[2] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 222, 223.
[3] Paus. ii. 7. 9.
[4] Schol. Ap. Rhod. iii. 584.
[5] Justin, *Paraenet.* 34.
[6] Paus. viii. 24. 10, 46. 1, 47. 2.
[7] Paus. ii. 7. 9.
[8] Paus. ix. 41. 2 *λίθοι χλωροί.* Athenaeus says the necklace was offered by Alcmaeon to cure madness (vi. 232 E).
[9] *BCH* xiv. 406.
[10] Paus. ii. 1. 8.
[11] Paus. vi. 19. 6.
[12] Paus. ii. 14. 4.
[13] Paus. v. 19. 6.
[14] Paus. v. 20. 7.

These words suggest that the ancient column, saved thus miraculously from the burning, was consecrated as a thing holy and in a way under the protection of the god. From the Homeric age we have a stone on which Manto, daughter of Teiresias, used to sit, which was preserved at Thebes[1]. At Nicomedeia was the knife of Memnon[2]. The spear of Achilles found its way to Phaselis[3], and an epigram speaks of the dirk of Helicaon[4]. The lance of Caeneus was also to be seen[5]; and in the temple of the Mothers at Engyion in Sicily were spears and helmets, used by Meriones and others, and then dedicated by Odysseus[6]. Helen's golden stool was to have been given to the wisest man in the world; but as all the wise men of Greece were too modest to take it, a final home for it was found in Delphi or the temple of Apollo Ismenius at Thebes[7]. Hippodameia's couch was to be seen in the Heraeum at Olympia[8], Nestor's cup was dedicated to Artemis in Capua[9], and the cup of Odysseus somehow found its way to south Italy[10]; while the Argonauts left a number of cups in a shrine at Samothrace[11]. Still more notable, the very goblet which Zeus gave to Alcmene, when he assumed the shape of Amphitryon, was preserved, and doubtless this too was dedicated in a temple[12]. A folding chair made by Daedalus was preserved in the temple of Polias at Athens[13]. Cypselus, who sacrificed some magnificent oxen to Zeus at Olympia, seems to have dedicated their horns[14].

Arimnestus, king of Etruria, dedicated his throne at Olympia[15]. A huge ornamental crater of bronze, sent as a gift by the Lacedaemonians to Croesus on their alliance, came somehow

[1] Paus. x. 10. 3.

[2] Paus. iii. 3. 8.

[3] Paus. iii. 2. 8.

[4] *Anth. App.* 213.

[5] Schol. Apoll. Rhod. i. 59.

[6] Plut. *Marcellus* 20. Others at Troy, Arrian *V.H.* i. 11.

[7] Plut. *Solon* iv. Schol. Arist. *Plutus* 9.

[8] Paus. v. 20. 1.

[9] Ath. xi. 466 E *εἴδομεν ποτήριον γραμματικὸν ἀνακείμενον ἐν Καπύῃ τῆς Καμπανίας*, inscribed *ὡς τὸ Νέστορος ὄν*, cp. 489 B.

[10] Strabo v. 232.

[11] Diod. iv. 49.

[12] Athen. xi. 475.

[13] Paus. i. 27. 1.

[14] *IGA* 27 *d* *βοῶν* Κυψέλου, as explained by Röhl.

[15] Paus. v. 12. 5.

to Samos, where it was dedicated in the Heraeum by the Samians[1]. At Delphi was Pindar's seat[2]. Phryne appears to have dedicated at Thespiae the famous Love which Praxiteles made for her, on the same principle[3]. A curious piece of quartz or some such stone, mounted upon a wooden base, was dedicated at Athens to Athena[4]; a curiously shaped shell was found at Delphi[5]. Some lead ore was preserved at Delos[6]. In the temple of Heracles at Erythrae were to be seen the horns of a certain Indian ant, which were there set up for a wonder to posterity[7].

A few objects of this class have survived. In Corcyra was found an unhewn stone of conical shape, a kind of *baetylus* perhaps, bearing a very ancient inscription with the dedicator's name[8]. This, as Six suggests, may have been meant for Apollo Agyieus, who is described as a conical pillar[9]. Two other conical stones in Corcyra are inscribed with a river-name in the nominative[10]. A similar stone found in Gaul was dedicated to Aphrodite[11].

It is perhaps this principle which suggests the preservation of laws and official documents in temples, where they were always set up[12]; and it was also the custom to erect there the tablets which bore official decrees and lists, as well as votes of honour and gifts of citizenship[13].

[1] Herod. i. 70.

[2] Paus. x. 24. 4.

[3] Strabo ix. 410, *Anth. Pal.* vi. 260, Athen. xiii. 591 B ἡ δὲ ἑλομένη τὸν Ἔρωτα ἀνέθηκεν, etc.

[4] *CIA* ii. 676[9] χρυσῖτις λίθος ἐπὶ κίονος ξυλίνου.

[5] *BCH* xx. 604.

[6] *BCH* vi. 47.

[7] Pliny, *NH* xi. 31.

[8] *AM* xix. 340, *Indogerm. Forsch.* 1893, 87: Μῦς με ἴσατο.

[9] Harpocration *s.v.* Ἀγυιεύς· κίων εἰς ὀξὺ λήγων, Hesych. Ἀγυιεύς, Paus. viii. 32. 4.

[10] *IGA* 347; see p. 325.

[11] *IGA* 551.

[12] E.g. a law at Olympia ἰαρός *IGA* 112. γραμματεῖον Delos.

[13] Athens, *CIA*; Carpathos *IGI* i. 1033; Cos, Collitz iii. 3619; Rhodes, *IGI* i. 761[50]; Olympia, Collitz iii. 1173[32]; Sparta, Collitz iii. 4516; Thessaly, Collitz i. 345[44], 1332[32].

XI.

FORMULAE.

ΕΥΦΗΜΕΙΤΕ ΕΥΦΗΜΕΙΤΕ.

An inscription was no necessary part of a votive offering. The mere fact of its being laid in the shrine with intent to dedicate, could suffice[1]; and the large majority of things which have been found in sacred places, such as statuettes, articles of use, spoil of war, toys, and toilet utensils, are wholly without inscription. So, too, were the greater part of the articles named in the Inventories. But it was natural that the dedicator should wish the memory of his gift to be kept, and this we shall see later to have been a prevailing motive in the dedication; so when letters began to be commonly used, an inscription was naturally made. As it is the mark of early inscriptions to be sparing of words, and as the god to whom the offering was made would be clear from the place, (1) we may expect that the earliest dedicators contented themselves with recording their own names. But (2) a large number of ancient objects bear the god's name without a dedicator's. Many of these may have been not dedications at all, but like Ptolemocratia's "sacred pail of Venus," which sang its own song, and told by letters whose it was[2], they may have been bought out of temple funds for every-day use. This, however, is not true of others, such for example as the bulls of the

[1] This fact has been taken to prove the votive character of the Olympian athlete statues (above, p. 167). But a thing may belong to the god, that is, may be *ἱερός*, without being an *ἀνάθημα*; for example, the tiles of his roof.

[2] Plautus, *Rudens* 478. So *ποτήριον γραμματικόν*, p. 320[9].

Cabiri, which were dedicated without doubt by pious worshippers; hence we are justified in recording such in this place. (3) A third class will show both devotee and deity, (*a*) either the names only, or (*b*) along with a verb; and to these will be added (4) others which offer a reason for the act, or (5) a prayer, or (6) both together. The more ambitious dedications are written in verse. Such is the main classification of the formulae, which in later times appear in many and striking variations.

The verb *ἀνατίθημι*, in passive sense *ἀνακεῖμαι*, and its derivative *ἀνάθημα*, are universal for the votive offering. The noun appears locally in the form *ἀνάθεμα*[1], *ἄνθεμα*[2] or *ἄϝτημα*[3], while *ἐπάνθετος*[4], in Argos *ἐπάνθεμα*[5], in Athens *ἐπέτειος*[6], is applied to the dedications of the current year. For human gifts, the proper words are *δῶρον* and *διδόναι* or *ἐπιδιδόναι*[7]; but *δῶρον* is found early in conjunction with votive formulae, and late by itself[8]. For tombs, the formula is *τίθημι* or *ἐπιτίθημι*[9], sometimes *ἐφίστημι*[10]. Later the votive *ἀνατίθημι* loses its force, and is applied to games and months and the like[11]; while by its side we meet with *τίθημι* the simple verb[12], which occurs once in an archaic dedication from Argos[13], *δίδωμι*[14], *ἵστημι* and compounds[15], even *εὐχαριστῶ*[16], and *εὐχὴν*

[1] *IGS* i. 303[40] (Oropus); *IGSI* 608 (Sardinia, late); *BCH* vi. 30 (Delos), Collitz iii. 4689[91] (Andania), etc.

[2] Collitz iii. 3339[59] (Epidaurus); *IGI* i. 783.

[3] *Mon. Ant.* iii. 402 (Crete).

[4] *IGS* i. 3498.

[5] *AJA* ix. 357. *IPI* i. 526[6].

[6] *CIA* ii. 660[58].

[7] Collitz iii. 3164 *Ἐπαίνετός μ' ἔδωκε Χαρόπωι*; *IGA* 206*a*, 219; 210*a ἐπέδωκε*. In Athens *ἐπίδοσις* is a contribution for public purposes.

[8] As *δῶρον ἀπαρχήν*: Κατ. 261 = *CIA* iv. 1. 422[13], 373*c*; cp. *δ. ἀνέθηκε* late *IGSI* 982, 981 *θέλων*. *Annali* xxxiii. pl. *S θεᾶ Δήμητρι δῶρον*, *BCH* xxiv. 161 (Thrace). Carapanos, *Dodone*, pl. xxiii.[4] *Διὶ δῶρον ἀνέθηκε πόλις Λεχωΐων*; p. 44 *δῶρον*. Aegina *IPI* i. 12. Cp. *δῶρον* in Homer, *Od.* xvi. 185, and Hesiod in Plato *Rep.* iii. 390 E.

[9] *IGA* 495: *ἐπὶ* with name alone and no verb; *IGA* 131, etc.

[10] *IGA* 265.

[11] Collitz i. 1231, Schol. Pind. *Nem.* ii. 1, of games. Aeschylus is said to have "dedicated his tragedies to Time," Athenaeus viii. 39.

[12] Collitz i. 37.

[13] *AJA* ix. 351 *Τιμοκλῆς μ' ἔθηκε*.

[14] Collitz i. 41, *ἀπέδωκα* *BCH* xvii. 520, xx. 57, *AM* xx. 506 + *ἐπαγγείλας*.

[15] *στῆσε* early Κατ. 131 = *CIA* iv. 1. 373[216]; *ἔστησε* *IGSI* 608; *ἀν-* *AM* xxi. 112: Collitz i. 37 *κατέστασε*.

[16] *IGSI* 832, etc.

coupled with *τίθημι* or *ἀνατίθημι*[1], *ἀποδιδόναι*[2], *ἐκτελεῖν*[3], and barbarously *ποιεῖν*[4]. Even *καθιεροῦν* is sometimes found[5]. Another group of words, *ἱδρύω* and *ἵδρυμα*, are used of buildings and altars, trophies and statues[6]. *κατατίθημι* is used on the earliest Lesbian dedications known, which were found at Naucratis[7], and in Cyprus[8]. *παρακατατιθέναι* and *παρακαταθήκη* are used of things deposited in temples for safe keeping[9].

(1) *No deity is named.* I have met with no votive offering which bears the offerer's name in the nominative case alone[10]; but there are examples of it in the genitive. The statue made by Tharrymachus, and inscribed "of Praxilas," is probably one[11]. A vase found in the temple of the Cabiri is labelled "of the Thebans[12]"; there are similar inscriptions at Corinth[13] and Athens[14].

Most of those which belong to this class have a verb of dedication added. One of the oldest is the *baetylus* dedicated by Mys at Corcyra, which takes the quaint form of a speech from the stone to the spectator[15]. So also does the Corcyran bronze plate of Lophius[16].

Others have the commoner shape of the Olympian stone

[1] *IGSI* 2524, 892 *ἀνα-*, etc.

[2] *IGSI* 2427, Collitz iii. 3072, *AJA* xi. 599.

[3] *IGSI* 873.

[4] *IGSI* 1025, 1124.

[5] Collitz iii. 3596 *συγκαθιέρωσε*. The simple verb is the regular general word for consecration.

[6] I take the following reff. from Dar. and Sagl. *Donarium*. *ἱδρύω*: temple or altar Herod. i. 69, vi. 105; trophy Eur. *Heracl.* 786; statue Arist. *Plut.* 1153, *Peace* 1091. *ἵδρυμα*: temple Herod. viii. 144, Aesch. *Ag.* 339; altar Dion. Hal. i. 55; statue Aesch. *Pers.* 811. *βωμὸν ἱδρύσατο*, *IPI* i. 1009[6].

[7] Gardner, *Naucratis*, nos. 787—93 *κάθθηκε*; perhaps 185...*αντίας κατέθηκε τῶι...*, which he suggests may have been a deposit. But the others must be votive, even if the example in Athens be a prize formula, as Bather suggests: *JHS* xiii. 129[62], 233 *τῶν ἐπὶ Λαμσίδαι ἄθλων*? **ὁ δεῖνα** *κατέθηκεν*.

[8] Collitz i. 1 etc.

[9] *CIA* ii. 660[50] *παρακαταθήκη Ἀθηναίας*.

[10] Perhaps the vase inscribed *Πρίκων* is one, *IGA* 126 *a*; cp. 130. The owners of vases are inscribed in the genitive; *IGA* 247 *a* *Γοργίδαο ἡμί*, 521, 524.

[11] *IGA* 449 *Πραξίλα ἡμί· Θαρρύμαχος ἐποίει* (Thera).

[12] *IGS* i. 3595 *Θηβαίων*.

[13] *IGA* 20[15]...*ον εἰμι*.

[14] *Κατ.* 97, 98.

[15] *Μῦς με ἵσατο*, above p. 321[8]. The address is common in early inscrr., e.g. on a tomb, *IGA* 256, 344.

[16] *Λόφιός μ' ἀνέθηκε* (complete), *IGA* 341.

"Hiero was the dedicator[1]"; or the Samian stone which adds the patronymic[2]. Other such came from Melos[3], Argos[4], Samos[5].

The father's name may be added[6].

(2) *The deity's name without the dedicator's.*

Many very ancient dedications show this type. The name appears very rarely in the nominative, as on a greave found in the temple at Olympia, which bears the legend Zeus Olympian[7]; and perhaps on two conical stones from Corcyra, inscribed with the name of a river[8]. It is not uncommon in the genitive case, as at Olympia[9], Thebes[10], Athens[11], Sparta[12], Naucratis[13]; or in the dative, as in Sparta[14]. Once the word "firstfruit" occurs in the nominative with the deity in the dative[15]. Or again, the offering utters a voice and addresses the bystander. "I am the hero's," quoth an ancient vase of Mycenae[16]. So say the vases of the Cabiri[17], and the dedications to Paphia in Cyprus[18]. Some say more fully "I am dedicated[19]"; and the word "sacred" may be added[20], or even "offering[21]." In a series of inscriptions from Naucratis, the offering lifts up its voice and addresses the deity, "Apollo, I am thine[22]." The word *ἱερὸς* is used alone sometimes to characterise offerings which are certainly votive, such as the bulls offered to the Cabiri in Boeotia[23], or a lance-head sacred to Apollo Ptoeus[24]. Others have the god's name added in the

[1] Ἰάρων *ἀνέθηκε*, *IGA* 82, cp. 120.

[2] *IGA* 386.

[3] *IGA* 420.

[4] *IGA* 45.

[5] *IGA* 386.

[6] Κατ. 117 = *CIA* i. 358.

[7] *IGA* 559 Ζεὺς Ὀλύπιος.

[8] *IGA* 347 Ῥόος Πυθαῖος; see above, p. 321.

[9] *IGA* 123 Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου, cp. 24; (vase) 561 τοῦ Διός; 565 (spear).

[10] *IGS* i. 3907 Καβίρω, etc.

[11] Κατ. xcii. Ἀθηνᾶς, xciii. Ἀθηναίας (helmet), and many other weapons: abbreviated Ἀθην. ciii.

[12] *IGA* 89 Μαλεάτα.

[13] Gardner, *Naucratis*, ii. no. 1*a*.

[14] Λεχοῖ, *IGA* 52 (broken, however).

[15] Κατ. lxxiv. ἀπαρχὴ τἀθηναίαι.

[16] *IGA* 29 τοῦ ἥρωος ἠμί, Collitz iii. 3313.

[17] *IGS* i. 3969.

[18] Collitz i. 4.

[19] Κατ. 48 ἀνάκειμαι.

[20] Collitz ii. 1601 ἰαρὸν ἀνέθηκεν τᾶι Ἀρτέμιδι.

[21] *AM* xv. 391 ἄνθεμα τῶι παιδὶ τῶ Καβίρω.

[22] Gardner, *Naucratis*, ii. no. 1*b*, Ἀπόλλω σός εἰμι, 109 ff. Ἀπόλλω or Ὠπόλλω σόν εἰμι, 3—4 Ἀπόλλω σοῦ εἰμι.

[23] *IGS* i. 2459 ἰαρόν.

[24] *IGS* i. 2735 τοῦ Πτωιεῖος ἰαρόν.

genitive, as others of the Boeotian bulls and vases[1], a vase of Athena Cranaia[2], and many more. But vases which bear this legend may have been articles of use; although their number makes it unlikely. They are found in Athens[3], Phocis[4], and elsewhere. The god's name occurs in the dative amongst the Theban offerings[5], and at Athens[6]. Finally the offering speaks, as before, in Athens[7] and Olympia[8]. Occasionally the dedicator's name is added in a new sentence; as "I am of the Anakes: Eudemus offered me," in Argos[9], as at Thebes[10], Athens[11], Naucratis[12].

(3) *Both deity and devotee are named.*

Some of these have nothing more than the two names. Examples are found in Athens[13], Boeotia[14], Elis[15], Italy[16], Thessaly[17]. The patronymic may be added[18], and the fatherland[19], and the words "daughter" or "wife" sometimes occur[20]. But most contain also the verb of dedication. These occur in Boeotia[21], Epirus[22], the Italian Locris[23], the Peloponnese[24], Phocis[25], Priene[26], Sicily[27]. Official dedications are followed sometimes by lists of names[28], and the dual is very common[29]. The fatherland

[1] *IGS* i. abbreviated HI KABIPO 3588. *ἰαρὸς Καβίρω, ἰαρὸς τῶ Καβίρω* 3942.

[2] *BCH* xii. 41.

[3] Κατ. lxxix. *ἱερὰ Ἀθηναίας*, lxxxi. *ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίας*, etc.

[4] *IGS* iii. 1. 149 ff.

[5] *IGS* i. 3953 **τῶι Καβίρωι ἰαρός.**

[6] Κατ. lxxx. *ἱερὸν τῆι Ἀθηναίαι.*

[7] Κατ. lxxxviii.

[8] Collitz i. 1148 *ἰαρὸς τοῦ Διός εἰμι.*

[9] *IGA* 43*a* *τοῖ(ν) ϝανάκοι(ν) εἰμί· Εὔδαμος ἀνέθηκε*; Collitz iii. 3333 (Epidaurus), 3262 (Argos).

[10] *IGS* i. 3968 (Thebes), 2730.

[11] Κατ. 143 *Παλλάδος εἰμὶ θεᾶς, ἀνέθηκε δέ μ' Εὐδίκου υἱός*=*CIA* iv. 1. 373[218].

[12] Gardner, *Naucratis*, ii. no. 752: *τῆς Ἀφροδίτης· ἀνέθηκεν Ἑρμογένης.*

[13] Κατ. 96.

[14] *IGA* 151 *Κρίτων καὶ Θειόσδοτος τῶι Δὶ τὠπωρῆι*; Κατ. cxxix. *Ἐπιφύδης Καβι.* (from Thebes); *BCH* xi. 416 *Θεδωρὶς Ἀθανᾶι* (Elatea).

[15] *IGA* 373.

[16] *IGA* 549.

[17] *IGA* 327.

[18] Collitz iii. 3330 (Epidaurus).

[19] *IGA* 339 *Φιλοκλείδα(s) ὁ Δαμοφίλου Λευκάδιος Δὶ Ναΐωι.*

[20] Cnidos: Collitz iii. 3514—5.

[21] *IGS* i. 2732.

[22] Collitz ii. 1372.

[23] *IGA* 537.

[24] *IGA* 564, 59, 61.

[25] Collitz ii. 1516.

[26] *IGA* 385.

[27] *IGA* 57.

[28] Athens: Κατ. 99 (408/7).

[29] *CIA* i. 351, 358, 375, 396, iv. 1. 373[183], etc.

and patronymic also appear[1], with other such details[2]; the word son[3] or wife[4] or daughter[5] is actually used. Demotic adjectives are common with the older Athenian inscriptions, rare in the offerings to Asclepius, perhaps because of the rank of the dedicators[6]. Further a description of the dedicator sometimes appears; as the rhapsode of Dodona[7], at Athens the fuller[8], the harpist[9], the potter[10], the builder[11], and others in combination with the word tithe or firstfruit. So we find the "cook" at Epidaurus[12]; perhaps "bankers" in Athens[13]. Officials, however, as the priests or physicians of Asclepius, do add their titles[14]. This is so common in later days as to need no illustration. The word *ἱερὸς* may be added, as in the previous section[15]. It is unnecessary to name the object, but this is often done in the verse inscriptions. Thus we find *ἄγαλμα* or "ornament," specially used of a divine statue, but not always so, in Samos[16], Paros[17], Melos[18], frequently at Athens[19]. The word is applied also to a stone vase[20]. A human portrait is named in Olympia[21], Cyprus[22], and commonly in honorific inscriptions; a cauldron[23] and a tripod in Athens[24]; a goblet in Cyprus[25]; an altar in Crissa[26], and elsewhere[27]; a relief or picture

[1] *IGA* 388 *Εὔθυμος Λοκρὸς ἀπὸ Ζεφυρίου ἀνέθηκε*, Κατ. 67 (Athens); Collitz iii. 3382 (Argolis).

[2] *IGA* 402, 407 *Νικάνδρη μ' ἀνέθηκε ἑκηβόλωι ἰοχεαίρηι, φούρη Δεινοδίκεω τοῦ Ναξίου, ἔξοχος ἄλεων, Δεινομένεος δὲ κασιγνήτη, Φράξου δ' ἄλοχος μήν*: Κατ. 46 *Χαιρέδημος Εὐαγγέλου ἐκ Κοίλης ἀνέθηκεν*, 105 *Παιανιεύς*.

[3] Collitz iii. 3391 (Hermion), prob. Κατ. 153, 220 (Athens).

[4] Κατ. 148.

[5] Κατ. 119.

[6] See *CIA* ii. 766, 835.

[7] *IGA* 502.

[8] Κατ. xxxvi.

[9] Κατ. 53, from several fragments; 106 = *CIA* i. 357.

[10] Κατ. 144; so in Italy Collitz ii. 1643.

[11] Κατ. 283 = *CIA* iv. 1. 373[262].

[12] Collitz iii. 3224.

[13] *CIA* ii. 1507 *τραπεζῖται*.

[14] *CIA* ii. 835[13], 836[33,17,84]; Κατ. 8.

[15] Gardner, *Naucratis*, ii. no. 753 *Εὐκλῆς ἀνέθηκεν ἱερὴν τὴφροδίτηι*.

[16] *IGA* 384 *Χηραμύης μ' ἀνέθηκεν τῆρηι ἄγαλμα*.

[17] *IGA* 401, 402.

[18] *IGA* 412.

[19] Κατ. 12, 102, 180, 207, 220.

[20] Κατ. 360, 369 = *CIA* iv. 1. 373*w*. 20, 24.

[21] *IGA* 388 *εἰκόνα*.

[22] Collitz i. 76.

[23] Κατ. 229 *λέβητα*?

[24] Κατ. 215 = *CIA* iv. 1. 373[79] *τριποδίσκον*.

[25] Collitz i. 102 *δίπας*.

[26] Collitz ii. 1557.

[27] *IGSI* 608, *IGS* i.

in Rhodes[1], a jug and a stand in Naucratis[2], and war-spoils often[3]; a human statue or a pillar in Thera[4], tables in Lesbos[5], a slab or stone base in Asia Minor[6]; mules and men in Branchidae[7]. The word *ἄγαλμα*, at first an ornament, later used specially of divine figures, needs no illustration. More often, however, some periphrasis like "from the enemy" is enough[8]. An epithet of the deity is often added, and this may give a clue to the occasion of the offering. Thus Athena is addressed as Poliouchos[9], Hygieia[10], Ergane[11]; Zeus as Oporeus[12], or Giver of Fruits[13], or Protector of the City[14], Saviour[15], or god of Strangers[16]; Dionysus as god of the Grape[17]; Heracles, Averter of Ill[18]; Artemis, Saviour[19], and so forth.

The occasion of the dedication is more clearly indicated, when the words tithe, firstfruit, or vow are added. The first two are exceedingly common in the early inscriptions of Athens, where the practice, known indeed elsewhere, seems to have been regular; as to its distribution and nature the reader may refer to the fuller discussion above[20]. The word tithe, like other of the formulae, loses its meaning in later times; so that a man can dedicate an honorific statue as a tithe[21]. The word firstfruit also loses its meaning[22]. The vow is also attested for early Athens, but it is only named in the periphrastic phrases

[1] *IGI* i. 914 *τὸμ πίνακα.*

[2] Gardner, *Naucratis*, i. no. 1 *τὴν πρόχουν, τὸ ὑποκρητήριον.*

[3] See chapter III. above. *σκῦλα*: *IGA* 548 *a*, *ὅπλα* in Delphi, etc.

[4] *IGI* iii. 410 *Ἁγνῆι θεῶι τὸν κίονα χαριστήριον*; 419 *τὸν ἀνδριάντα Διονυσίωι.*

[5] *IGI* ii. 535 *Ἀφαιστις Θεοδώρεια γύνα ταὶς τραπέζαις Ματρί.*

[6] *Cat. Br. Mus. Sc.* 817 (Cyzicus); Stephani, *Compte Rendu*, 1882—8, nine names *ἀνέστησαν τὸν τελαμῶνα θεῶι Ἀπόλλωνι.* Cp. the archaic Argive inscr.: *IPI* i. 517, *AJA* xi. 43 *ἀ στάλα καὶ ὁ τελαμώ.*

[7] Haussoullier, MS. catalogue, No. 48: *ζεύγη ἡμιονικὰ πέντε καὶ τοὺς ἐσταλμένους ἐπὶ τῆς τούτων θεραπείας ἄνδρας πέντε.*

[8] *Kατ.* 63, etc.

[9] *Kατ.* 34, 158.

[10] *Kατ.* 96.

[11] *Kατ.* 119.

[12] *IGA* 151.

[13] *AM* vii. 135 *Διὶ καρποδότῃ.*

[14] *Πολιεὺς* in Rhodes, Collitz iii. 4614.

[15] *Σωτὴρ IGI* i. 32.

[16] *Ξένιος IGSI* 990.

[17] *Εὐστάφελος IGS* i. 3098 Lebadea.

[18] *IGS* i. 3416 Boeotia.

[19] *IGI* i. 915.

[20] Chapter II.

[21] *CIG* 5133 Cyrene: name *τὸμ πατέρα Ἄναξιν Ζευξιμάχω τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι δεκάταν ἀνέθηκεν.* Also above, p. 79.

[22] *CIA* ii. 1329 *ἀπαρχὴν στεφανωθείς.*

εὐξάμενος[1], εὐχωλὴν τελέσας[2], and the like. So in Boeotia we find εὐχὰν ἐκτελέσαντι[3]. Here the vow is sometimes paid by another than he who made it[4]. But the later custom is to affix the word εὐχὴν or εὐχωλὴν to the simple formula; and this is found earliest in Naucratis[5], and in dedications of the third century or later at Athens[6], Argos[7], Messenia[8], Sparta[9], at Selinus[10] and Apollonia[11], at Cnidus[12] and in other parts of Asia Minor[13], and in Anaphe[14], Cyprus[15], Delos[16], Lesbos[17], Melos[18], Rhodes[19], Thasos[20], Thera[21], Thrace[22]; further, in Boeotia[23], and in Greater Greece[24]. κατ' εὐχὴν also occurs[25]. Extraordinary to relate, the formula with εὐχὴν is used for a late tomb in Asia Minor[26].

Another word χαριστήριον becomes very common in later times. It is foreshadowed, like εὐχήν, by a paraphrase in the old Athenian inscriptions, σοὶ χάριν ἀντιδιδούς[27], but like εὐχήν is only common after the Alexandrine period, and chiefly in the Roman age. We find it in Arcadia[28], Attica[29], Boeotia[30],

[1] Κατ. lviii., lxxvi., 56, 102, 180, etc. This remains the formula in Athens: *CIA* ii. 1458, 1481, etc. So in latest times: *IGSI* 922, 958, etc. Collitz ii. 1374 Δωρόβιος ἀνέθηκε ἃ Διοπέθης εὔξατο (Dodona). Late καθὼς ὑπέσχετο (Caria) *BCH* ix. 78.

[2] Κατ. 182.

[3] *IGA* 284; *IGS* i. 1794.

[4] Κατ. 243 τοῦ τέκνου εὐξαμένου= *CIA* i. 349: later such formulae as ὑπὲρ τῶν παίδων εὐξάμενος *CIA* ii. 1481 become very common, especially in cases of sickness. See 1440, 1453, 1485, 1494, 1497, 1501. Κατ. 189 **ὑπὲρ** ἑαυτοῦ καὶ **τῶν παίδων**? is a similar example from the early days. So 231, 238.

[5] Gardner, *Naucratis*, ii. no. 776: Χάρμης με ἀνέθηκε τὴφροδίτηι εὐχωλήν. So 777.

[6] *CIA* ii. 1503. Cp. *BCH* vi. 33.

[7] Collitz iii. 3280.

[8] Collitz iii. 4657.

[9] Collitz iii. 4607.

[10] Collitz iii. 3049.

[11] Collitz iii. 3222.

[12] Collitz iii. 3519.

[13] *Arch.-Ep. Mitth.* xix. 51, 60, 61 (late, with simple formula).

[14] *IGI* iii. 259.

[15] Collitz i. 27 εὐχωλή.

[16] *IGS* i. 560, 2736, etc.

[17] *IGI* ii. 114.

[18] *IGI* iii. 1087.

[19] *IGI* i. 23 (?).

[20] *BCH* xxiv. 271.

[21] *IGI* iii. 434.

[22] *BCH* xxiv. 160.

[23] Inventory: *BCH* vi. line 193.

[24] *IGSI* 860.

[25] *IGI* iii. 263 Anaphe; *IGS* i. 252 Megara.

[26] *BCH* xxii. 237, citing *Gott. Gel. Anz.* 1897 p. 409: ἀγάθῃ τύχῃ· Σόλων ἱερὸς κατὰ ἐπιταγὴν Διὶ Δίῳ εὐχὴν κὲ ἑαυτῷ ζῶν.

[27] *CIA* i. 397; χάριν **ἐκτελέσας** *IGS* iii. 1. 390.

[28] Collitz i. 1223 ἱστίαι χαριστήριον.

[29] *CIA* ii. 1503.

[30] *IGS* i. 3100.

and Phocis[1], in Asia Minor[2], in the islands, such as Anaphe[3], Crete[4], Delos[5], and Megiste[6], Nisyros[7], in Rhodes[6], Thera[8], and in Italy[9]. Once it appears to be used for victory in a chariot-race[10]. The plural *χαριστήρια* occurs also[11]. Variants, all late, are *εὐχαριστήριον*[12] and *χαριστεῖον*[13], and once *χάριν*[14]. We also find now and again such words as *σῶστρα*[15], *ἐλευθέρια*[16], *ἐκτίματρα*[17], *λύτρον*[18]. Gratitude is more freely expressed in some inscriptions; like that of Hegilochus, who acknowledges "a great share of hospitality and all manner of goodness" on the part of his adopted city[19].

Another group of phrases glances at the injunction of a dream or an oracle. *Μαντεῖον* occurs in an old Attic inscription, which is unfortunately mutilated[20], and *θεοῦ φραδαῖς* in another[21]. The commonest phrases are *κατ' ὄναρ*[22], *κατ' ὄνειρον*[23], *ὄναρ ἰδών*[24], *καθ' ὅραμα*[25], *κατ' ἐπιφάνιαν*[26]; once or twice *ὄψιν ἰδοῦσα ἀρετὴν τῆς θεοῦ*[27], *καθ' ὕπνον* once in a relief offered to Zeus Xenios[28],

[1] Collitz ii. 1536, *IGS* iii. 1. 89.

[2] *A.-E. Mitth.* xv. 93.

[3] *IGI* iii. 261.

[4] *BCH* xxiv. 245.

[5] Inventory: *BCH* vi. line 148.

[6] *IGI* i. 21, 770, etc.

[7] *IGI* iii. 96, 103.

[8] *IGI* iii. 410.

[9] *IGSI* 720.

[10] *IGI* i. 1039.

[11] *IGS* i. 2469 *a* Boeotia; *IGSI* 988 Rome, etc.

[12] *IGS* i. 3417 Boeotia; *IGI* iii. 1086 Melos, 458 Thera, with *ἀνέθηκε*.

[13] *IGI* iii. 416 Thera; Collitz iii. 3517 Cnidus; 3528 (plural). *Mus. It.* iii. 588 Crete; *χρηστήριον* in Lesbos is a blunder *IGI* ii. 119. *εὐχὰν καὶ χαριστῆον* Crete, *Mus. It.* iii. 684.

[14] *BCH* xxiv. 235 Crete, 4th cent.: **τόνδ' ἀνέθηκε** *ναὸν Φοίβωι χάριν* **'Ηρίλα** *υἱὸς* **Δαμοχάρης** *θύσας* **ἵκατι** *καὶ δύο βοῦς*. The poetic style would suggest that the metre chose the word.

[15] *IGSI* 967 Rome.

[16] See *General Index: Greek.*

[17] Collitz iii. 3517.

[18] *BCH* xx. 57.

[19] *CIA* i. 374 *μεγάλην δὲ φιλοξενίης ἀρετῆς τε πάσης μοῖραν ἔχων τήνδε πόλιν νέμεται.*

[20] *Κατ.* 66.

[21] *Κατ.* 244 = *CIA* iv. i. 422[1].

[22] *IGSI* 2256 Italy; *IGI* i. 979 Rhodes; *CIA* iii. 128, 224; *Mus. It.* iii. 724 Crete; *IPI* i. 1008 Epidaurus.

[23] *IGS* i. 1829 Boeotia; iii. 1. 134 (*pl.*); *CIA* iii. 199.

[24] *CIA* iii. 211.

[25] *IGI* iii. 137.

[26] Roscher, ii. 524; cf. Ath. xv. 672 A *θεασαμένην τὴν τῆς Ἥρας ἐπιφάνειαν.*

[27] *BCH* xiii. 168 (Athens early 4th cent.); *CIA* iv. 2. 1426 *b*. Compare a statue of Cybele inscribed *Ῥόδα Ἀρτεμιδώρου ἀρετὰν τῆς θεοῦ*, *BCH* xxiv. 239.

[28] *IGSI* 990. A late inscr. with hideous hybrid relief has *Τοτόητι θεοδαίμονι ὕπνωι*, followed by a Roman name: *BCH* xxii. 350.

κατ' ἐπίταγμα[1], ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος[2], perhaps ταγέν[3]; προστάξαντος τοῦ θεοῦ[4], κατὰ πρόσταγμα[5] or κατ' ἐπιταγήν[6], once apparently ποτίταγμα[7] in apposition like εὐχήν, κατὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ θεοῦ[8], ἐξ ἐγκελεύσεως[9], κατὰ χρησμόν[10], κατὰ χρηματισμόν[11], κατὰ μαντείαν[12], κατὰ συνταγήν[13]. Again: τυχὼν ὑγιείας[14], ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας[15] or ὑγιείας[16] may be added, even ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς[17] or τῆς εὐχῆς ἀποδόσεως χάριν[18], even ὑπὲρ εὐχαριστίας[19] and εὐχῆς χάριν[20]. ὑπὲρ is added also with the names of family or friends[21], whose welfare the dedicator has at heart. This is especially common in the Asclepian dedications, as we see from the Inventories[22].

Amongst the earlier records, the only others which give definite explanations of the occasion are the dedications of victors in the games and war-spoil, of which enough has been said[23]. But later the practice grows of recording prayers for a safe voyage[24], or such grounds for thankfulness as rescue from peril[25] or sickness[26]; or again, some honour or office, as has been

[1] *CIA* iii. 163.

[2] Roscher ii. 524.

[3] Collitz ii. 1369 Πολυξένα ταγὲν ἀνατίθητι τοῖ Δὶ καὶ χρήματα (Dodona).

[4] *CIA* ii. 1491.

[5] *IGSI* 608, 974; *CIG* 2304, etc.; *CIA* iii. 164.

[6] *IGI* ii. 108, i. 785 (Twelve Gods); *BCH* xx. 57.

[7] *Arch.-Ep. Mitth.* xviii. 1; *IGI* i. 957, 962.

[8] *IGSI* 984, etc.; *BCH* iv. 293.

[9] Roscher, ii. 524, mentions it; I have noted no example.

[10] *IGS* i. 3098 Lebadea; Collitz iii. 3597 Calymna.

[11] *IGI* ii. 108.

[12] *CIA* iii. 166; *IGS* i. 1672.

[13] *IGS* iii. 1. 717.

[14] *CIA* iii. 138.

[15] *IGSI* 688, etc.; *CIA* iii. 266.

[16] *IGSI* 1037, etc.

[17] *BCH* xiv. 371; *IGSI* 1042, 446, 179; *IGI* i. 903 (Christian), cp. 911—2.

[18] *IGS* i. 413 (by Sulla).

[19] *IGSI* 915.

[20] *IGSI* 991, *CIA* iii. 142; *A.-E. Mitth.* xv. 214.

[21] See *General Index: Greek.*

[22] *CIA* ii. 766, 835: ὑπὲρ αὐτᾶς, ὑπὲρ τοῦ παιδός, etc. Cp. *CIA* ii. 1440, 1453, 1481, 1485, 1494, 1497, 1501.

[23] I may add from the old Attic inscrr. νικήσας or νικῶν Κατ. 13, 163, 215.

[24] εὐπλοίας ἕνεκα or the like. *IGSI* 452 (Sic.), 917; compare the prayer cut on a rock in Prote: Διόσκουροι εὔπλοιαν Collitz iii. 4686.

[25] *IGSI* 1030 σωθεὶς ἐκ μεγάλων κινδύνων πολλάκις, cp. *IGI* i. 742 (to Hecate and Sarapis); *IGI* i. 23 καθ' ἂν ἐνεδέξαντο μετὰ τὸν σεισμὸν εὐχάν; *CIA* ii. 1474, 1441; Bahn-Schuchhardt, *Alterthümer von Aigai*, 47: ὁ δᾶμος... σωθεὶς ὑπὸ (name).

[26] *IGSI* 2283 ἰατρευθείς. The occasion is never given in the Attic inscrr. to Asclepius, unless it be other than sickness (? perhaps in *CIA* ii. 1461).

already explained. These often give in much detail the circumstances of an offering. Earlier, we find only a few examples, such as the great stone of Bybon, or now and again in the poetical inscriptions to which we shall come immediately. I need do no more than briefly indicate the varieties of the honorific class. These are dedications by the *πόλις*[1] or the *δῆμος*[2], or the *βουλή*[3], sometimes both the last two together[4], the *φυλή*[5] or the *κοινόν*, whether a state[6] or guilds or a mere society of men[7]. "By the resolution of the senate" or a like phrase is added sometimes[8].

The dedications are made to the gods all or singly, sometimes coupled with the people[9]. Here the phrase loses its force and becomes a mere compliment. When we find dedications "to the community" of buildings or land for common use[10], and a man is spoken of as having "dedicated the bath to the young men[11]," the word is indistinguishable from its English equivalent[12].

[1] Collitz iii. 1252 Arcady, 3394 Argolis.

[2] Collitz iii. 3433 Sparta (*ὁ δᾶμος τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὸν δᾶμον τὸν Ἀλείων*); 3596 Calymna, 3433 Anaphe; etc.

[3] See *IGI* iii. 140—201, 202—267, 516, 541 etc., and Indices.

[4] Collitz iii. 3666 Cos, 3432 Anaphe.

[5] Collitz iii. 3296 Argos.

[6] Collitz ii. 1635 Achaeans, iii. 3298 Argos, *IGI* i. 40 Rhodes.

[7] *BCH* vii. 474 Delos *τῶι κοινῶι Βηρυτίων ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων καὶ ἐγδοχέων τὴν στοὰν ἀνέθηκεν.*

[8] Collitz iii. 3429 *κατὰ τὸ γεγονὸς ψάφισμα ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου*; *IGS* iii. 1. 322 *ψ(ηφίσματι) β(ουλῆς).* *IPI* i. 783, *ψ. δ.*

[9] See Collitz iii. 3482 Astypalaea, 3650 Cos, 3595 Calymna; *IGS* iii. 1. 282 Locris. An early inscr. from Eleusis is generally quoted as the earliest example: *CIA* i. 332 *δήμοι Ἀθηναίων...ἀνέθηκεν.* The stone has disappeared, and as no such expression appears in Greece for a couple of centuries later than this seems to be, I do not believe the restoration can be right.

[10] *IGI* i. 36 Rhodes: *τῶι κοινῶι* (of a guild), etc. So a bronze weight *CIG Add.* iv. 8545 *b θεοῖς σεβαστοῖς καὶ τῶ δάμω.* From Erythrae: *πομπαγωγήσας τὴν Ἀγαθὴν Τύχην τῶι δήμωι*, *AM* xxvi. 1172. Wood's *Ephesus*, p. 36 *εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα Ἀθηνᾶς σαμμούσου...ἡ καθιερωμένη τῇ τε Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ τοῖς ἀεὶ ἐσομένοις Ἐφεσίων παισί.*

[11] Collitz i. 311[40] *ἀνθέντα τὸ βαλάνηον τοῖς νέοισι* (Cyme in Aeolia). Compare iii. 3664 *τοῖς νέοις καὶ τῶι δάμωι* (Cos); 4560 *ἀνθέντα τὸ ἔλαιον.* *IPI* i. 777 *τῆι πατρίδι* (Troezen), 782 *τῆι πόλει.*

[12] So *ἀνακεῖμαι* is used of cities and things which cannot hang, such as months: *πόλεις* Paus. i. 34. 2, *ἀνθέμεν* of the same in an oracle *BCH* xiv. 21. Ath. xv. 701 E says *Ἡρακλείδης Ποντικὸς...τὸ τρίμετρον καλούμενον ἀνατίθησι τῷ θεῷ*, gives it a close connexion with him. The verb is used in classi-

Along with the offering a prayer is commonly found. "Grant me," says the potter of Metapontium, "to have good fame among men[1]." "Herodorus has dedicated me to Aphrodite as a gift, a firstfruit of his goods; to whom do thou, O queen, grant abundance, and thwart all those who falsely speak evil against him[2]." Aigialeus, in dedicating his firstfruit to Athena, has paid his vow, and shown gratitude to her: for which he prays that she may preserve him in well-being and make a return on her own part[3]. Others pray that all may go well with their work[4], or ask for a "pleasant return[5]." Telesinus, in dedicating a statue to Athena, asks, in simple shrewdness, that the goddess will give him the means to dedicate another[6]. Pyrrhis of Italy would drive a bargain, and asked his deity to give him twice as much as he had earned before[7]. The idea of pleasing the divinity is clear in many, whether implied by the complacent "fine" or "faultless ornament[8]," or stated in plain terms[9]. The verse-inscriptions often take the form of a direct address to the god[10], and his glory is set forth either by epithets or rarely in some other form[11]. Artists' names and explanatory inscriptions are sometimes added to the votive offering. This is especially common with the statues at Athens and Olympia, and with reliefs or painted tablets such as those of Corinth. Such additions however form no part of the votive inscription.

One or two offerings are inscribed only with a general

cal Greek in the sense of ascribing or making someone responsible for a thing.

[1] Collitz ii. 1643.

[2] *CIA* iv. 1. 422[13] = Κατ. 261 Ἡρόδωρός μ' ἀνέθηκ' Ἀφροδίτῃ δῶρον ἀπαρχήν, πότνια, τῶν ἀγαθῶν, τῷ σὺ δὸς ἀφθονίαν, οἵ τε λέγουσι λόγους ἀδίκως ψευδεῖς κατ' ἐκείνου τῶν...Compare the Delian couplet, *BCH* vi. 33.

[3] *CIA* i. 397 σῷζε...τῶνδε χάριν θεμένη; iv. 1. 373[107] = Κατ. 245 χάριν ἀντιδίδου.

[4] *CIA* iv. 1. 373[1] = Κατ. 237 τέχνην λώϊον ἔξειν; compare the formula of consulting the oracle, Collitz ii 1561, etc.

[5] *IGA* 20[62] ff., [108a] τὺ δὲ δὸς χαρίεσσαν ἀμοιϝάν or ἀφορμάν, a common formula at Corinth, like "Afflictions sore long time he bore" in village churchyards.

[6] Κατ. 207 φαρθένε, ἐν ἀκροπόλει Τελεσῖνος ἄγαλμ' ἀνέθηκεν Κήτιος, ὥι χαίρουσα διδοίης ἄλο ἀναθεῖναι. Many prayers for prosperity in *CIA* iv. 1. 373[1–250].

[7] Collitz ii. 1657 reads δίς πη Πύρρι δὸς τοῖόν νιν ἐπάσατο.

[8] *IGA* 412 δέξαι τόδ' ἄμενφες ἄγαλμα.

[9] Κατ. 51 τῆι δὲ θεῶι χαρίεν, etc.

[10] *IGA* 402; *IGS* i. 3598; Κατ. 123.

[11] Collitz i. 69 (altar) τιμῶ τὰ διφατοδίμαο Παφιγα γε διμωοίς.

description of the dedication in the nominative case. Such are "the supplication of Peisis" at Athens[1], the firstfruit in the same place[2], "Anaus's prayer" in Cyprus[3].

Speaking generally, the dedicative formulae are made in prose from the earliest times to the latest; and they keep to certain quite simple types. The most verbose expansion of the early type, which yet means no more than the simple form, is seen in Cyprus. "I am of Prototimus, priest of the Paphian," says one record, "and he dedicated me to the Paphian Aphrodite[4]"; or "I am of the Paphian goddess; now Onesithemis dedicated me[5]." Many of the Cyprians, who are most free in their handling of the types, add "in luck" or "with good luck[6]," "for the best[7]," even a note of time[8]. But attempts at verse, more or less successful, are found quite early and in many parts of the Greek world. They are mostly hexameters, one or more[9], not seldom elegiacs in one[10] or more couplets[11], and now and then a rude sort of iambic[12]. Some licence is allowed in the case of proper names which may be difficult or impossible to scan[13]. In the fourth century begins, and later grows to great lengths, the custom of adding self-glorification of all sorts, which robs the offering of its pious simplicity.

[1] Κατ. xxxiv. Πεισίδος ἱκεσία.

[2] Κατ. lxxiv.

[3] Collitz i. 96 ἀρὰ Ἀνάω (statuette).

[4] Collitz i. 1 Πρωτοτίμω ἠμὶ τᾶς Παφίας τοῦ ἱερέος· κάς με κατέθηκε τᾶι Παφίαι Ἀφροδίται. See for the verb, above, p. 324.

[5] Collitz i. 2 τᾶς θεᾶς τᾶς Παφίας ἠμί· αὐτάρ μι κατέθηκε Ὀνασίθεμις.

[6] Collitz i. 47, 17 ἰν τύχαι, τύχηι ἀγαθῆι: ἰ τύχαι ἀζαθᾶι 37: 120 σὺ τύχα: cp. *IGS* i. 3100 Boeotia.

[7] Collitz i. 37 τἀπὶ δεξιῶι. Compare εὐτυχῶς in Caria, *BCH* xiv. 371; Οὐρανία Ἥρα Ἀμμώνιος ἀνέθηκε ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ *CIG Add.* iv. 7034.

[8] Collitz i. 76.

[9] *IGA* 20[7] (Corinth), 37 (Argos), 120 (Olympia), 314 (Phocis), 407 (Naxos), 512 (Syracuse).

[10] *IGA* 99 (Ol.), 354 (Aegina), 412 (Naxos), 62*a* (Laconia).

[11] *IGA* 401 (Paros), Κατ. *passim*.

[12] *IGA* 32, 36*a* (catalectic).

[13] 20[7] Σιμίων, 512 τοῖ Σῦρακόσιοι, or τοῖ Σῦρακοσιοι, something wrong either way; Κατ. 261 Ἡροδῶρος. Few can beat the Delian bard in this line: Ἰστιαιεύς μ' ἀνέθηκεν Κάλλωνος ὑπέρ· φίλ' Ἀπόλλων τήνδε συναμφοτέροις εὐτυχίην ὄπασον. *BCH* vi. 33.

XII.

LATER USES OF THE VOTIVE FORMULA.

ἭΤΩ ἈΝΆΘΕΜΑ.

1 *Ep. ad Cor.* xvi. 22.

We have already seen that human beings were once dedicated to the gods, whether for service or sacrifice; and although an investigation of this topic does not lie within our scope, it suggested a curious development which must be mentioned, the formality of emancipation. In many Greek states, emancipation was a civil act[1]; but in some, it took the form of a dedication of the slave to the patron deity of the city, by which act he was made free of human control, and that meant (since the deity did not enforce his claim) his own man. Witnesses or guarantors are sometimes present at the transaction, which is a legal fiction. A payment of money, and other legal processes, are occasionally alluded to[2]; some contain the word 'sold[3].'

The practice is not attested in Greece for the early times,

[1] As at Delphi, Collitz ii. p. 184 ff.; Daulis *IGS* iii. 1. 63 καλέσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ἱστίαν, another form like the Roman *manumissio per mensam*; Hyampolis 86; Elatea 109, 120—127; Calymna Collitz iii. 3599; Epirus Collitz ii. 1349; Aetolia 412.

[2] *IGS* i. 3303 τὰν ἀνάθεσιν ποιούμενος διὰ τῶ συνεδρίω κὰτ τὸν νόμον, καὶ κατέβαλε τῦ ταμίη τῦ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱαρῶν χρημάτων τὸ γινόμενον δραχμὰς Fίκατι παραχρεῖμα. So in Collitz ii. 1461 is a list of slaves each paying fifteen staters.

[3] So all the Delphians; Tithora, ἀπέδοτο ἐπ' ἐλευθερίαι τῶι θεῶι *IGS* iii. 1. 188—90; Amphissa 318; Chalium 331; Physcus 349 ff.; Naupactus 359 ff.; Phistyum 417; Stratus 447; Chaleion Collitz ii. 1477, where the price is named, and receipt given.

but the same seems to have been used by the Semites[1]. One from Phocis[2] belongs to the fourth century, but as the beginning is lost, whether the votive formula was used or not cannot be made out; most of them date from the third or second century, or even later. The custom depends, however, on the right of sanctuary, known to us from the stories of Cylon and Pausanias, and from the ancient practice of sparing captives who took refuge in a temple[3]. Slaves too might be protected from their masters by fleeing to the Theseum or the fane of the Eumenides at Athens[4].

In Coronea[5], Orchomenus[6], and Chaeronea[7], the owners dedicate their slaves to the Egyptian gods, Sarapis, Isis, and Anubis, under certain restrictions; if any one in Coronea infringes his liberty, he is to pay a fine of a thousand drachmae to those gods. At Lebadea, the slave was dedicated to Zeus the king and Trophonius, whose priests were charged to make good the act against aggression[8]. In Stiris, they are dedicated to Asclepius[9]; in Daulis, to Athena Polias[10]. The only Messenian emancipations which have been found are too badly broken clearly to show whether they were dedicatory; but as a fine has to be paid to Limnatis they are likely to have been so[11]. Fifth and fourth-century dedications of slaves to Poseidon, by

[1] Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia.*

[2] *IGS* iii. 1. 119. A list of gods is named at the end.

[3] Xen. *Hell.* iv. 3. 20. It was impious to disregard this, yet that was sometimes done, Xen. *Hell.* vi. 5. 9.

[4] Arist. *Knights* 1312 and scholiast; Thuc. i. 126; Plut. *Thes.* 26.

[5] *IGS* i. 2872 (*ἀνατιθέασι ἱερόν*).

[6] *IGS* i. 3198.

[7] *IGS* i. 3301—3377, 3380—3.

[8] *IGS* i. 3080 foll. No. 3083 may be given as a specimen: *θιός· τούχα ἀγαθά. Ϝαστίαο ἄρχοντος* Βοιωτῦς, *ἐν δὲ Λεβαδείη Δίρκωνος, Δωΐλος Ἰρανήω ἀνατίθειτι τὸν Ϝίδιον θεράποντα Ἀνδρικὸν τῦ Δὶ τῦ βασιλεῦι κὴ τῦ Τροφωνίυ, ἰαρὸν εἶμεν παρμείναντα πὰρ τὰν ματέρα Ἀθανοδώραν Ϝέτια δέκα, καθὼς ὁ πατεὶρ ποτέταξε. ἢ δέ κα ἔτι δώει Ἀθανοδώρα, εἴσι Ἀνδρικὸς φόρον τὸν ἐν τῆ θείκη γεγραμμένον· ἢ δέ τι κα πάθει Ἀθανοδώρα, παρμενῖ Ἀνδρικὸς τὸν περιττὸν χρόνον πὰρ Δωίλον, ἔπιτα ἰαρός ἐστιν, μεὶ ποθίκων μειθενὶ μειθέν. μεὶ ἐσσεῖμεν δὲ καταδουλίττασθη Ἀνδρικὸν μειθενί, Ἀνδρικὸν δὲ λειτουργῖμεν ἐν τῆς θυσιῆς τῶν θιῶν οὔτων.*

[9] *IGS* iii. 1. 36 *ἀπελευθέρωσαν καὶ ἀνέθηκαν*, 39 *ἀνατίθειτι τῶ θεῶ τῶ Ἀσσκληπιῶ.*

[10] *IGS* iii. 1. 66. The words *οὓς ἀνέθηκε* are used of the emancipated, Collitz ii. 1523.

[11] *AM* xvi. 349, cp. Le Bas-Foucart 309, 310, 310*a*. Collitz iii. 4642 restores **ἀνατίθητι.**

a very simple formula, are found at Taenarum[1]: it should be remembered that Poseidon was the god of the ancient population of Laconia, who were reduced to slavery by their conquerors[2]. Manumissions of the same class have been found at Olympia[3], and allusions to such are known in Cos[4] and Epidaurus[5].

The formula shows a transition in Stiris, where the slave is set free and 'deposited' before the gods, Asclepius, and the citizens[6].

In the second place, curses are often conceived of as a kind of votive offering. The curses have been found in Attica, Boeotia, Megara, Italy, Crete, Cyprus, Asia Minor, and Africa. The specimens to be quoted are not older[7], and most are later, than the fourth century; but the practice was old without doubt. Plato mentions it[8], and there are allusions in many other classical authors. Its association with the worship of the dead suggests a hoary antiquity, since this worship is characteristic of the earliest inhabitants of Greece. The practice of writing the spells backwards may perhaps have begun when Greek was written that way[9]. Curses show a very strange and pathetic side of ancient religion. They were commonly used under the influence of passion; but to judge from the numerous remains, the people would resort to them on any provocation. One could pardon the man who complains of assault and battery[10], the lover who invokes curses on a rival or a faithless mistress[11]; but there is small excuse for the unsportsmanlike

[1] Collitz iii. 4588 ff., e.g. *ἀνέθηκε τῶι Ποσείδᾶνι Θεάρης Κλευγένη, Ἔφορος· Δαΐοχος, ἐπάκω· Ἀρίων, Λύων. IGA* 88 (5th cent.).

[2] Schol. Ar. *Ach.* 510.

[3] *IGA* 552 *ἀφῆκε...ἱαρὸς τοῦ Διός...*

[4] Paton, *Inscr. of Cos*, p. 66.

[5] Baunack, *Studien.*

[6] *IGS* iii. 1. 34 *ἀφίητι* (names) *τὰ ἴδια σώματα ἐλεύθερα* (names), *καὶ παρακατατίθεντι παρὰ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν καὶ τοὺς πολίτας καὶ τοὺς Φωκεῖς.* Deposits were commonly left in the temples (*παρακαταθήκη*): e.g. *CIA* ii. 660[50].

[7] No. 26 may be fifth century.

[8] Plato, *Rep.* ii. 364 C, *Laws* xi. 933 A.

[9] Wülsch (p. iv.) suggests that it was done for a magical effect, like walking widershins; and in 67 this is stated, *ὥσπερ ταῦτα ψυχρὰ καὶ ἐπαρίστερα οὕτως τὰ Κράτητος τὰ ῥήματα ψυχρὰ καὶ ἐπαρίστερα γένοιτο.* This need not have been the original motive.

[10] Newton, *Branchidae*, 95, p. 745.

[11] *CIA* Appendix: *Defixionum Tabulae*; Theocr. ii. *passim*; Newton, *Branchidae*, no. 87, p. 739. Latin curses on lead at Carthage: *Classical Review* xi. 415.

boxer who prays that his antagonists may lose their strength[1], or the litigant who asks that his opponent's tongue may be as cold as the lead he writes on[2], or the ill-wisher who invokes misfortune on his friends, feet and hands, soul and body, their works and their craftsmanship, their brothers, sisters, wives, children, and associates. The descriptions are full: here is a helmet-maker[3], there a maker of panspipes[4]; shoemaker[5], silk-spinner[6], carpenter[7], actor[8], are anathematized with all the brains in their heads and all the goods in their shops. One aggrieved person "sends a letter to the spirits and Persephone" to call their attention to "Tibitis, who does me wrong, her daughter, husband, and her three children, two girls and a boy[9]." The curses are as detailed as that of the Jackdaw of Rheims. Hermes is the favourite god for these invocations, and others are Demeter, Persephone, Hades, the Earth, and mysterious demons[10]. The curses are engraved on leaden sheets, and buried in the earth, often in the tombs[11].

The material is in later times supposed to be symbolic, whatever were the original motive for using it: "as this lead is useless, so be so-and-so useless[12]," or "as the lead is cold, so grow he cold[13]." In the Attic inscriptions, the formula is generally *καταδῶ* "I bind"; but we find also "I send as a gift[14]," and "I deposit[15]." The Boeotians have *καταδίδημι* or *καταγράφω*[16]; *παραδίδωμι*[17] occurs in imprecatory inscriptions on tombs. It is hard to draw the line at this period between votive offerings and other gifts from the formulae used; but we are justified in mentioning them here, because a certain

[1] *Def. Tab.* 102 *b* *κατόχους τὴν Γῆν τοὺς πύκτας Ἀριστόμαχος καὶ Ἀριστώννυμος κάτεχε τὴν δύναμιν ἅπασαν ἐκείνων.* So the horses of the green faction are cursed (Carthage), *CIL* 12508.

[2] *Def. Tab.* 105, 94.

[3] *Def. Tab.* 69.

[4] *Def. Tab.* 55*a*.

[5] *Def. Tab.* 12.

[6] *Def. Tab.* 85*a*.

[7] *Def. Tab.* 55*a*.

[8] *Def. Tab.* 45.

[9] *Def. Tab.* 102; so frequently.

[10] *ἄωροι*, *Def. Tab.* no. 62, p. xvi, etc.; see Indices for the rest.

[11] *Def. Tab.* pref. p. xxx. (papyrus).

[12] *Def. Tab.* 106*b*.

[13] *Def. Tab.* 107*a*.

[14] Newton, *Branchidae*, no. 81 ff. p. 719 f.

[15] *Def. Tab.* 100*a*, *CIL* 12508 *ὧν τὰ ὀνόματά σοι παρακατατέθηκα.*

[16] *Def. Tab.* p. viii.

[17] *CIA* iii. 1423 e.g.

number contain the technical term. The Furies also claim the bloodguilty as "dedicated" to themselves[1]. Those documents which were found at the shrine of Demeter at Cnidus begin with *ἀνιεροῖ* or *ἀνατίθημι* (*ἀνατίθητι*)[2]. These also, with another from south Italy, show that it was a custom to dedicate a lost or stolen article to a deity, with a curse for those who kept it; and so apparently with false coins[3]. Hegemone of Cnidus devotes to Demeter and the Maid the bracelet she lost in the gardens of Rhodocles; good luck to him who brings it back, but if the possessor do not, then let the gods see to it[4]. Collyra of Bruttium devotes to the temple officials a cloke and ornaments which Melita will not return to her; Melita must pay the goddess twelve-fold and a measure of incense, and may she not die till she does it[5]. Later we see the word *ἀναθεματίζω* in use[6], and the familiar "anathema" in St Paul's Epistle will be remembered[7]. The curse itself is sometimes called *κατάθεμα*, a curious opposite of *ἀνάθεμα*, quite appropriate to the buried lead[8]. One tablet promises a sacrifice if the prayer should be answered[9]. A large number of names inscribed on lead were found in a tomb in Euboea; it seems possible that they were intended as curses[10], although their number is against that supposition.

The curse is even found combined with a relief in the sanctuary of Men at Coula. Artemidorus, having been insulted by Hermogenes and Nitonis, denounced them to Men in a votive tablet (*πιττάκιον*); whereupon Hermogenes, punished by the god, offered a propitiatory sacrifice and changed his ways[11]. Two orphans sacrifice to the same god, and offer a relief representing an altar, a man and a boy, for his protection against

[1] Aesch. *Eum.* 304 *καθιερωμένος*.

[2] Newton, no. 81, p. 719 ff.

[3] *JHS* iv. 246.

[4] Newton, no. 86.

[5] *IGSI* 644 *ἀνιερίζει Κολλύρα ταῖς προπόλοις τᾶς θεῶ τὼς τρῖς χρυσέως, τὼς ἔλαβε Μελίτα καὶ οὐκ ἀποδίδωτι· ἀνθείη τᾶι θεῶι δυωδεκάπλωας σὺν μεδίμνωι λιβάνω τῶι πόλις νομίζει. μὴ πρότερον δὲ τὰν ψυχὰν ἀνείη, ἔστε ἀνθείη τᾶι θεῶι.* So gold coins stolen are devoted to Juno Lacinia *CIL* 5773.

[6] *Def. Tab.* pref. xiii.

[7] 1 *Cor.* xvi. 22. Still used in this sense.

[8] *Def. Tab.* p. xxiii.

[9] *Def. Tab.* 109 *εὐαγγέλια θύσω.*

[10] *IGA* 372. Köhl thinks they were *sortes vel tesseras.*

[11] *CIG* 3442, *BCH* xx. 58.

the evil devices of their enemies[1]. Again: Scollus has borrowed money from Apollonius, and refuses to repay; Apollonius devotes Scollus to Mother Atimis and Men Tiamou, by whom Scollus dies. His son paid the debt, and this pillar records the recipient's gratitude[2]. As the hand held up is carved on a curse-slab[3], it may be that the bronze votive hands in the same position found in the temple of Artemis at Arcadian Lusi, were dedicated for some such purpose[4].

With the further developments, when Semitic and Gnostic titles appear, El, Michael, Nephtho, Sabaoth, and the portentous 'Ephesian' nonsense-jingles, we have no concern. It may however be worth remarking, that the formulae of cursing have remained much the same for two thousand years, and I am much mistaken if they are not still in use[5]. At least, "binding-spells" or *δέματα* are still the terror of the Greek bridegroom.

The votive type is also used for money gifts or legacies given to a shrine for paying the cost of sacrifice, and the like. So Agasicratis of Calaurea dedicates to Poseidon three hundred drachmae for buying victims[6]. So the money sent by king Attalus to Delphi, for education and the keeping up of sacrifices, was sanctified to the god that the gift might be in force for ever[7]. Diomedon of Cos left property by will for founding a shrine[8], as Epicteta did in Thera[9], and the same thing is known in North Greece[10].

There remains to mention in a brief word the Decrees of the Greek states. These did not adopt the votive formulae, except in so far as *θεοῖς* was sometimes prefixed[11]; but often

[1] *AM* vi. 273, *BCH* xx 59. 210 A.D.

[2] *BCH* xx. 59.

[3] *Jahreshefte* iv. *Beiblatt* 14 and cut.

[4] *Jahreshefte* iv. 48, fig. 61, 62. They could hardly have been dedicated for healing, or there would have been other parts of the body. Besides, the practice of dedicating votive limbs is not older than the late fifth century.

[5] I have a number of them in a MS. compiled in 1798 in the island of Calymnos (see *Folk-Lore* x. 156 ff.).

[6] Collitz iii. 3380 *ἀνέθηκε...ὥστε θύειν*, etc.

[7] Collitz ii. 2642 *ὅπως ὑπάρχῃ ἃ δωρεὰ εἰς πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἀΐδιος...εἶμεν τὸ ἀργύριον ποθίερον τοῦ θεοῦ.*

[8] Paton, *Inscr. of Cos*, 36.

[9] *IGI* iii. 330.

[10] *IGS* i. 1786, iii. 1. 87.

[11] *IGSI* i. 43.

when they recorded an alliance they adopted the scheme of the sacrificial votive relief: the personified figures of the contracting states joining hands, with an altar beside them. A sacrifice ratified the treaty as a matter of course. The gesture is more than a mere greeting; it is the solemn symbol of friendship or pact[1]; and the scene is the memorial of the solemn libation and sacrifice done to ratify the pact. The curse or sanction is usually recorded in them.

[1] Xen. *Hell.* iv. 1. 31.

XIII.

DISPOSAL OF THE OFFERINGS.

πτηνῶν ἀγέλας αἳ βλάπτουσιν
σέμν' ἀναθήματα, τόξοισιν ἐμοῖς
φυγάδας θήσομεν.

Eur. *Ion* 106.

The offerings when brought by the worshipper, after the proper invocation and sacrifice had been made, were then laid on the table, or set up in the precinct, doubtless under direction of the officials. Statues, large vases, tripods, carven slabs, and other such things were placed upon bases which stood all round in the precinct, or sometimes within the temple itself[1]. The bases were shaped to suit the offering, but very many offerings stood on small pillars[2]; and the inscription was commonly graven upon the base. The offering was often fixt in a slab of stone, and some such have survived; in other cases the marks of attachment or a sunken panel are still to be seen[3]. The hosts

[1] A slab on a pillar is shown on a votive relief: *CIA* iv. 2. 418*i*.

[2] The Acropolis pillars have been examined by R. Borrmann, *Jahrb.* iii. 269 ff.: *Steten für Weihgeschenke auf der Akropolis zu Athen.* A pillar from Epidaurus Limera Collitz iii. 4537 has Μενεστικλῆς τῶ 'Απέλωνι **ἀνέθηκε**; one from Eleusis.

[3] *CIA* ii. 1453. So the hair-caskets in temple of Zeus Panamaros: *BCH* xii. 479. Fastening by a thread or the like may have been used as a sign of dedication with larger objects. Rhenea was dedicated to Delos by being fastened to it with a chain: Thuc. iii. 104. 2 Πολυκράτης...τὴν Ῥήνειαν ἑλὼν ἀνέθηκε τῷ 'Απόλλωνι τῷ Δηλίῳ ἀλύσει δήσας πρὸς τὴν Δῆλον. The Ephesians besieged, thus fastened their city to the temple of Artemis: Herod. i. 26 ἀνέθεσαν τὴν πόλιν τῇ 'Αρτέμιδι ἐξάψαντες ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ σχοινίον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. (Cities dedicated to a god in *IGS* i. 4136.) Cylon's rebels fastened themselves by a string to Athena: Plut. *Solon* 12. Fillets used to tie objects to a shrine, which are seen in works of art, would therefore seem to imply dedication.

of smaller offerings were arranged within the temple or its storehouses, such as the treasury[1], or the show places of separate states[2]. Things of no value, such as the clay figures or models, were, no doubt, deposited upon the holy table for the nonce, and afterwards (like the tapers in a Catholic church) removed by the attendants. What became of the objects in gold or silver which abound in the fifth and succeeding centuries, we can say with some certainty. I combine into one picture the information from several sources, as there is no reason to think that the customs greatly differed in different parts: indicating at the same time what those sources are.

When the offering was brought, it was entered with the giver's name upon an official list[3], which would be used later for checking. Sometimes a number[4], a letter of the alphabet[5] or other sign[6], was inscribed on them singly or in groups, with the weight of the metal. They were then placed on shelves or affixt to the wall in batches or rows[7], or hung over the door or windows, in fact wherever it might be convenient[8]. They were generally placed in order as they came[9], but objects of the same kind were often kept together. Crowns and other such objects, and others in strings, were hung on the walls. As long as there was room, there they all remained; but if necessary they were then stored in boxes[10] or in store chambers

[1] *θησαυροὶ* at Olympia and Delphi; at Delos *BCH* vi. l. 76. There were *θησαυροὶ* elsewhere, but mostly used as money-boxes (Epidaurus Collitz iii. 3325[231], Andania Collitz iii. 4689[90] *θησαυροὶ λίθινοι δύο κλαικτοί*, Thera Collitz iii. 4768).

[2] At Delos *Ἀνδρίων οἶκος* line 155, *Πώρινος οἶκος* 178, *Δηλίων*, *Ναξίων* p. 88, besides several temples; similar treasuries or show-rooms at Olympia and Delphi.

[3] Delos: *πίναξ*, *δέλτος*, *χάρται*, *λεύκωμα*. *BCH* vi. p. 88 (4th cent. and later).

[4] Halicarnassus: Newton, p. 670.

[5] Athens: Ridder, *Cat. Acr. Mus. Bronz.* 283, 307, etc. (earlier than 480 B.C.), *BCH* ii. 421; *CIA* ii. 726 A, 731, 741 B *b*, 751; Dodona: Carapanos, *Dodone* 37, pl. xx. 4, 9; Delos: *BCH* vi. 89.

[6] For the symbols of Epidaurus see below, p. 379.

[7] *ῥυμοί*. Delos: *BCH* vi. *passim*; Athens: *CIA* ii. 642 ff.

[8] Delos: *BCH* vi. line 34 (wall), 52 *ἐπίθυρον*, 94, 115 *ὑπὲρ τὸ θύρετρον*, 67, 70, 115 *ὑπὲρ τὸ ὑπέρθυρον*.

[9] *BCH* vi. 100, 101.

[10] *ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου ῥυμοῦ τοῦ ἐκ τῆς κιβωτοῦ BCH* vi. 25. *ἐν κιβωτίωι CIA* ii. 751; lettered A, B, etc., and weight put on them, 706.

assorted. Thus we find whole collections of crowns[1] or bowls[2] or silver hydriae catalogued together. So too the other things, bronze articles, statues and the like, often had their own place[3]; Artemis Brauronia[4] and Hera of Samos[5] had a huge wardrobe of clothes. The articles themselves were often ticketed or inscribed with the names of the givers, and other details in prose or in verse.

Each year a board of magistrates (ten at Athens under presidency of the strategus) was appointed to take stock of the treasures. At Athens these were the "stewards of the sacred moneys," whom we find in a very early inscription collecting and cataloguing the bronze articles[6]. Later we have regular accounts of them for a few years preceding and following 400, and for the middle of the fourth century[7]. At Athens, besides the Acropolis records, we have others for the Asclepieum[8] and the shrine of the Hero Physician[9]. At Delos, the Amphictyons or the Ἱεροποιοὶ had this charge[10], and similar lists prove the practice for Aegina[11], Argos[12], Branchidae[13], Delphi[14], Eleusis[15], Oropus[16], Paros[17], Plataea[18], Samos[19], so that it is likely they once existed at other shrines. Demosthenes has told us of one decree past for recasting, and how scandalously Androtion carried it out[20].

[1] *CIA* ii. 699—701 (begins 357 B.C.), 728, 736.

[2] *CIA* ii. 768; *BCH* vi. 105 fifty-three bowls grouped together, which had been described in previous lists as they came in.

[3] *CIA* ii. 742—5.

[4] *CIA* ii. 751—4.

[5] *BCH* ix. 90 *αὐλαῖαι, ἱμάτια, κιθῶνες, κεκρύφαλοι, κρήδεμνα, μίτραι, παραπετάσματα, περίζωμα, σπληνίσκοι*: Curtius, *Samos*, 15.

[6] *ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων*. Ridder, *Cat. Ath. Br.* 428: *οἱ ταμίαι τάδε χαλκία συλλέξαντες*, etc.

[7] *CIA* i. 117—175 (435 B.C. onwards), lists in Parthenon, Hecatompedos, Pronaos, temple of Brauronia; ii. 403, 404 (same); ii. 835 foll. Asclepieum. Delos: *CIA* ii. 813 foll., see note [10].

[8] *CIA* ii. 836.

[9] *CIA* ii. 403.

[10] *BCH* vi. 87; lists in ii. 570 ff., vi. 29 ff., x. 461 ff., xiv. 389 ff.; *CIA* ii. 813 ff.

[11] *IPI* i. 1588.

[12] *AJA* ix. 357, *IPI* i. 526.

[13] *CIG* 2852—9; other unpublisht inscrr. found by M. Haussoullier.

[14] Fragm. *BCH* vi. 457.

[15] *CIA* ii. 682*c*, iv. 1. 225*f*, 225*b*. Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1890, 5, 90.

[16] *IGS* i. 3498 (about 200).

[17] *CIG* 2384 *g*.

[18] *AJA* vii. 406.

[19] Curtius, *Samos*, Inscr. no. 6.

[20] Dem. *Timocr.* 755 *τί γὰρ βούλεσθε εἴπω; τὰ πομπεῖα· ὡς ἐπεσκευάκασι; καὶ*

The new gifts of the year were described in detail[1], with nature, weight, and inscription (if any); the older ones named. Sometimes those which were broken were repaired, but for the most part they were left alone until they fell to pieces or until there was need to make room for more[2]. What followed then may be told in the words of the Oropan inscription. "Since some of the plate on the table of Amphiaraus has become useless, and some is in need of repair, while some of the offerings on the walls have fallen down," three men were to be chosen, who were to receive such articles from the hierarchs, and to melt them down under supervision. A portion of the gold was to be kept as a sample, the rest to be recast as a golden bowl. The names of all those whose offerings were thus treated were to be inscribed on stone, together with the weight and description of each offering[3]. Allusions to this practice are found elsewhere. Thus at Delos a bowl takes the place of a condemned vessel[4]; or certain articles are said to be handed over to the workmen[5]; in Athens we have a crater made from the freedmen's bowls[6] and bowls made from melted crowns[7]. The same practice is still kept up in the Levant. At Tenos, the countless offerings are cast in the shape of hanging silver lamps, or the silver is sold and the money used in beautifying the precinct or in public works. The same is done to my knowledge at Ayassos in Lesbos and in Syme, and doubtless enquiry would show it to be done elsewhere. Amongst other things, the road and harbour mole at Tenos have been built by this means, and a road at Ayassos. The silver bowls or hydriae which were thus made in ancient times were kept as

τὴν τῶν στεφάνων καθαίρεσιν; ἢ τὴν τῶν φιαλῶν ποίησιν τὴν καλήν;...τὰ μὲν οὖν πολλὰ ὧν λέγων ὑμᾶς ἐφενάκιζεν Ἀνδροτίων, παραλείψω. φήσας δὲ ἀπορρεῖν τὰ φύλλα τῶν στεφάνων καὶ σαπροὺς εἶναι διὰ τὸν χρόνον, ὥσπερ ἴων ἢ ῥόδων ὄντας ἀλλ' οὐ χρυσίου, συγχωνεύειν ἔπεισεν. αἱρεθεὶς δὲ ἐπὶ ταῦτα, he proceeded to destroy the inscriptions which you took such pride in (quoted already, p. 268), *ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς φιάλαις ἃς ἀντ' ἐκείνων ἐποιήσαθ' ὑμῖν ὁ πόρνος οὗτος, Ἀνδροτίωνος ἐπιμελουμένου ἐποιήθησαν, ἐπιγέγραπται.*

[1] Formulae above, p. 323.

[2] *BCH* vi. 92.

[3] *IGS* i. 303.

[4] *BCH* vi. 94. So we read of a silver tripod *καὶ τὸ περιγενόμενον χῦμα καὶ δοκιμεῖα* 149.

[5] vi. 31 *παραδοθέντος τοῖς ἀνδράσιν.*

[6] *CIA* 720 A 1.

[7] Above, p. 344[20].

part of the temple treasure, almost as convenient as ingots and more beautiful, until they were wanted for public purposes[1].

Objects of clay, images and vases and such things as were of no intrinsic worth, when their number became overwhelming, were put in store-rooms or finally buried in trenches class by class. Store-chambers have been found at Camarina[2], at Cnidus[3] and in Cyprus[4]; and trenches, in which the objects were laid side by side and buried, in the Cabirium[5], Corcyra[6], Delphi[7], Elatea[8], Naucratis[9], Olympia[10], Praesus in Crete[11], Tarentum[12], perhaps Paestum[13]; probably in Argos[14], Tegea[15], Camarina[16], Catania[17], Megara Hyblaea[18].

It is assumed by some that the articles were intentionally broken either in order to sanctify them more effectually (as savages do for the dead) or to prevent their being turned to profane uses[19]. The same reason is assigned for the inscriptions scratched on earthen vases. This cannot have been a general practice, because many hundreds of these offerings are still whole. The idea is not without parallels, and the assumed custom is possible, but it was certainly not always followed.

What became of the larger objects we cannot certainly say. That so many bronze statues were stored together in the Bronze House on the Acropolis of Athens[20] would suggest that the less recent ones were commonly so disposed of. The fact that so many female statues, made within a few years, were standing and were thrown down at the time of the Persian invasion, points in the same direction. The number of such offerings must have been enormous; and got rid of somehow they must have

[1] Sometimes the treasure was kept in the form of ingots: *BCH* vi. 94 (χῶμα).

[2] *Mon. Ant.* ix. 226.

[3] Newton.

[4] *Cat. Cypr. Mus.*

[5] *AM* xv. 355.

[6] *BCH* xv. 9.

[7] *BCH* xviii. 181, 183.

[8] *BCH* xi. 406.

[9] *Naucratis* i. *init.*

[10] *Bronzen*, 28, 43, etc.

[11] *AJA* N.S. v. 378.

[12] *JHS* vii. 1 ff., *Gaz. Arch.* vii. 155 ff.

[13] Many of one type, *Berlin Museum*, *Terracottas* sect. v.

[14] Dr Waldstein.

[15] *AM* iv. 170.

[16] *Mon. Ant.* ix. 226.

[17] *Mon. Ant.* vii. 217 ff.

[18] *Mon. Ant.* i. 913 ff.

[19] *BCH* vi. 407, xv. 9.

[20] *CIA* ii. 742 ff.

been, unless there were any special reason in the fineness of the object or the fame of its maker or dedicator, to leave it unmolested.

The number and variety of the objects dedicated may well cause surprise. In Delos, we find about sixty different kinds of vessels; and there were some sixteen hundred phialae in the temple of Apollo alone[1], smooth, fluted, figured, or chased, damascened or inlaid with gold, set with gems, some of gold solid. There were fifty or more golden crowns of all sizes; with rings, bangles, necklets, bracelets, anklets, chains, brooches, headbands, earrings, scentbottles, rouge pots, and fans. All manner of weapons were found there: helmet, shield, and spear, bows, arrows, ox-goad, dirks, with ship's beak and rudder. There were anvil and spindles, figures of human beings and of animals, balls and discs, and other things nondescript. The same variety is seen in the other great shrines, and is of importance as we shall see for the interpretation of the idea which votive offerings imply.

[1] *BCH* vi. 109 ff. See the lists below.

XIV.

GENERAL SKETCH

OF THE CUSTOMS CONNECTED WITH VOTIVE OFFERINGS, THEIR ORIGIN, AGE, DISTRIBUTION, AND MEANING, TOGETHER WITH A CONSIDERATION OF CERTAIN QUESTIONS ARISING OUT OF THEM.

WE are now in a position to take a review of the whole subject.

The period we are concerned with is comparatively short. True, there is evidence that the custom of dedicating divine images at holy shrines is very ancient. Even if we set aside the rude female idols of stone, which have been found in the islands and rarely on the mainland of Greece[1], we have for example in the Argive Heraeum a series of idols, ranging in an unbroken series from the archaic Greek period back through all periods intermediate to the Mycenaean age, and earlier still, for how many centuries we can but dimly guess[2]. We have evidence also, that tithes and firstfruits were offered by the country people to their most ancient gods, and there is a probability that this custom is as old as the other[3]. So too in the ritual of the dead, food and drink, with the vessels containing it, were offered at the tomb from the Mycenean age to historic times[4]. But apart from these, where evidence as to motive and meaning is vague, the practice of dedicating what are technically called *ἀναθήματα*, that is permanent memorials of a special benefit, at first (as the name denotes) intended to be

[1] Page 286.
[2] Page 286.
[3] Page 55 ff.
[4] Page 4.

hung in the shrine, but including later all objects which embodied the idea, the evidence for this practice is confined within narrow limits. I do not imply that it was unknown before, but we can only trace it where it is attested by the use of a fixt formula; we depend, that is, upon literary and epigraphical evidence. With the aid of this evidence, we are able to interpret the archaeological remains in certain holy places; and these remains show a variety of new features within the same limited period.

The Homeric poems attest the dedication of things which have a material value, as Hecuba's robe, and a temple full of fine ornaments[1]; but they say little of the dedication of things for their meaning sake, such as blood-stained spoils of war[2]; and in neither case does the poet use for them the regular formula of later days, which he indeed uses in a different sense[3]. But Hesiod speaks of dedicating his prize as a matter of course, and uses the proper verb of dedication[4]. Now the formula is necessarily later than the beginning of practice, but not much later; and if Homer records a few instances of the practice, but without the formula, we may fairly infer that the practice was beginning in his day amongst the people he wrote for[5]. But it was recognised in Hesiod's day; therefore it became recognised somewhere between the two, that is between the eleventh and the eighth centuries. The archaeological evidence enables us to trace the custom back to the eighth century or thereabouts at Olympia, at Argos perhaps further; and the oldest offerings in Delphi, Lusi, Thebes, perhaps Athens, Corcyra, and Samos can hardly be much later. Again: in the fourth century the motives of dedication undergo a change so markt as to rob the custom of all its meaning, except in case of deliverance from disease and peril, and in other cases with humbler folk[6]. The

[1] Page 311.

[2] Page 275.

[3] *Il.* xxii. 100 *μοι ἐλεγχείην ἀναθήσει*, ascribe: *Od.* i. 152 *ἀναθήματα δαιτός*, graces or luxuries, something over and above what is necessary, added to give delight.

[4] Page 152.

[5] This does not imply that *ἀναθήματα* were not offered by the humble country folk, or by another race than the Achaeans.

[6] This coincides with the decay of religious faith in general. It has been pointed out, for example, that in the fourth century the character of sepul-

beginning of memorial dedication, then, other than the vaguest sort, may be placed in the ninth or tenth century, its end in the fourth; while as in the case of religion and the fine arts generally, its noblest and fullest expression is seen in the sixth and fifth.

It was a very simple conception of the deity which suggested the votive offering. He was a being not very different from his worshipper, and likely to be pleased with a gift. Croesus, it will be remembered, burnt his offering, that Apollo might get it sooner[1], just as offerings made to the dead were burned or buried according to the conception of the other world which the survivors had. A god needs a house to live in, and furniture; even food does not come amiss, and the libation and sacrifices provide for this. If he gives wealth or a lucky windfall, some acknowledgment must surely be made: a portion of the wealth, the best piece of the find, will content him, and the worshipper may enjoy the rest. So the warrior dedicates a part of his spoil, the tradesman or farmer a part of his profits. If the god is offended by a breach of law, wilful or unwitting, amendment must be made in proportion as would be necessary in social life. Is the votary delivered from peril or sickness, it is natural to acknowledge the favour in the same way. If he has cause to pray, he will be wise to accompany his prayer with a vow, and even perhaps to do his part beforehand[2].

The essence of a votive offering is freewill. It may be customary, as the firstfruits; of fixt proportion, as the tithe;

chral monuments undergoes a change such that it is no longer possible to see any religious meaning in the designs. Examples of rank impiety have been given above, pp. 50[2], 72, 113, 283.

[1] Herod. i. 50. The god enjoyed the smell or smoke of the offering, as men enjoyed it by eating. *Il.* xxiv. 70 *οὔ μοι ποτὲ βωμὸς ἐδεύετο δαιτός, λοιβῆς τε κνίσης τε· τὸ γὰρ λάχομεν γέρας ἡμεῖς*; i. 66 *αἴ κεν πως ἀρνῶν κνίσης αἰγῶν τε τελείων βούλεται ἀντιάσας ἡμῖν ἀπὸ λοιγὸν ἀμῦναι*; and of a human feast viii. 549 *κνίσην ἐκ πεδίοι' ἄνεμοι φέρον οὐρανὸν εἴσω ἡδείαν· τῆς δ' οὔτι θεοὶ δατέοντο οὐδ' ἔθελον*. Fire was specially the gods' *γέρας*, which Prometheus stole and gave to men. The natives of Borneo have the same idea as Croesus; when they send a message to the omen-birds, they light a fire and ask the fire to tell the bird (Haddon, *Head-Hunters*, 337, 344).

[2] Eur. *Ion* 1380, Ion offering his cradle *καὶ νῦν λαβὼν τήνδ' ἀντίπηγ' οἴσω θεῷ ἵν' εὕρω μηδὲν ὧν οὐ βούλομαι.*

but it must not be compulsory, or it becomes a tax. This does not imply that the deity is not to resent a denial of his share. Such a motive as led the Siphnians to refuse a tithe of their mines[1] to the deity whose act they saw in the finding of them, would be mean towards men, and was no less so towards Apollo; Artemis may fairly retaliate if her firstfruits are withheld[2]: but custom is not compulsion. The element of compulsion is one of the two which rob the later offerings of their moral worth. This premised, the ruling motive in the giver may be one of three: thanksgiving, propitiation, or prayer. By far the commonest in earlier times is the thank-offering; I know of one only where fear is stated as the ruling motive[3]. Offerings may be made in fulfilment of a vow, but one of these motives will also be present. A few of early times, and many later, declare obedience to the bidding of the god; whilst the divine oracle was not above asking payment for its help[4]. When complete, the offering stands as a memorial for ever: it may be to remind man of God's providence, or to remind the god of his worshipper's gratitude, or both. But from the fourth century the giver desires his gift to be a memorial to men of his own piety or virtue[5], or of his own great achievements; and the latter motive, as we have seen, began earlier still[6]. Thus the votive offering becomes a means of self-glorification; and this is the other element which robs it of its moral worth.

The distinction usually made between public and private offerings rests on no principle; because the same feeling prompts both, and they are both meant to have the same effect. Public offerings are more often customary, as public prayers are now-a-days; being dedicated (for instance) by sacred embassies or

[1] Page 58[3].

[2] Page 53; cp. Livy v. 23.

[3] Page 29[10].

[4] Ephorus *ap.* Ath. vi. 232 E Delphic oracle to Alcmaeon: *τιμῆέν μ' αἰτεῖς δῶρον, μανίαν ἀποπαῦσαι. καὶ σὺ φέρειν τιμῆεν ἐμοὶ γέρας, ᾧ ποτε μήτηρ Ἀμφιάραον ἔκρυψ' ὑπὸ γῆν αὐτοῖσι σὺν ἵπποις.* To Menelaus: *πάγχρυσον φέρε κόσμον ἑλὼν ἀπὸ σῆς ἀλόχοιο δειρῆς, ὅν ποτε Κύπρις ἔδωχ' Ἑλένῃ μέγα χάρμα. ὥς σοι Ἀλέξανδρος τίσιν ἐχθίστην ἀποδώσει.*

[5] Clearly stated e.g. in *CIA* ii. 470 *ὑπόδειγμα καταλιπόντες τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβείας: κάλλιστον ὑπόδειγμα τῆς ἰδίας φιλαγαθίας.*

[6] Page 147.

upon recurrent festival days. Yet they are no less free, that is compelled by no law[1]. On the other hand, public offerings may be occasional, as in the dedication of war-spoil; and private offerings may be customary, as those of pilgrims or mystics. Again: public offerings may be more magnificent; but if a man gave what he could afford, he felt that the gift was no less acceptable because it was small[2].

We find that these gifts are appropriate to all times and seasons. Gratitude for success in war or the games, for prosperity in one's calling, for unexpected good luck, for deliverance from disease or peril, for election to an honourable post, for the care which has brought a man to his manhood, a woman to her marriage day; propitiation of the mighty dead or of the gods who are mightier still, as a precaution or in consequence of a fact; prayer for help and deliverance, relief from adversity or continued prosperity: there is no part of human life which is not included under one of these.

Neither is there anything in the world which cannot become a votive offering. Yet for all this infinite variety, the offerings fall into a few well-defined classes. There are two main divisions: I. *Material:* things which are given for their own value, and II. *Ideal:* things which are given for what they imply[3]. It is obvious that any object of the first class may on occasion be found under the second; and we shall often find the same object dedicated under both heads. Both are prompted by the same feeling, fear, hope, or gratitude; but the first involves a cruder conception of the deity than the other.

I. *Material: Objects given for their own intrinsic worth.* Here the thing given is regarded as payment made to the god, whose favour is either bought, or requited with something like an equivalent.

(1) First among these come such things as the god might be supposed to need, if he were a being not unlike mankind. He must, for example, have his house and grounds, with the

[1] The distinction is very real, as may be seen in the story of Ananias and Sapphira, *Acts of the Apostles* v.

[2] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 98 ἐκ μικρῶν ὀλίγιστα.

[3] Here I follow Reisch (p. 5).

proper furniture for all uses, and beautiful things for his delight[1]. Thus the dead and the hero spirit are allotted their precinct and shrine[2], the patron deity his portion of land conquered[3] or newly settled[4], wherein a temple must be built and furnisht. Buildings such as the shrine or temple, the treasury or show-chamber and the colonnade, may be erected for any reason proper to the subject we have in hand. Danaus erects one when he has acquired the kingdom of Argos[5]. For success in war, so do Heracles and Theseus, and the Dorians after their invasion; the Athenians thus testify their gratitude to Pan, when he appeared to Pheidippides[6]; the Eleans build the great sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia[7]. Salvation from plague or pestilence is repaid by the shrine of the Eumenides at Athens, by the temple of Apollo at Bassae[8]; from flood, by that of Hera at Sparta[9]. Diomedes thus returns thanks for being saved from shipwreck[10], Themistocles when Artemis revealed to him in a dream how they plotted against his life[11]. Odysseus erects three shrines on winning his wife[12], Helen builds one at Argos for the birth of a daughter, the women of Elis long barren when at length they discover themselves to be with child[13]. Hypermestra, acquitted on trial for her life, uses the same means of acknowledgment[14]. In expiation of a crime the temple of Artemis at Tegea is built[15]. Even the part of a temple might be separately dedicated, as Croesus and other kings dedicated the pillars of the great temple at Ephesus[16]. The treasury may be built for success in war[17], or for prosperity in trade[18]. The colonnade occurs also as a war dedication; that called of the Persians at Sparta, that built by the Athenians at Delphi[19].

[1] *ἀγάλματα*.
[2] Pages 4, 9, 10.
[3] Page 40.
[4] Page 55.
[5] Page 92.
[6] Page 119.
[7] Page 120.
[8] Page 189.
[9] Page 191.
[10] Page 228.
[11] Page 226.
[12] Page 248.
[13] Page 254.
[14] Page 233.
[15] Page 314.
[16] Herod. i. 92; *Cat. Brit. Mus. Sc.* 29 *βασιλεὺς Κροῖσος ἀνέθηκεν*, 1201.
[17] Page 124.
[18] Page 92.
[19] Page 124.

So with the furniture of the sacred place. An altar is erected after the victory of Plataea[1], or on acquittal of a charge of life and death, as that of Orestes[2]. We also find altars dedicated as a memorial of office by Peisistratus the younger, by the archons of Amorgos, and by the magistrates of the Athenians[3]. Numerous other altars are known, some being apparently memorials of some feast or ritual act[4]. These may often belong to the second class; and the image of the deity usually does, unless it were the original cult-image; but of the dedication of these we have no information. But where garments were used to clothe it, they may be placed here. Hecuba offers a robe to Athena, with a prayer for Troy's salvation. Amasis sends embroidered garments to Samian Hera for friendship sake, to Lindian Athena because of ancient kinship[5]. Periodical offerings, which later came to partake of the ideal, were made by the Athenians to Athena[6], the Eleans to Hera, and the Amycleans to Apollo[7]. Garments were also dedicated to Cabirus, Tegean Athena, to Olympian Poseidon, to Artemis at Athens, and to Hera at Samos[8]. We find no dedications of articles directly intended for the use of man in the sanctuary, until comparatively late days; but then the repairs of the sanctuary[9], and the supply of tables or basins for worshippers[10], are the recognised duty of priestly officials. When Livia dedicated the golden E at Delphi, and probably when the Athenians dedicated theirs of bronze, they simply gave what were meant as ornaments to the sanctuary. What the original wooden E was, who offered it, and why, we have no means of knowing[11].

(2) For the support and glorification of the shrine the offering of tithes and firstfruits in kind must have been

[1] Page 125.
[2] Page 233.
[3] Page 259.
[4] Page 282.
[5] Page 275.
[6] Page 276.
[7] Page 277.
[8] Page 275. Curtius, *Samos*, Inscr. no. 6.
[9] Page 273.
[10] Page 272.
[11] Plut. *De* EI *apud Delphos*. It has been ingeniously explained by Mr A. B. Cook as Poseidon's trident: part of an old image.

customary from the earliest times: whether given by farmers[1], breeders[2], or hunters[3], whether corn, grapes, and oil, or slaves and captives[4]. The tithe of precious minerals was given on the same principle[5]; and many offerings are recorded, or still exist, which must be regarded as valuables in bulk. Of this kind are Rhodopis' iron bars[6], ingots of silver[7], and such manufactured articles as tripods, cauldrons, and axes[8], perhaps knives, wheels, and shields in early times, gold and silver bowls or crowns in later. The tripod is dedicated for war[9], and as a musical prize[10], and large quantities of tripods and cauldrons have been found which bear no record. Axes, which are also frequently found, are dedicated as tithes[11] and therefore as articles of value. The immense number of bowls, not infrequently their uniform size, and the fact that small objects were melted and cast in this form, appear to show that they were often regarded as so much precious metal stored in a convenient way. The large mixing-bowls, however[12], and sprinkling-bowls or lavers[13], may have been used, but they also were probably intended as *ἀγάλματα*. The bowl is dedicated by Alyattes for cure of disease[14], by Croesus and Xerxes for propitiation[15], by the Samians as a trade-tithe[16], by Pausanias as a memorial of his rule at Byzantium[17], by ordinary persons as a firstfruit[18], by a courtezan with the same idea[19], by a woman for childbirth[20], by slaves who win a lawsuit[21], by theori and temple officials at Delos[22], by the Ergastinae at Athens[23]. Marble and bronze sprinkling-vessels are dedicated as tithe or

[1] Page 49.
[2] Page 58.
[3] Pages 50, 58.
[4] Page 102.
[5] Page 58.
[6] Page 92.
[7] Page 92.
[8] Pages 92, 145. See below, p. 385, for a discussion of tripods, cauldrons, and axes.
[9] Page 145.
[10] Page 156.
[11] Page 92.
[12] Page 320.
[13] Pages 272, 280.
[14] Page 191.
[15] Page 311.
[16] Page 58.
[17] Page 260.
[18] Page 93.
[19] Page 93.
[20] Page 253.
[21] Page 234.
[22] Pages 263, 296.
[23] Page 276.

firstfruit at Athens[1]. Rings, bracelets, jewels, and ornaments of all kinds are also offered for their own value on many different occasions[2]. Lastly, coins are offered in large numbers at all shrines, and probably on any cause; the fines (so far as they can be considered votive) are nearly always estimated in current money[3].

When Megalopolis was built, the Phigalaeans sent a statue of Apollo "as a contribution to the adornment" of the place[4].

(3) Thirdly, those objects which come under the title *ἀκροθίνια* were dedicated for their own worth. Anything specially rare or precious would be an acceptable gift to a deity of like passions with the giver. Thus we find preserved in temples marvellous things like the stone which Cronus swallowed[5], a thunderstone or meteorite[6], things too mysterious and precious for human hands to hold; or oddities, such as the mammoth's bones[7]; or relics of old days, the arms and armour of heroes long since dead[8], the sceptre of Hephaestus[9], the throne of Arimnestus[10], the golden tripod of the wisest man[11]; things famed in legend, Eriphyle's necklace[12] or Daedalus' wings[13]. The choice piece of war-spoil was dedicated as a matter of course: a fine piece of statuary, a divine image, the throne of Xerxes, the manger of Mardonius, the Theban lamp which Alexander admired[14]. The idea in this custom may have been originally the same as caused Polycrates to cast away his precious ring.

II. *Ideal: Objects dedicated for what they imply.* But by far the greater proportion of votive offerings imply something more than the crude notion of payment; for the Greeks knew as well as we do that the thought sanctifies the deed. The

[1] Page 93.
[2] See Indices.
[3] Page 314.
[4] Paus. viii. 30. 3.
[5] Page 318.
[6] Page 376.
[7] Page 319.
[8] Page 320.
[9] Page 318.
[10] Herod. i. 14, p. 320.
[11] Page 320.
[12] Page 319.
[13] Page 319.
[14] Page 117.

whole of this class may be called ideal, as meaning more than appears on the surface; and memorial, as intended to keep the god's beneficence before the mind of the man, and no less the man's piety or gratitude before the mind of the god. This persistent idea is illustrated on the one side by the silver sow of Epidaurus[1], on the other by the recurrence of the word 'memorial' on so many early inscriptions[2]. In the later age, when thoughts were no longer understood only, but exprest, the idea is distinctly stated: as when Akeson, in offering a relief to Asclepius, says, "you know why; if not, this tablet will remind you[3]."

(1) The most obvious offering of a grateful worshipper is the *Image of the Patron Deity.* The deity is most naturally represented in his traditional form, that is the image will reproduce in essentials the cult-image of the temple. In early times we must not expect any subtilty of thought; an armed god need not imply that the offering is made for success in war, but may mean only that the god in that place was familiar in this guise. Nor can we otherwise interpret the seated statuettes of Athena found in Athens, of Demeter in Eleusis, or the figures of Artemis with the fawn found in Corcyra. The absence of all attributes, again, implies nothing as to the aspect of the deity which the worshipper may have in mind; if the naked statues of Boeotia and Samos were really Apollo, as I have given reason to think, we may infer that the local type was without attributes. To interpret the 'Maidens' of Athens, Delos, Eleusis, Massalia, Naxos and other places as a kind of domestic type of the goddess, is to go beyond the evidence. The interpretation may be right; but on the other hand, these figures may represent simply the cult-statue drest in its ceremonial robes. It is true, however, that about the beginning of the fifth century we find the beginnings of differentiation by attribute: when, for example, the statue offered for a naval victory is made to hold a ship's beak in

[1] Page 226.

[2] *μνῆμα CIA* i. 374, *Κατ.* 104, etc.; compare in later days *μνημόσυνον CIA* iii. 1285, *μνημεῖον* iv. 2. 1512*c*; *σημεῖον* iii. 112.

[3] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 147.

the hand[1]. On the other hand, the dedication of an armed Athena by a baker woman is conclusive against the strict connexion of attributes with occasion[2].

In early times, the deity does not necessarily vary with the occasion. We find a statue dedicated for success in war to Zeus as early as the seventh century, when the Spartans conquered the Messenians[3]; and there are many more. Others honoured in the same way on a similar cause are Athena, sometimes differentiated as Promachos[4], Aphrodite[5], Apollo[6], Artemis the Saviour[7], Hermes or Heracles[8], Pan[9], Poseidon[10], and the Saviour Demigods[11]. For deliverance from plague and pestilence, we have statues of Hermes Ram-bearer[12] and the Locust Apollo[13] in the fifth century, Asclepius in the fourth[14]; in childbirth, Phaedra dedicates an Eileithyia[15], another woman an Artemis[16]. Magistrates[17], tradesmen, and artists offer the Athenian 'maidens,' often as tithe[18]; a baker offers a statuette of Athena armed[19]; Bathycles, after completing the Apollo at Amyclae, offers statues of Artemis and of the Graces[20]. Many statues of Zeus, and doubtless of others, are recorded, both public and private dedications, without cause assigned[21]. The herms in the Street of Hermae at Athens, dedicated by all sorts of people, amongst others by Cimon after the Eurymedon, were perhaps a recognition of good fortune in general rather than meant to refer to a special occasion[22]. Small images, in bronze or terra-cotta, of uniform type, were dedicated in hundreds on occasions now unknown, and have been found of Athena on the Acropolis of Athens, and the Cranaean shrine, of Demeter in Eleusis and Tegea and Cyprus, of Aphro-

[1] Page 131.
[2] Page 91.
[3] Page 126.
[4] Page 127.
[5] Page 128.
[6] Pages 127, 128.
[7] Page 128.
[8] Page 128.
[9] Page 127.
[10] Page 127.
[11] Page 129.
[12] Page 190.
[13] Page 190.
[14] Page 208.
[15] Page 254.
[16] Page 254.
[17] Themistocles, p. 317.
[18] Page 90.
[19] Page 90.
[20] Page 89.
[21] Paus. v. 23 foll.
[22] Page 128.

dite in Cyprus and Naucratis, of Artemis in Athens and Corcyra, and of Menelaus and Helen in Sparta, a few of Zeus in Olympia and Dodona, of Apollo in Delphi[1]. The image of Zeus was bought with fines at Olympia, that of a 'maiden' by Themistocles at Athens[2]. We may perhaps add the image of a goat, dedicated by the Phliasians to propitiate the goat constellation[3].

(2) *The deity represented in his power.* I have given reasons for doubting whether in the classical age the attributes of the deity could be used to differentiate the various aspects of his power. I do not imply that the attributes were not meant originally to express his power, because I believe they were; only that in dedicating statues they were reproduced conventionally, because the type had become fixt. Once the type is fixt, innovations such as the representation of Apollo with a spear, are few[4]. The same must be said of those reliefs which show the god or hero in his conventional aspect, as armed man, rider, hunter, or the like. We must therefore read no inner meaning in the reliefs of Heracles with club and lionskin[5], Dioscuri armed and mounted[6], the Saviour God holding the war-axe[7]. These types could be used for different occasions; thus the armed Apollo appears on one relief which was offered for a breach of temple rules[8], and a harpist relief is inscribed with the title Κουροτρόφος[9]. But the idea of the divine power, if vague, was there; and at the end of the fifth century finds a clearer expression in the reliefs which show Asclepius visiting the sickbed, diagnosing or applying remedies to the patient[10]. He even appears, like the saint in

[1] Pages 302 ff.

[2] Pages 311, 317. We must not suppose that any allegory was implied. There is no reason to think that the gift was taken to mean the triumph of the deity over wrongdoing, but the motive here will be as simple as in other dedications of the divine image.

Page 191.

[4] Plut. *Pyth. Or.* 16 Μεγαρεῖς...μόνοι σχεδὸν ἐνταῦθα λόγχην ἔχοντα τὸν θεὸν ἔστησαν ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης, ἣ Ἀθηναίους μετὰ τὰ Περσικὰ...νικήσαντες ἐξέβαλον.

[5] Page 32.

[6] Pages 29 ff.

[7] Page 26[17].

[8] Page 312.

[9] Page 256.

[10] Pages 216 ff.

some modern picture, guiding a team of runaway horses to a safe place[1]. Similar reliefs were dedicated by women in childbed, not only to Asclepius but to others[2]. One there is, which shows a group of goddesses, the nurse and child[3]; one, the act of birth[4]. The 'nursing mother' appears on reliefs or suckling the new-born babe, in some series of statuettes, but these are probably meant for the mother herself[5]. The principle is the same, when Victory drives the victor's car[6], perhaps where in the Corinthian pictures Poseidon and Amphitrite appear in their chariot[7]. So also with a relief from the Athenian Pythium, which represents the deity seated on the oracular tripod[8]. The 'harpist' reliefs may also be included[9], and those where Artemis stands armed, or shoots at the prey[10].

(3) The *Human Activity*, the *Act* or *Process* blest by the god, may equally be represented. This meets us early in allegorical form, some mythological or heroic precedent being chosen which suggests the later event in plastic or pictorial art as Pindar's myths suggest it in poetry. The same principle is exemplified in the pediments of Aegina and the metopes of the Parthenon, or the architectural carvings of Treasuries at Delphi and Olympia. Tellias commemorates his victory by a group of Heracles and Apollo striving for the tripod[11]; the battle of Oenoe suggests a group of the Seven against Thebes and the Epigoni[12]; the sack of a hostile city is commemorated by a model of the Wooden Horse[13]; the people of Heraclea Pontica, mindful of their eponym, dedicate groups representing the Labours of Heracles[14]; others go to the Homeric poems for

[1] Page 238.
[2] Page 256.
[3] Page 256.
[4] Page 255.
[5] Page 257.
[6] Page 177.
[7] Page 80.
[8] Page 282.
[9] Page 291.
[10] Page 84.
[11] Page 131. Euripides invents or describes another mythological group at Delphi: *Ion* 1163 Κέκροπα θυγατέρων πέλας σπείραισιν εἱλίσσοντ' Ἀθηναίων τινὸς ἀνάθημα.
[12] Page 130.
[13] Page 130.
[14] Page 130.

inspiration[1]. A step further, and the human instruments are more vividly suggested. A group commemorating the battle of Marathon includes protecting deities, eponymous heroes, and the victorious commander[2]; the human element is stronger in the memorial of Aegospotami[3]; and when we come to Attalus of Pergamus, the human affray is modelled realistically side by side with the heroic battles of ancient times and the war of gods and giants[4]. Lastly, the human battle is represented alone in some relief carving of a cavalry skirmish or a sea-fight, sometimes raised to a higher level of thought by the figure of Victory standing beside a trophy[5]. Perhaps the battles of Marathon[6] and Oenoe[7] were commemorated by votive paintings; the Lamian war certainly was so[8]. How far the rank and file used this pious wont is not clear; but it seems unlikely that Corinth was alone in its series of terra-cotta tablets. In these it is hard to interpret the scenes which represent Homeric combats or the fights of armed men as anything but a soldier's thank-offering[9].

The human act might also be indicated by human figures engaged in the act, or so posed or equipt as to suggest it. Thus Battus in his chariot was dedicated by the Cyrenaeans at Delphi "because he founded the colony[10]"; and Cleobis and Biton were represented in the Argive Heraeum, no doubt in such a way as to recall the act of filial piety which won them the best gift of the gods[11]. Of this class are the statuettes of armed warriors from the seventh century in Calaurea, Cyprus, Dodona, Laconia, Olympia, Thebes, and their ideal character (as opposed to portraiture) is clear from the fact that two men may dedicate one figure in the name of both[12]. So too with the victor in his chariot, often raised above common life by the presence of Victory in person by his side; or the jockey on his racer. Athletes in characteristic guise are here also:

[1] Page 130.
[2] Pages 130, 136.
[3] Page 137.
[4] Page 132.
[5] Page 133.
[6] Paus. i. 15. 3.
[7] Paus. i. 15. 1.
[8] Page 130.
[9] Page 134.
[10] Paus. x. 15. 6.
[11] Herod. i. 31.
[12] Page 140.

the sparring Glaucus of the fifth century, the discobolus[1], the runner in act to start[2], the leaper holding his weights[3]. An athlete absolutely without attribute, and standing stiff, ought not to be counted with these; and it has yet to be proved that such figures were truly votive. But true examples are the humble son of the people who became a knight, and stood with his horse on the Acropolis of Athens[4]; the "Persian horsemen" of the sixth century[5]; the hunter with his game, certain for the fourth century and probable earlier[6]; the dairy-farmer milking his cow, in that ancient cave of Crete[7]; sailors rowing their galley, from the same place[8]; the scribe of Athens, with his tablets[9]; the baker woman of Cyprus[10], the cook of Argos[11]; the pregnant woman, the woman in childbirth, the nursing mother, from Argos, Athens, Laconia, Sicily, Cyprus[12]: perhaps the physician in his consulting chair[13]. In later days we have realistic presentations of a patient in the last stages of disease[14].

When painting or relief-carving was in use, the scene might be more fully set out before the eye. Sometimes it is the warrior leading his captive, or two men fighting together[15]. A few scenes of hunting and fishing occur on reliefs, but none very early[16]; it is in Corinth we find clearest evidence that this custom existed. There we see every part of the potter's craft portrayed, from the digging of the clay to the working and painting, baking and export of the finisht ware[17]; there too huntsman and farmer, vine-dresser and statuary are seen at work, often in the gracious eye of Poseidon[18]. More commonly, the scene of athletic contest is represented. This may be seen on a prize vase[19] or

[1] Page 170.
[2] Pages 170, 172.
[3] Page 170.
[4] Page 79.
[5] Page 141.
[6] Page 78.
[7] Pages 64, 65, 75.
[8] Pages 65, 134.
[9] Page 260.
[10] Page 78.
[11] Page 78.
[12] Pages 255 ff.
[13] Page 79.
[14] Page 210.
[15] Page 134.
[16] Pages 84, 85.
[17] Page 81.
[18] Pages 81, 82.
[19] Page 155, cp. 173.

quoit[1] or the base of a dedicated offering[2]. Oftener it is an independent painting or relief. Now it is the victor leading his horses or mounting upon his car, or driving it, while Victory crowns his head with a wreath[3]; again Victory stands in the car or herself drives it[4]; the judge places the crown upon his head[5], or he offers his prize to his patron deity[6]. Apobatae[7], athletes[8], jockeys[9], Pyrrhic dancers[10], torchracers[11], all appear in this scheme. These memorials may perhaps go back as far as the sixth century, but they are commonest in the late fifth and the fourth.

Representations of the act of worship may also be classed with these, if we may suppose the worshipper to have faith in the efficacy of prayer. Such are the sacred pomp of Orneae[12] or Aegina[13]; the ring-dances of Olympia and Cyprus[14], the dancing-girls of Corcyra[15]; figures (whether priestly or other) in ritual costume[16], holding the knife, the bowl or jug, the jar of water, the lustral spray, known in Dodona, Cyprus, Tegea, Calaurea, Thebes[17]. Or again, the musician with pipes or with harp[18], found in Cyprus and Tegea[19]. Others bear the sacrifice: as the Athenian Rhombus and his compeers of Crete, Boeotia and Tegea[20], the girls bearing a pig or bird, fruit, flower, or garland[21]. Even hands are found, holding the fruit or victim which is to be offered to the god[22]. The athlete or ordinary votary with hand uplifted belongs to this class[23]; perhaps we should add the figures from Crete and elsewhere which are described as "saluting[24]." Models of

[1] Page 161.
[2] Page 175.
[3] Page 175.
[4] Page 177.
[5] Page 177, cp. 179.
[6] Page 177.
[7] Page 176.
[8] Page 176.
[9] Page 151.
[10] Page 176.
[11] Page 177.
[12] Page 145.
[13] Page 191.
[14] Page 286.
[15] Pages 285, 286.
[16] Probably the marvellous Aristeas was represented in character: Herod. iv. 13—15. Anyhow, he was more than mere man.
[17] Page 287.
[18] To these may perhaps be added prehistoric figures of flotists and harpists in stone, found at Ceros. Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, vi. 760, 761.
[19] Page 286.
[20] Page 284.
[21] Pages 285, 286.
[22] Page 290.
[23] Pages 170, 171.
[24] Cp. the Mycenaean woman in Perrot and Chipiez vi. 735.

sacrificial beasts were also dedicated; such as the series of pigs at Tarentum[1], the "supplication of Peisis" at Athens[2], the three rams of Mandrobulus[3] at Samos, the he-goat of Cleone[4], the cock of the Dioscuri[5], and many other animals inscribed with deities' names, from Boeotia and the Peloponnese[6]. Perhaps the statues of priestesses at the Heraeum and at Hermion, later at Athens, should be added. Later we have statues of arrhephori and canephori, but I do not find these before the fourth century[7].

I conjecture that we should also place here statues which were dedicated by way of propitiation. It does not seem likely that a Pausanias[8] or Timagoras[9], or the offending Athenian archon[10], would be an acceptable offering as a portrait; but the case is altered if we may suppose them to have exprest by some gesture their contrition or subordination to the god's will. Confiscated articles, such as ornaments or dress worn in contravention of temple rule[11], or spurious money[12], also belong to this class, being a memorial of the error punisht by the god.

Beginning in the fifth century, and lasting well over the fourth, sporadically later, we find a more complete record of the act of cult in the reliefs. These are chiefly of three types: the dance, the prayer, sacrifice, or libation, and the feast. The first type is found in the fifth century with the Eumenides[13], the Graces, Hours, or Nymphs[14], and Pan[15]; their distribution has been already examined. In the fourth century and later we find other deities in conjunction: Hermes, Apollo, Zeus, and even (by popular etymology) All Gods[16]. The prayer type is exemplified with Asclepius, Bendis, and others. The sacrifice or libation type is commonest; and is found with Athena[17] (one

[1] Page 301.
[2] Page 296.
[3] Page 296.
[4] Page 381.
[5] Pages 300, 301.
[6] Page 264.
[7] For the woman of Paestum, see p. 78.
[8] Page 314.
[9] Page 314.
[10] Page 315.
[11] Page 313.
[12] Page 313.
[13] Page 254.
[14] Page 88.
[15] Page 85.
[16] Pages 85, 87, 89.
[17] Pages 83, 292.

example being a tithe), Asclepius[1], Cybele[2], Apollo[3], Demeter and the Maid[4], Dionysus[5], Hecate[6], Hera[7], Zeus[8], the heroes[9], or various combinations of these. The feast-type is common with heroes[10], and is found also with Asclepius[11].

It is not easy to interpret the few monuments which represent the ἱερὸς γάμος. It is possible to regard them as offered by couples on marriage, which we know was preceded by a sacrifice[12], but even so they should refer to an act of cult, perhaps the mystery-play regarded as a mythological precedent. There is no reference to anything but the power of the deity in reliefs to Artemis which I have referred provisionally to marriage[13].

A more summary representation of the activity blest by the god is seen in the stone-ram of the Athenian breeder, and perhaps therefore other rams from Athens, Boeotia, Laconia[14]; bulls from Athens, Dodona, Boeotia, Olympia[15]; horses from Argos, Athens, Boeotia, Dodona, Olympia[16], and half-a-dozen other places. Similar are the mare suckling a foal known in Dodona, Olympia, and Athens[17]; the stag brought down by hounds, from Olympia[18]. So an ass sums up the story of a night surprise forestalled by his bray[19]; a sheep tells of a treasure lost and found by a sheep's guidance[20]; the bull recalls how a bull led the Corcyreans to a great find of fish[21]; a frog, how a thirsty traveller was enabled to find a hidden spring[22]; a cicala, how a musician broke his string and yet won the prize[23]. The bronze lioness dedicated in memory of the brave Leaena sums up her story in a metaphor[24]. Probably we should add the hunter's hound of Athens, Delos, and Lusi[25]; perhaps the fighting cock

[1] Page 219.
[2] Page 293.
[3] Page 291.
[4] Page 294.
[5] Page 295.
[6] Page 295.
[7] Page 89.
[8] Pages 83, 295.
[9] Page 19.
[10] Page 20.
[11] Page 220.
[12] Page 246.
[13] Page 247.
[14] Page 75.
[15] Page 76.
[16] Pages 75, 76.
[17] Pages 75, 76.
[18] Page 75.
[19] Paus. x. 18. 4.
[20] Page 91.
[21] Page 91.
[22] Page 232.
[23] Page 172.
[24] Page 231.
[25] Page 77.

of Thebes[1]. It may be also that the Asclepian snakes were meant to recall how the temple snakes lickt a patient's sores[2]. Here also come the models of disease and of parts of the body, as a summary method of indicating what the god's blessing has done[3]. These begin in the fourth century, and in fine become practically universal.

(4) *The Winnings.* The prize or gain of the acts which have been blest is another common dedication. The earliest we know of, and perhaps almost as old as the worship of the gods, is the dedication of war-spoil, whether as a trophy upon the battle-field or in a temple. This custom is known to legend and to Homer[4], and dedicated arms and armour have been found in some of the most ancient sanctuaries of Greece, the cave of Mount Ida in Crete[5], Delphi, Dodona, Olympia[6]. There is a continuous record testifying to this custom from Alcaeus[7] in the seventh century until long after the Christian era. As before, these dedications are made to almost every god or goddess, and even to the heroes. A secondary development was to dedicate gold or silver, or gilt models of shields[8], a silver trireme[9], and such like: the permanent bronze trophy[10], and models of horses or captive women[11].

As with prize of war, so with the prizes won in the games or musical contests. This custom is recorded for the eighth century, if that was Hesiod's date[12], for the early sixth century in the person of Echembrotus[13], and is exemplified later by the choric tripods at Athens[14], the tripods of the Triopia[15], the *stlengis*, vase[16], crown[17], and what not. What were or may have been prizes have been found by excavation at Athens[18],

[1] *AM* xv. 355 ff.
[2] Page 209.
[3] Pages 210 ff.
[4] Pages 99, 101.
[5] Pages 101, 109.
[6] Page 109.
[7] Page 101.
[8] Page 114.
[9] Page 116.
[10] Page 100.
[11] Page 115.
[12] Page 151.
[13] Page 152.
[14] Page 156.
[15] Page 152.
[16] Page 153.
[17] Page 155.
[18] Page 155.

Delos, Delphi, Dodona, and Sparta[1]. In this section too models were sometimes made, as of the tripod[2] and the shield[3], in stone.

Honorific crowns come into the same category. These begin with Lysander[4], and grow very common indeed in the fourth and succeeding centuries, when it became a matter of course to dedicate them[5]. States like individuals dedicate crowns of honour[6].

All these are what may be called occasional prize; but the prize of work, although more regular, is also suitable for dedication. It is not absolutely certain that the Greek craftsman would dedicate the first specimen of his skill, or a choice piece of his own work, in gratitude for the divine help in his calling; but he did dedicate tithes or firstfruits of his profits in some form, and the form was often a piece of work made by his own hands. Thus we have Lycinus' pot, "the first he ever made[7]"; Ecphantus of Melos, with his "fine ornament[8]"; the rival potters of Erythrae, with their superfine pots[9]; Protogenes and his partridge[10]; and others from Athens[11], Aegina[12], Metapontium[13], Naxos[14]. So the author (from the fourth century at least) might dedicate his book[15], the poet his poem[16]; and if I have rightly interpreted the Corinthian fragment, a learner might dedicate his alphabet[17].

The workman would also at times dedicate a picture or model of his work. One such is the picture of Mandrocles' bridge over the Hellespont, which dates from 480[18]; possibly we may add models of the temple of Delos[19]. Hippocrates, with grim humour, offered as the result of his labours the model of a corpse or skeleton[20].

[1] Pages 152, 153.
[2] Page 160.
[3] Page 153.
[4] Page 267.
[5] Page 266.
[6] Page 268.
[7] Page 60.
[8] Page 61.
[9] Page 63.
[10] Page 63.
[11] Page 61.
[12] Page 61.
[13] Page 61.
[14] Page 61.
[15] Page 64.
[16] Page 65.
[17] Pages 65, 66.
[18] Page 70.
[19] Page 70.
[20] Paus. x. 2. 6.

The grower or breeder commemorated some special luck by models of the prize of his calling. Of this class are the golden sheaves of Delphi and Athens, the golden silphium, vine, and olives of Delos and Oropus[1]; and perhaps one or another horse or goat, silver duck, or goose, or bronze bullock. The huntsman on the same principle dedicates a model of his prey: a hare at Samos and Priene[2], perhaps the deer, bears, or other game found in excavations or ancient lists[3].

(5) *The Tool or Means.* An appropriate memorial of a successful piece of work is the tool it was done with. This class is not so large as the last; but it is exemplified in legend, for example the Chest of Cypselus, and voucht for in literature from a very early date. There are a few examples of the arms or the clothes worn and used in a battle being dedicated. Earliest is the shield of Aristomenes the Messenian, from the seventh century[4]; King Nekos of Egypt and the spear sung by Simonides[5] come next; by Alexander's time and a little later the examples become more numerous[6], but there is no reason to deny this to be an ancient custom, and it never (except perhaps in Alexander's own case[7]) loses the simplicity and dignity of olden days.

The objects used in the games were dedicated on the same principle: the victor's chariot, the weight or quoit, and doubtless did we but know others besides. Bybon's huge stone was dedicated as much for his own glory as for the glory of God, but there it is still in Olympia, where it has rested for twenty-six centuries[8]. From the same early date come an Eleusinian leaping-weight[9] and a Corcyrean quoit[10]; in legend we have the quoit of Iphitus[11]. The earliest racing-car dedicated, which is on record, is that of Arcesilas (466)[12].

As regards other tools, we have from legend the spear of Meleager[13]; otherwise there are very few indications that the

[1] Page 66.
[2] Pages 67, 68, 69.
[3] Pages 63 ff.
[4] Page 112.
[5] Page 112.
[6] Pages 112, 113.
[7] Page 112.
[8] Page 160.
[9] Page 161.
[10] Page 160.
[11] Page 160.
[12] Page 162.
[13] Page 170.

practice was ancient. Later, as exemplified in the *Anthology*, the custom seems to have been common enough[1]. In these later days, physician and author followed suit; indeed, physician's tools are not unknown as votive offerings in the early fourth century[2]. Even models of tools are found: a golden anvil at Delos[3]; sickles, pruning-hooks, and winepresses in the time of Philostratus[4].

But to show that they were sometimes dedicated with a rather different idea, as things worn out, whose work is over, the evidence is slightly less scanty. The story of Cimon's bridle[5], taken in conjunction with one or two epigrams of the fifth century[6], and with the walking-sticks of Xenophon's host[7], implies that the practice was ancient if not common. Later, the motive becomes a commonplace[8]. Now also the sick man's bandage and the lame man's crutch are dedicated[9]. Here too we have the parallel of toys, trinkets, and other such things dedicated at puberty, when the owners put away childish things[10]. Both arms[11] and tools (e.g. loom-weights inscribed[12]) have been found on sacred sites; whilst female ornaments and trinkets, brooches and pins, combs and mirrors, have turned up in Argos, Athens, Delos, Delphi, Dodona, Elatea, Tegea, Thebes, and almost in every temple which has been excavated[13]. Why these were dedicated, however, we cannot tell for certain; we have choice of more than one explanation. Further examples of the principle we are dealing with were Pheidon's currency-bars[14] and possibly the old Attic alphabet[15].

One step further, and we come to clothes or trinkets worn in time of peril. These are dedicated as things done with, but also as memorials of the peril happily by God's grace escaped. We hear little of this in early days: hardly anything in the

[1] Page 71.
[2] Page 73.
[3] Page 78.
[4] Page 78.
[5] Page 70.
[6] Page 112.
[7] Page 70.
[8] Pages 71, 113.
[9] Page 224.
[10] Page 249.
[11] Pages 112, 113.
[12] Page 73.
[13] See Index.
[14] Page 74.
[15] Page 75.

fifth century, except captives' chains or chains intended for use on the victors[1]. After childbirth however something of the kind used to be done[2]. In the fourth century, shoes are found in the Asclepieum[3]; in the *Anthology*, men saved from shipwreck dedicate their clothes[4].

As memorials of the act of worship, the clothes or ornaments[5] worn by the worshippers were sometimes dedicated; perhaps, though there is no direct evidence here, the vessels used in the rite. This might explain the hosts of small cups, all of a shape, found on certain sacred sites[6]. Examples of the first group are the *stlengides* or head-ornaments in Delphi[7], Delos[8], Athens[9], and elsewhere, and the clothes of mystae[10].

The offering of the hair must not be omitted, though it is difficult to find the right place for it. It is a custom of the highest antiquity, and originally (to judge from analogy) implied that the worshipper placed himself in the power of the god; but in the classical age it was traditional and its meaning had long been forgotten. The hair is the 'firstfruit' of the worshipper, and as such it was offered at Delphi to Apollo[11]. It is offered to rivers and heroes; the right is absorbed by the great gods, and it is then claimed later by many of them, especially Hera and Zeus[12]. The long youthful hair, or the first down on the chin, is offered at puberty, or at marriage; it is also cut in mourning[13]. As a vow in time of peril and a dedication for safety the rite is known from Homer to Lucian and St Paul[14]. Sometimes the cutting of the youthful lock is kept in the god's mind by a carving or an inscription[15].

Lastly, certain kinds of dedications are *Allegorical*. Such are those which personify the power of the god under the title

[1] Pages 115, 233.
[2] Page 252.
[3] Page 224.
[4] Page 232.
[5] Page 277.
[6] Page 301.
[7] Page 231.
[8] Index.
[9] See Index *s.v.* στλεγγίς.
[10] Page 277.
[11] Page 241.
[12] Page 241.
[13] Pages 242, 245.
[14] Page 245.
[15] Pages 243, 244.

of Victory; which independently is a thank-offering for war alone[1], but plays a part also in agonistic reliefs[2]. Of the same kind are the personified statues of Good Luck and the Good Spirit[3], or of Vengeance[4]; and such figures as Praxidica[5], Damia and Auxesia[6], Hygieia[7]. On the reliefs we also find personifications of Telete or Initiation, of the Dithyramb[8], and of Good Order[9]: these last are not found independently, either as offerings or as deities to receive offerings. As a whole, this class is rare, but ancient. Enyalios, Eileithyia, and Lecho are probably personified epithets[10]; Praxidica belongs to the legendary age; Damia and Auxesia are ancient, and had a larger place in cult than appears on the face of it; Victory is a votive offering as early as Archermus, and is not uncommon in the best age.

The Epidaurian silver pig[11] is also allegorical, translating a metaphor into concrete form. The allegory is more elaborate in the group of Athena perched upon a palm tree, which was dedicated after the Eurymedon[12]; and in the group of Alcibiades on Nemea's lap, dedicated for a Nemean victory[13]. A punning dedication by Comaras[14], who offered the model of a strawberry, completes our list[15]. Allegorical figures and personifications are not unknown in the great age of Greek art[16]; but in the fourth century they become common, not only on decree reliefs, but elsewhere[17].

It will be noticed that the portrait of the worshipper does not appear at all in the above classification. It is true that

[1] Page 142.
[2] Page 177.
[3] Page 192.
[4] Pages 144, 234.
[5] Page 248.
[6] Page 191.
[7] Page 208.
[8] Page 179.
[9] Page 179.
[10] Page 252.
[11] Page 226.
[12] Page 144.
[13] Page 174.
[14] *IGA* 556 φομάρας ὑνέθηκε: probably from South Greece.
[15] The reader will recall the device of a rose on Rhodian coins.
[16] P. Gardner, *JHS* ix. 57 ff. He quotes Night carrying Sleep and Death on the Chest of Cypselus; Corinth and Leucas on a fifth century mirror; to which may be added Hesiod's Dike and Eris, *Works and Days* 220, 256, 11 ff. The oldest on a decree is given in *AZ* 1875 p. 104.
[17] As the figures in the Pomp of Antiochus II and that of Ptolemy IV, Athenaeus v. 194—6.

many of the examples which I have recorded have been taken by others to be portraits; but I have found no reason to believe that the portrait as such was ever dedicated by a Greek until the votive dedication had lost its meaning. I do not say that Miltiades, for example, in the Marathonian group, was not recognised for Miltiades, or that he was not represented in form and feature to the life; that may well have been so, and yet no dedicatory portrait. It makes all the difference in the world that Miltiades was part of an ideal group. So it was with all the other human figures in question which are clearly described: something of the ideal was in them, so that they suggested not this or that man, but this or that action or event. And since this principle seems never to be forgotten in the great age of Greece, I have ventured to assume it for the very few cases where nothing but the name or office of the person is given. I take it that to dedicate a portrait as such would have seemed the height of arrogance to a Greek, as the story of Pheidias and the shield of Athena implies, and as Demosthenes implies in an age when the thing was common[1]. And a few instances which I have yet to mention fully bear out this idea. It was no Greek, but the Egyptian Amasis, who sent two portraits of himself to the Argive Heraeum, and one to Cyrene[2]; it was the Asiatic Chares of Teichiusa who placed his own statue at Miletus[3]. These were the kind of men who would think their own image an ornament to any shrine: a peck of pride to a speck of piety. Pausanias himself did not dare to follow this example; but the colossal vanity of Alcibiades was flattered by a statue dedicated in the Heraeum[4], where also Lysander and his captains, many of them men otherwise unknown, were placed side by side with the Egyptian[5]. If these statues were portraits and nothing more (as the words of Pausanias suggest) we have here the earliest examples of honorific statues. But meanwhile an evil leaven had been working in the whole lump. The

[1] Page 135[4].

[2] Herod. ii. 182 *ἐς Κυρήνην...εἰκόνα ἑωυτοῦ γραφῇ εἰκασμένην, ἐς Σάμον τῇ Ἥρῃ εἰκόνας ἑωυτοῦ διφασίας ξυλίνας, αἳ ἐν τῷ νηῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἱδρύατο ἔτι καὶ μέχρι ἐμεῦ.*

[3] Page 260.

[4] Paus. vi. 18. 2.

[5] Paus. vi. 3. 15.

athlete statues of Olympia were generally not dedications, but set up as an honour[1]; these had accustomed men to the sight of human figures in the divine presence, and the thought had become familiar that honour might be done to a man by placing him there. This new idea was turned to account, and the statues of the famous dead were placed in temple precincts: as Pericles and Anacreon on the Acropolis of Athens[2], Anaximenes[3] and Aristotle[4] at Olympia, Gorgias at Olympia[5] and Delphi[6]. Now too the statues of living men were added. Conon and his son Timotheus were placed on the Acropolis in their lifetime[7], but without the dedicatory formula. The dedication of men like Epameinondas and Philopoemen was natural; and Alexander the Great made the honour cheap. So by the end of the fourth century we have honorific statues dedicated with all formality for trivial reasons. More, the licence becomes impiety in the golden image of Phryne; and Cottina of Sparta had the effrontery to dedicate her own image to Athena[8]. Long before the Delphic oracle had not refused the offering of Rhodopis; but now so low had the gods sunk, that they could accept the image of a common strumpet, the trophy of Grecian intemperance.

We have seen that the ideas of the dedicator, until Greek religion began to lose its sincerity, were simple; but as many have used symbolism largely as a principle of interpretation, it is necessary to examine the question. It has been asserted, for instance, that the attributes of a deity were regarded in some sort as representing him, and that they were dedicated to him for that reason; that Artemis, say, was specially pleased by the

[1] Page 167.

[2] Paus. i. 25. 1. There is no reason to suppose that the portrait of Pericles was dedicated during his lifetime.

[3] Paus. vi. 18. 2.

[4] Paus. vi. 4. 8: set up by a pupil, or a soldier who knew that Aristotle had great influence with Antipater and with Alexander before him.

[5] Paus. vi. 17. 2, 17. 7, 18. 7, 19. 1.

[6] Athen. xi. 505 D *Γοργίας μετὰ τὸ ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀνάθεσιν τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖς ἑαυτοῦ χρυσῆς εἰκόνος.*

[7] Paus. i. 24. 3; *CIA* ii. 1360 *Κόνων Τιμοθέου, Τιμόθεος Κόνωνος*, without dedicatory formula.

[8] Polemon *ap.* Ath. xiii. 574 D *ἀνάθημα δὲ αὐτῆς ἐστι...τὸ προειρημένον εἰκόνιον.*

offering of a deer, Athena by an owl, Zeus by an axe[1]. Let us see whether there are grounds for this statement.

The objects associated with the gods are of two kinds: living creatures and inanimate things. Of the first kind are Athena's owl and serpent, Poseidon's dolphin, Hera's peacock, Aphrodite's dove or swan, the fawn of Artemis, the sacred crows of Apollo[2], the eagle of Zeus, the horses of the Dioscuri, the snake of Asclepius. Of the second kind are Athena's aegis, gorgon-mask, lance, helmet, and shield; Poseidon's trident; the bow of Artemis; the thunderbolt of Zeus; the caduceus and hat of Hermes; spear or sword, cloke, and conical cap of the Dioscuri; Heracles' club and lionskin; Apollo's harp or the tripod; the fawnskin and thyrsus of Dionysus.

To prove the symbolic use of these things it would be sufficient to show that the things in question were treated in the same way as their owners, that is worshipt; to prove their symbolic dedication, in default of direct statement, it must be shown that certain articles, characteristic of a deity, were dedicated to that deity and to no other. Even then the motive would not be certain, but the hypothesis might nevertheless pass for the nonce.

The first point is easily disposed of. There is no worship of the owl, the dove, the eagle, the peacock, or the fawn. The serpent comes nearer to being a symbol of Asclepius: it is credited with a share of his power, helps in his cures, and is fed by the worshippers with sacrificial cakes[3]. It is on some occasions regarded as a kind of embodiment of the god himself[4]; and on the reliefs takes its place almost as one of the family. But the snake is also associated with Athena, and it is never treated as an embodiment of that goddess; it is also associated with the heroes, Dioscuri and others. Since then the snake is

[1] Reisch, p. 9; Bather, *JHS* xiii. 242; Evans, *JHS* xxi. 99 ff.; Hogarth, *Ann. Br. Sch. Ath.* vi. 114.

[2] Schol. Arist. *Plutus* 604 *περὶ τὸν Παγασητικὸν κόλπον εἶδον περιπταμένους τοὺς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱεροὺς κόρακας.*

[3] Page 205. So the dogs in Peiraeus: Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1885 *τρία πόπανα τοῖς κυσίν.*

[4] Paus. ii. 10. 3. So a serpent was said to be a hero i. 24. 7, 36. 1, iv. 14. 7. Dedications to it are only found very late, as *Rev. Arch.* xxvi. 27 Troïak, Ti. Claud. Rufus *δράκοντι τῷ ὧδε τιμωμένῳ δῶρον*, with relief of the snake approaching a cup.

not confined to Asclepius, nor even to the heroes, its figure must be a very imperfect symbol; for no one seeing it alone would understand what it was meant to symbolize. There are it is true reliefs which show the serpent alone, without a divine figure, and there is even a dedication to the serpent[1]; but these may all be disregarded, for they fall after the great dividing line of the fourth century. Nor can I admit that the owl as a coin type is a symbol in the proper sense. Rather it is a shorthand mark, so to say, for Athens, which was noted for its abundance of owls, and it doubtless had for the ancients the same meaning as the Russian Bear in a cartoon of *Punch*, or the beaver and the kangaroo on a postage stamp. It is in fact a pictorial representation of Athens, not of Athena, and need have no more religious significance than the rose on a coin of Rhodes. Athena with the owl is recognisable for Athena with Athens in her hand, as Athena with the raven or crow is Athena ruling Corone[2]. The Bull Dionysus, the Wolf Apollo, and such like cannot be brought in evidence; for these are not attendant animals at all, whatever their meaning may be. No one has ever yet heard of an Owl Athena, an Eagle Zeus, or a Peacock Hera. The attendant animals are therefore not treated as equivalent to their deities, and are therefore not proved to be symbols of them.

Nor is there any evidence, before the fourth century, of any tendency to treat the inanimate attributes of a deity as his equivalent. Again I must draw a distinction. There are traces of fetishism, that I freely admit. The sceptre of Hephaestus was worshipt in Lebadea; but for its own sake, not as the symbol of any god. A legend tells how Aeneas set up a spear in the market-place, and bade the people worship it; but he did not call it a symbol of Athena, of Aphrodite, of the Dioscuri.

[1] Page 374[4]. But in *IGA* 162 ὀφιεσσι is wrongly restored. See *IGS* i. 2734.

[2] At Corone she carried a crow (Paus. iv. 34. 6), which was no doubt a plastic pun like the rose. What did she carry in Ithaca? Aelian mentions (*Hist. An.* v. 8) that ravens were not allowed on the Athenian Acropolis, κορώνη δ' εἰς τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπιβατά, but he does not say why. Perhaps because it was thought to be an enemy to the owl, Arist. *Hist. An.* xi. 608 *a* 8, Plut. *de inv. et od.* 537 B, Neil on *Knights* of Aristoph. 1051. For figures of ravens or crows, see below p. 383.

I do not know whether any one will summon to court the mad tyrant of Pherae, who worshipt his own murderous spear[1]; or the Scythian Sauromatae, who worshipt a dirk[2], or the Arcadian chieftain in Aeschylus, who swore by a spear-head[3]. The stone of Cronus was regularly oiled and worshipt[4]; but not as a symbol of Zeus. Stones, which may have been meteoric, were deified at Thespiae and Ephesus[5]. To the thunderbolt were paid divine honours in Seleucia, and in the Hellenistic age[6]; it may be in Arcadia[7] and Olympia[8] at an earlier date. But fetish worship is quite a different thing from symbolism. The stones are feared for their supposed power, and were probably worshipt before iconic deities were known: they are not the distinguishing mark of a deity, abstracted from his whole figure and worshipt in his place. The only possible exception is the case mentioned by Arrian; even that is not certain, and in any case the date puts it out of court. For the other attributes as symbols there is not a particle of evidence. There is not a sign that the aegis, spear, or shield was worshipt or even held in special honour as representing Athena; there is no worship of the tripod or the lyre, of the thyrsus and fawnskin, of the trident, of the herald's staff, of Hermes' topboots and wideawake hat.

When we examine these attributes, they are seen to be all (with three exceptions) things of every day: club, bow, and spear, or battleaxe, helmet and shield; travelling boots, hats conical or flat; fawnskin or lionskin; sheaves of corn, a bunch of grapes; torches, hunting-spear or harpoon. They are in fact simply the properties of a character costume. If the god is to be represented before the eye as a protector, he will naturally

[1] Page 113.

[2] Herod. iv. 62 *ἀκινάκης σιδήρεος... ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἄρηος τὸ ἄγαλμα.* Clem. Alex. *Adm. ad Gent.* 43 A *Σκυθῶν δὲ οἱ Σαυρομάται, ὥς φησιν Ἱκέσιος ἐν τῷ περὶ μυστηρίων, ἀκινάκην σέβουσιν.*

[3] Aesch. *Sept.* 516 *ὄμνυσι δ' αἰχμὴν ἣν ἔχει, μᾶλλον θεοῦ σέβειν πεποιθώς.*

[4] Page 318.

[5] Paus. ix. 27. 1.

[6] Appian, *Bell. Syr.* 58.

[7] Collitz i. 1197.

[8] Paus. v. 14. 9. It may be merely that the noun is put in apposition like Athena Hygieia, and that the phrase meant the same as Zeus Bronton (*BCH* xx. 117) or Zeus Brontesios. How loosely such appositions could be used is seen from the Torch Dionysus at Pellene (Paus. vii. 27. 3), for whom a torchlight vigil was held. So Aphrodite Symmachia, Paus. viii. 9. 6.

be armed; but the arms do not distinguish between Athena and Aphrodite[1]. Or again, in a place where the warrior rides, he may be mounted on horseback; but horse and spear do not distinguish the Dioscuri from Poseidon[2]. If he is to be regarded as a traveller, he wears hat and boots; but they do not distinguish the Dioscuri from Hermes[3]. Poseidon holds a trident because the trident was used in fishing, or in war, or both[4]. Hermes bears the herald's staff because he is herald of the gods; but Iris on the same duty carries it too[5]. Examples of the staff exist which once belonged to human heralds[6]; and it bears a striking resemblance to the shepherd's crook[7]. And as the attributes do not distinguish one deity from another, so they are not essential nor constant. If the conception is that of a deity, male or female, and nothing more particular, the deity will naturally be arrayed as a human being would be. So the simple woman's dress does not distinguish between Athena, Artemis, and Demeter. The figures found on the Acropolis of Athens, which I have given reason to take for Athena, represent now a beautiful maiden in gala dress[8], now the matronly figure seated upon a throne, indistinguishable from Demeter or Hecate; or again, many possible variations of garb, the maiden simply draped holding a spear or a shield and approximating to the belligerent type in panoply with spear at thrust[9]. The seated Demeter of Eleusis might be Athena; and at Tegea the explorers hesitate which name to

[1] Armed Aphrodite at Corinth, Paus. ii. 5. 1; at Cythera, iii. 23. 1; Sparta, Plut. *de fort. Rom.* 317 F.

[2] Paus. i. 2. 4; cp. vi. 25. 5.

[3] The shape of the hat worn by the Dioscuri varies; but it depends on local custom.

[4] Stephani, *Compte Rendu*, 1867 p. 89, 1868 p. 65. It is borne by Taras, Bellerophon, Amphitrite, Pan and Apollo, in Asia Minor by Osogos and Zeus Labrandeus, who has both axe and trident. For trident as fish-spear, see *Anthol. Pal.* vi. 30, 38; Eudocia (Teubner) p. 571. I have seen it so used myself in Greek waters.

[5] *Gaz. Arch.* i. pl. 15, r.-f. vase; *Mon. Ined.* vi. pl. 58; etc.

[6] *Cat. Br. Mus. Bronzes*, 319.

[7] See the Crook of Talthybius, *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, Series C. vi. viii. 3. The snakes are a later development, like the wings on his boots; the staff has a very simple origin. The mystical interpretation must not be suggested for early days, as Frazer does (*Pausanias* iii. 649).

[8] It should be noted that the simple drapery appears on some reliefs, and is very frequent with the helmet and spear only.

[9] *AA* viii. 140 ff.

use[1]. At Erythrae, Athena holds a distaff in either hand[2], the embodiment no doubt of good housewifery. Apollo holds now a lyre now a bow, or again he is stark naked and unarmed[3]. Artemis appears in the same temple now with torches, now with bow and arrow[4]. Zeus himself, if I am not mistaken, appears at Olympia drest as a man of reverend and benevolent aspect, without thunderbolt[5]. The truth is, that the meaning of these figures is conveyed by the whole, not laid on in the shape of external attributes[6]. Coupled with the whole figure, the attributes have meaning; alone they have none. There are only three which were not common articles of use: thyrsus, aegis, and thunderbolt. The thyrsus was however used by human beings on special occasions, and we may suppose the god to carry it because his worshippers did, not *vice versâ*. The aegis, again, was in all probability a goatskin once used as a cape by the people who worshipt Athena[7]; but its origin forgotten it became a traditional ornament. Remains the thunderbolt, which as represented in art is perhaps an attempt to reproduce the aspect of forked lightning; but its origin does not matter for my purpose, as I shall be able to show that it does not help the symbolists.

This view of the divine attributes applies *ex hypothesi* down to the fourth century; after which a great change takes place. Now the religious conception of the gods decays, and what may

[1] *AM* iv. 170 ff.

[2] Paus. vii. 5. 9.

[3] Paus. ii. 30. 1.

[4] Paus. ix. 19. 6. Compare *Anth. App. Plan.* xvi. 253 Ἄρτεμι, ποῦ σοι τόξα, παραυχενίη τε φαρέτρη; ποῦ δὲ Λυκαστείων ἐνδρομὶς ἀρβυλίδων, πόρπη δὲ χρυσοῖο τετυγμένη, ἠδὲ πρὸς ἄκρην ἰγνύην φοινιξ πέπλος ἑλισσόμενος; κεῖνα μὲν εἰς ἄγρην ὁπλίζομαι· ἐς δὲ θυηλὰς εἶμ' αὔτως, ἱρῶν ἀντομένη θυέων.

[5] *Bronzen von Ol.*, vii. 40.

[6] As has been well said of allegorical figures in good art by P. Gardner, *JHS* ix. 57. To give meaning to the attribute alone is as crude a thought, as to suppose that a poet can personify anything by giving it a capital letter; or that a soldier would salute his colonel's dress tunic.

[7] Herod. iv. 189 τὴν δὲ ἄρα ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὰς αἰγίδας τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐκ τῶν Λιβυσσέων ἐποιήσαντο οἱ Ἕλληνες· πλὴν γὰρ ἢ ὅτι σκυτίνη ἡ ἐσθὴς τῶν Λιβυσσέων ἐστί, καὶ οἱ θύσανοι οἱ ἐκ τῶν αἰγίδων αὐτῇσι οὐκ ὄφιές εἰσι, ἀλλὰ ἱμάντινοι· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα κατὰ τὠυτὸ ἔσταλται...αἰγέας γὰρ περιβάλλονται ψιλὰς περὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα αἱ Λίβυσσαι. The goatskin is used as a war-coat in Borneo: Haddon, *Head-Hunters*, 352.

be called idolatry takes its place. The first trace of an abstraction of divine attributes which I have met with is in the Pomp of Ptolemy described by Athenaeus[1]. Here amidst a magnificent spectacle of gods, heroes, and personifications, are a gilded caduceus of forty-five cubits in length, and a gilded thunderbolt of forty cubits. And Artemidorus, the man who built so many altars in Thera[2], when Ptolemy Euergetes was King of Egypt, engraved on a rock the figure of an eagle with a dedication to Zeus, and the figure of a dolphin dedicated to Poseidon[3]. The same tendency is shown in a series of catalogue-marks used by the Epidaurian priests to distinguish the property of the various deities which were in their place[4]. A number of these appear to be arbitrary, or at least they have been conventionalized out of recognition; but many are easily distinguishable as attributes which had by that date become traditional. Athena is denoted by spear and shield in outline; Artemis by an arrow drawn to the head in a bow; Poseidon by the trident; Hygieia by the snake[5]. These of course are mere shorthand marks and bear no religious significance; but they illustrate the tendency of the day. At the same time, fanciful interpretations began to be given for the association of this or that with a deity[6], of which the most striking example is Plutarch's debate on the significance of the Delphic E.

[1] Athenaeus v. 202 C *κηρύκειον ἐπίχρυσον πηχῶν τεσσαράκοντα πέντε, καὶ κεραυνὸς ἐπίχρυσος πηχῶν τεσσαράκοντα.*

[2] Above, p. 272.

[3] F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Ἀρτεμίδωρος*, in the local paper *Σαντορίνη*, Aug. 2, 1899. *Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ. Ἀετὸν ὑψιπετῆ Διὸς ἄγγελον Ἀρτεμίδωρος αἰὲν τῇ πόλει εἶσε καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν. Ποσειδῶνι Πελαγίῳ. Πέτρᾳ ἐν ἀκαμάτῃ δελφῖνα θεοῖσιν ἔτευξεν, εὔνουν ἀνθρώποις νενομισμένον Ἀρτεμίδωρος.*

[4] *AM* xxiv. 386 ff., *IPI* i. p. 186 ff.

[5] Others are: three dots for the sons of Asclepius, scales for Justice, a twig for Zeus, hammer and tongs for Hephaestus, sistrum for Isis, whip for Poseidon Hippius, horn of plenty for Fortune.

[6] Athenaeus vii. 325 A *τῇ δ' Ἑκάτῃ ἀποδίδοται ἡ τρίγλη διὰ τὴν τῆς ὀνομασίας κοινότητα. τριοδῖτις γὰρ καὶ τρίγληνος· καὶ ταῖς τριακάσι δὲ αὐτῇ τὰ δεῖπνα φέρουσι. κατὰ τὸ παραπλήσιον δ' οἰκειοῦσιν Ἀπόλλωνι μὲν κίθαρον, Ἑρμῇ δὲ βόακα, Διονύσῳ δὲ κιττόν, καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ φαλαρίδα...κατὰ συνέμφασιν τοῦ φαλλοῦ. καὶ τὴν νῆτταν καλουμένην Ποσειδῶνί τινες οἰκειοῦσι*, etc. Even Nestor's prize at the funeral games, a *φιάλη*, is said to be given in *διὰ τὴν φιλοποσίαν*: Ath. x. 433 D. So Pausanias (vii. 23. 6) explains the torches of Eileithyia as either symbolizing the fiery pangs of childbirth, or the ushering of the child into the light of day.

If this reasoning be sound, it follows that the Greeks would not consecrate an attribute, or an attendant animal, as an equivalent for the deity himself; nor was there any reason why they should expect the deity to be specially pleased with such a gift. Let us see whether the facts fit in with this view. If I can show (1) that some attributes supposed to be specially agreeable to a deity are not consecrated to that deity at all, in kind or in model; (2) that some of those which are so consecrated, are given to other deities as well; (3) that where the reason is recorded, it is not that the thing was the deity's attribute or attendant animal: I shall be justified in denying the principle and in leaving the burden of proof with those who uphold it. If I find this rule violated after the fourth century, I shall regard this as further evidence that the change of idea which I see in the fourth century did take place. And first as to the animals.

(1) Before the fourth century there is no recorded dedication of an owl to Athena[1], an eagle or a dove to Zeus, a cuckoo or peacock to Hera, a dolphin to Poseidon, or of a snake to Asclepius or the heroes. But on the other hypothesis we should expect to find whole series of these objects in the shrines.

(2) The stag or fawn was sacrificed to Artemis Laphria at certain seasons, and models of wild game are dedicated to her at Lusi. But the stag or fawn, the hare, bear, or lion are dedicated in model also to Zeus, to Cabirus, and to Menelaus and Helen, whose attendant animals they are not. Now on the other hypothesis we should expect not a few, but whole series of such dedications at the chief shrines of Artemis; yet there are none, I believe, either in Delos or in Corcyra. I have given reason to think that these models are hunters' offerings, or that after a certain date they may be toys. If they were hunters' offerings or toys when dedicated to Zeus and Cabirus, they may fairly be regarded as the same when dedicated to Artemis. These animals must also be taken in conjunction with the bull, the ram, the goat, the sheep, and the horse, which are

[1] For the bronze owls of the Acropolis see below, p. 383; for the owls of the Inventories, 383[2].

also widely distributed; and if simple ideas can be suggested, that they were a memorial of an act or process, or models of prey or gain, to cover all, they are more likely to be true than a subtile philosophising reason for which no evidence can be produced.

(3) I find in the *Anthology* a bronze cock dedicated to the Tyndaridae, but for victory[1]; and a lion dedicated to Cybele, but because the beating of the priest's tympanum saved him from a lion[2]. Two gold eagles were dedicated at Delphi, and the reason given is not that they were symbols of Zeus, but that they might be memorials of the legendary meeting of two eagles at the centre spot of the earth[3]. All these, moreover, fall after the fourth century; and in the same period there is an owl dedicated by Phaedus on the Athenian Acropolis[4], and a peacock dedicated by Hadrian to Argive Hera, "because the bird is held to be sacred to Hera[5]." The dedication of the owl, so far from appearing a natural thing, seemed ludicrous, and the familiar proverb was applied to it with a difference, as though the man had sent coals to Newcastle. Thus we are not at liberty to interpret the ancient bronze owls found on the Acropolis as independent dedications, but as parts of statuettes or other objects[6]. The eagles and doves found in Olympia and Dodona were also not independently dedicated[7]. There were terra-cotta images of snakes found in the sanctuary of the

[1] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 149.

[2] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 218—9.

[3] Schol. Eur. *Or.* 331 *ἀνακεῖσθαι δὲ χρυσοῦς ἀετούς φασι τῶν μυθευομένων ἀετῶν ὑπομνήματα.* Similar memorials of a myth may be the goat suckling Apollo's children in Crete (Paus. x. 16. 5); these were the founders of the state. And Procne and Itys at Athens (i. 24. 3).

[4] *Corp. Paroem. Gr.* i. p. 391 *γλαὺξ ἐν πόλει· ὑπὸ Φαίδου ἀνετέθη γλαὺξ ἐν ἀκροπόλει.* I will not assume that the tetradrachm is meant, Hesych. *s. v.* *γλαύξ*. A rude stone owl is in the Acropolis Museum, No. 1347, and one or two others were found; but there is no clue to their origin. They may have been part of a group. See note 6. The tortoise called votive in the *Cat. Cypr. Mus.* 3277, was found in a tomb.

[5] Paus. ii. 17. 6. It will be remembered that Hera at Argos had a cuckoo, not a peacock, which was her bird in Samos (Athen. xiv. 655 B).

[6] Ridder, *Cat.* 532 ff. Like the swan (530), the eagles (538—40). No. 534 however is doubtful. There are also crows in this place (541—3) and snakes (544 ff.).

[7] *Bronzen von Ol.* xiii. 210, 211 etc.; cp. vii. 45, ix. 56. Carapanos, *Dodone*, xxi. 5, cp. xxi. 4 *bis*.

Mistress in Arcadia; but their date is unknown, and their object is unknown[1]. There were gold or silver snakes dedicated to Asclepius in Athens, but not before the fourth century: these were probably bangles, which went by the name of snake. A bronze peacock was found in the Heraeum; this too may have been part of another object, or if not, why should it not be a toy or ornament equally with the porcelain monkey and the porcelain cat[2]? A few doves, one pair billing together, were found by the shrine of Aphrodite at Daphni[3] and in Cyprus: if they were votive offerings, what was their date? and were they dedicated perhaps as a model of sacrifice, or as an allegory of human love? Crows are found in the shrine of Athena at Athens; but we hear nothing of their being sacred to her there or elsewhere. Aphrodite stands in Elis with her foot on a tortoise, "a hint to wives," says Plutarch, "that they should stay at home and hold their tongues[4]"; but more prosaic souls will remember that the tortoise was a common form of footstool[5]. Lais was killed, it is said, by jealous Thessalian women, who beat her to death with "wooden tortoises" in the temple of Aphrodite[6]. I do not know how it is to be proved that these were models dedicated to the goddess for mystical reasons, and not rather footstools caught up or brought from home as a ready weapon.

The facts may be summed up thus. There is no series of attendant animals dedicated to a deity on which an argument can be based. A few sporadic examples of these animals are found; but such animals dedicated to one deity generally are dedicated to one or more others. Those which can be shown to imply the idea that a deity preferred his attendant animal as a

[1] Frazer, *Pausanias* iv. 370: the date of the temple is later than the fourth century.

[2] Frazer, *Pausanias* iii. 177—8.

[3] Frazer, *Pausanias* ii. 497.

[4] Paus. vi. 25. 1 leaves the curious to guess the meaning of the tortoise and the goat. Plut. *Pr. Con.* 142 D *Ἀφροδίτην Φειδίας ἐποίησε χελώνην πατοῦσαν, οἰκουρίας σύμβολον ταῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ σιωπῆς.* Representatives of this type are known in art: Roscher i. 412; Bernouilli, *Aphrodite*, 150[2], 323 (quoted by Frazer on Paus. *l. c.*).

[5] Athen. 589 B, Hesych., Suid.

[6] Schol. Arist. *Plut.* 179 *καί φασιν ὅτι ζηλοτυποῦσαι αἱ Θετταλαὶ γυναῖκες ἐφόνευσαν αὐτὴν ξυλίναις χελώναις τύπτουσαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης.*

votive offering, are all too late to be brought in evidence[1]; those of which this cannot be shown are better explained on other and simpler principles. The doubtful ones cannot be proved to have been dedicated independently, and most of them are clearly parts of something else. Some few, apparently old and genuine, remain unexplained, such as the crows and the owl of Athens which stand on independent bases[2]. I will grant these to the symbolists; to build up a reversed Chinese pagoda, on a point supported by three crows and one obscure bird of night.

Next, the inanimate attributes.

(1) The only divine attribute which is really distinctive is the thunderbolt, and this would make a pretty object for dedication; in fact objects of the same shape as the bolt of Zeus are now made and used as charms in India under the name of Indra's thunderbolts[3]. But the thunderbolt is never dedicated to Zeus or anybody else, neither has one been found in any of his shrines except in the hand of a figure. The symbolic argument fails utterly, then, just where it should be strongest, and gives presumptive evidence against the symbolic theory elsewhere.

(2) Arms and armour are the attributes of Aphrodite, Athena, Apollo, Artemis, the Dioscuri. They are constantly dedicated, and not to these deities only[4] but to Zeus who does not wear them. The distinctive mark of Athena, the aegis, is not dedicated to any; nor are the hats of Hermes and the Dioscuri. Clothes and shoes are dedicated, not to these deities, but to Artemis and Asclepius, to Athena, Apollo, and Poseidon[5]. Corn, or its model, is dedicated not only to Demeter but to Apollo, Athena, Artemis[6]; grapes not to Dionysus only, but to Athena, Apollo, and Amphiaraus[7], to Pan and Cabirus[8]. Skins of beasts

[1] Tortoises on Mt Parthenius were sacred to Pan, and were not allowed to be slain (Paus. viii. 54. 7), but we hear nothing of the votive dedication of tortoises to him by worshippers.

[2] Ridder *Cat.* 541—3, 534. The owls of the Athenian Inventory (see p. 394) are not earlier than the fourth century. It should be observed that a symbolic explanation which suits either owl or crow here will exclude the other. Owls were welcomed in this spot, crows or ravens driven away.

[3] I have several in my possession.

[4] If there is an exception, they are accidental. I do not remember a dedication of spoil to the Dioscuri.

[5] Pages 249[9], 275.

[6] Pages 66, 53. [7] Pages 52, 66.

[8] Chap. II.; page 66.

are offered to Artemis, Pan, and the Nymphs[1] as well as to Heracles and Dionysus. Torches are offered not to Hecate but to Athena[2]. No lyre is dedicated to Apollo, who bears it, but it is dedicated to Athena, who does not[3]. Tridents are offered to Poseidon, the thyrsus to Dionysus and to no one else: but why? This brings us to the third point.

(3) The reasons given for dedication are never symbolic[4]. The arms and armour are spoils of war or weapons used in war; clothes and shoes are firstfruits of work, thank-offerings for healing, or meant to dress the god's image. Corn and grapes are the firstfruit or tithe. Skins of beasts are the hunter's firstfruit, the fawnskin and thyrsus[5] are the ceremonial dress dedication in memory of the orgy. Torches are a prize or a used tool, trident the fisherman's spears which have been used, or are now past use. The lyre is a gift from Lesbos, where such things were made[6].

In and after the fourth century, I still find no thunderbolts and no caduceus; but Antiochus, it is said, "dedicated" a gold aegis with a gorgoneum upon it, above the theatre in Athens[7]; as little a true dedication as an honorific statue set up in the agora.

I think I have proved that there is no case for the dedication of attributes or attendant animals to a deity for the reason that they were his attributes or attendant animals. What originally suggested the mistaken idea was a difference in feeling which has grown up between then and now, and especially the reverence of Christendom for the Cross. It follows that the object dedicated, such as a wolf, cock, or torch, cannot be made a criterion for deciding to what deity it was offered[8].

Two articles need further consideration, because a symbolic or

[1] Pages 44, 50, 51.

[2] Page 177[13]; see also Indices *s.v.* δαΐς.

[3] Cakes in lyre form, or stampt with a lyre, are mentioned by Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Πάταρα, as offered to Apollo in Lycian Patara; but we know neither their date nor anything more about them. There is no parallel dedication of the real lyre, as in the case of animal cakes.

[4] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 158 is a possible exception; but it is later than the fourth century.

[5] *Anth. Pal.* vi. 172.

[6] See Index I., and cp. p. 269[3].

[7] Paus. v. 12. 4. The aegis in the Athenian Inventory is probably, like the Gorgon-mask, a shield-device (see p. 394); but in any case both are not earlier than the fourth century.

[8] As is done in *AJA* vii. 406 ff. by R. B. Richardson.

hieratic meaning has been attached to both: the tripod, which is supposed to have special reference to Apollo; and the double-headed axe, which has been similarly associated with Zeus[1].

In Homeric days tripods and kettles formed no small part of human wealth; they were given as prizes and gifts, and they are spoken of in numbers just as one might speak of so many ounces of gold[2]. They were dedicated in hosts at the great shrines, where they were one of the most notable sights[3]. At Dodona the old ones appear to have been so many, that piled in heaps they formed a wall[4]. Quantities of fragments have been found at the Heraeum, at Athens, Delos, Delphi, and Dodona. It appears, indeed, that like other material wealth, these had a certain fixed value, and past current like coins from hand to hand. Tripod and kettle are the names of units of currency in Crete[5]; whether these were coins with that device on them or not, they can only be explained by supposing that the real things had once been such units[6]. This will account for the common use of the tripod as a prize[7]; originally given for what it was worth, it became a thing of tradition. The ancient symbolists gave the tripod a mystical meaning, (for example) that the three legs symbolized past, present, and future; and they associated it with Apollo because of his prophetic truth, with Dionysus because there is truth in the wine-cup[8]. The

[1] See Reisch p. 6; Evans, *Mycenean Tree and Pillar Cult*, *JHS* xxi. 99; Hogarth, *Ann. Br. Sch. Ath.* vi. 114. Rouse, *The Double Axe and the Labyrinth*, *JHS* xxi. 268 ff.

[2] *Il.* viii. 290, ix. 122, 264, xix. 243, xxiv. 233; *Od.* iv. 129, xv. 84, 129; *Hymn* iii. 61 *τρίποδας κατὰ ϝοῖκον ἐπηετανούς τε λέβητας*; Theopompus ap. Ath. vi. 231 F *ἦν γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν τὸ ἱερὸν κεκοσμημένον χαλκοῖς ἀναθήμασιν, οὐκ ἀνδριᾶσιν ἀλλὰ λέβησι καὶ τρίποσι.* So in Sicily: Phanias ap. Ath. vi. 232 C. As prizes, see p. 151 above. Pindar *Pyth.* xi. 4 says of Ismenian Apollo: *χρυσέων ἐς ἄδυτον τριπόδων θησαυρόν.*

[3] Hom. *Hymn* ii. 265 *ἐς δ' ἄδυτον κατέδυσε διὰ τριπόδων ἐριτίμων*; iii. 178 *Πυθῶνα...ἔνθεν ἅλις τρίποδας περικαλλέας ἠδὲ λέβητας πορθήσω καὶ χρυσόν, ἅλις τ' αἴθωνα σίδηρον, καὶ πολλὴν ἐσθῆτα.*

[4] Carapanos, *Dodone*, 216 (Heuzey); Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Δωδώνη.

[5] *Mus. It.* ii.195[32], 222; Roberts, p. 53.

[6] Ridgeway, *Currency*, 314; *Mon. Ant.* i. 79—85.

[7] Above, pp. 151, 152, 156.

[8] Diod. xvi. 26; Ath. ii. 37 F *τὸ νικητήριον ἐν Διονύσου τρίπους· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τρίποδος λέγειν φαμὲν τοὺς ἀληθεύοντας...διὸ Ἀπόλλωνος μὲν οἰκεῖος διὰ τὴν ἐκ μαντικῆς ἀλήθειαν, Διονύσου δὲ διὰ τὴν ἐν μέθῃ*; Schol. Arist. *Plutus* 9 *τρίποδι χρῆται ὁ Ἀπόλλων διὰ τοὺς τρεῖς*

moderns, perhaps without going so far, have yet sometimes seen a special appropriateness in the gift of a tripod to these two gods. But the tripod has no special connexion with either. It is dedicated not only to Dionysus as a musical prize; not only to Apollo in the shrines of Amyclae[1], Delphi[2], and Delos[3], Apollo Ismenian[4] and Apollo Ptoan[5]: but to Zeus at Dodona[6], Olympia[7], and Ithome[8], to Hera in Argos[9], to Athena at Athens[10], to the Graces and Muses[11], to Heracles at Thebes[12], in the Hierothysium at Messene[13], and in the Idaean cave of Crete[14].

The double-headed axe also appears to have had a fixt value in early days, and to have been a unit of currency; as it once was in America, and still is amongst backward races of men in Africa[15]. The people of Tenedos send axes to Delphi as a thank-offering for what appears to have been a large catch of crabs[16]. A Greek butcher in Italy offers an axe as tithe of his profits[17]. Silver bowl and axe of price were a gift from Timasion to Seuthes[18]. As the tripod, so also the axe forms a coin-device in Crete, Tenedos, and Pherae[19]; and the "silver axe" is a coin in Cyprus[20]. These indications throw light on the store of axes in the palace of Odysseus, which were doubtless part of his wealth[21]; and on the axe as a prize in games[22]. But the axe has no

καιροὺς τῶν πραγμάτων...τά τ' ὄντα τά τ' ἐσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα. There is safety in numbers.

[1] Paus. iii. 18. 7.

[2] In the Museum at Delphi; Athen. vi. 231, 232.

[3] *BCH* vi. 118.

[4] Pind. *Pyth.* ix. 5; Herod. i. 92, v. 59; Paus. ix. 10. 4 (quoted by Reisch).

[5] *BCH* ix. 478, 480, 524; *AM* iii. 86.

[6] Carapanos, *Dodone*, xxiii. 3.

[7] *Bronzen von Ol.*, p. 72.

[8] *Bronzen von Ol.*, p. 13, Paus. iv. 12. 9.

[9] Dr Waldstein.

[10] Ridder, *Cat.* Index; *JHS* xiii. 233; *CIA* iv. 1. 373[79].

[11] *IGS.* i. 1795.

[12] Paus. x. 7. 6.

[13] Paus. iv. 32. 1.

[14] Museum of Candia; *Mus. It.* ii. 742.

[15] Ridgeway, *Origin of Coin and Weight Standards*, 317; *Early Age*, i. 443.

[16] Plut. *Pyth. Or.* 12; above, pp. 58[5], 92[7], *JHS* xxi. 271.

[17] *IGA* 543; above, p. 92.

[18] Ath. iv. 151 c καὶ Τιμασίων προπίνων φιάλην τε ἀργυρᾶν καὶ κοπίδ' ἀξίαν δέκα μνῶν. Xen. *Anab.* vii. 3. 18.

[19] Head, *Hist. Num.*

[20] Collitz i. 60 etc.

[21] *Od.* xxi. 76.

[22] *Od.* xxiii. 851.

special connexion with Zeus: it is found not only at Dodona[1], Olympia[2], and in Crete[3], but is dedicated to Apollo in Delphi and elsewhere[4], and to Artemis in Arcadia[5]. It is also seen in the hands of Dionysus[6], the Amazons[7], local heroes of Asia Minor[8]; and Apollo in the same region[9]; on a relief from Melos it is used to slay the Calydonian Boar[10]; Ino attempts to kill Phrixus with it[11]; Theseus fights with it[12]. Double axes with marks of use on them have been found in a carpenter's shop at Anthedon[13]. There is nothing holy about this kind of axe, and if Zeus carries one at Labranda[14], he does so because it is a weapon; he stands for the protector of the city as Athena is with her spear and shield. There is therefore no recondite or symbolical meaning in the dedication of axes to Zeus or anybody else: indeed, where the reason is stated, they are either a tithe or spoil of war[15].

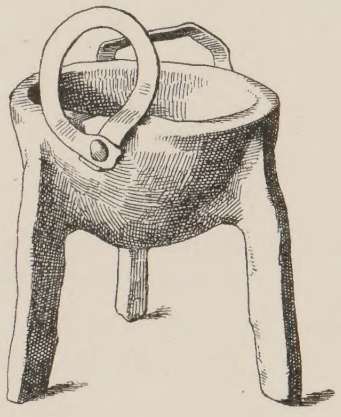

Fig. 49. Tripod and Cauldron, from Olympia. *Bronzen* xxvii. 536.

But there is another point to discuss. Both tripods and axes are made in miniature. At Olympia hundreds of tiny tripods were found; some carefully cast models[16], others merely cut out of foil, the object being indicated in the rudest way[17]: many of which would be of no conceivable value to god or man. All the axes found in the Dictaean cave of Crete are unfit for use, the largest being too thin, and the smaller mere *simulacra*[18]. The small ones are of different

[1] Carapanos, pl. liv.
[2] *Bronzen von Ol.*, xxvi. 520—7.
[3] *Ann. Br. Sch. Ath.* vi. 109.
[4] Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* 45, *AZ* xxxviii. 38, *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 681.
[5] *Jahreshefte* iv. 69.
[6] Stephani, *Compte Rendu* 1863, 128 ff.
[7] Vase paintings; see last note.
[8] *AM* x. 12, *BCH* iv. 294.
[9] *Cat. Berl. Sc.* 680.
[10] Benndorf, *Heroon von Gjölbaschi*, 108; Stephani, *Compte Rendu*, 1868, 75.
[11] *Annali* xxxix. pl. c.
[12] Stephani, *Compte Rendu*, 1867, 177.
[13] *AJA* vi. 104 pl. xv.
[14] Plut. *l. c.*
[15] Plut. *l. c.*
[16] *Bronzen von Ol.*, pl. xxvii. 536; see fig. 49.
[17] *Bronzen von Ol.*, pl. xxvii. 540.
[18] *Ann. Br. Sch. Ath.* vi. 108.

types: thick and solid, like stone axes[1]; thin, and sometimes markt with dots like dice[2]; some are quite microscopic[3]. Many

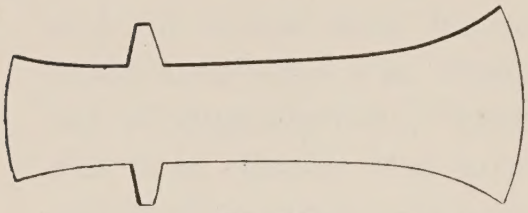

Fig. 50.

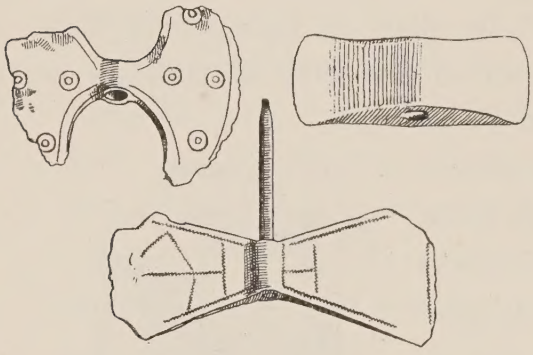

Fig. 51. Miniature axes, from Dodona (50) and Olympia (51).

Ridgeway, *Early Age*, fig. 79; *Bronzen* xxvi. 520, 525, 527.

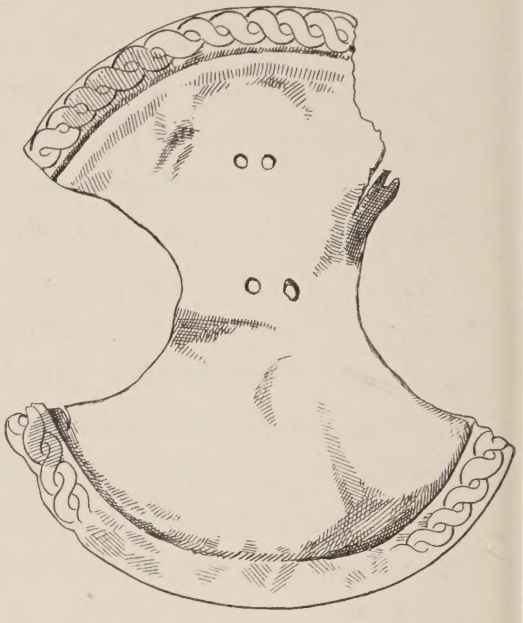

Fig. 52. Miniature shield, from Olympia.

Bronzen, pl. vii. 40.

have handles of the same material, which may be perforated at the upper end[4]. They are made of copper or bronze[5]; and it is to be noted that similar axes have been found made of gold at Mycenae[6] and on Mount Sipylus[7], made of bronze in tombs at Hallstatt[8] and Cyprus[9], and of bone in a tomb at Syracuse[10]. Other bronze specimens have been found in Egypt, made on the model of axes of the stone age[11]. Now what can

[1] *Bronzen*, xxvi. 520; see fig. 51.

[2] *Bronzen*, xxvi. 524—5; *Ann. Br. Sch. Ath.* vi. 109; with dot-marks, *Bronzen* xxvi. 524, 527; *Jahreshefte* iv. 49 fig. 67 two dots, fig. 68 six dots. See figs. 50, 51.

[3] *Bronzen*, xxvi. 522; *Ann. Br. Sch. Ath.* vi. 109^{6}.

[4] *Ann. Br. Sch. Ath.* vi. $109^{3,5}$; *Jahreshefte* iv. 49 fig. 67 (perforated handle). Another from Silchester in Reading Museum; others in the British Museum; all with perforated handles.

[5] *Ann. Br. Sch. Ath.* vi. 109.

[6] Schliemann, *Mycenae*, 253^{368}. Two axes, of different sizes, are figured on a gem as hanging together, *ibid.* 354.

[7] *BCH* iii. pl. 4, 5.

[8] Ridgeway, *Early Age* i. 443.

[9] *Cat. Cypr. Mus.* 3825.

[10] *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1895, 127.

[11] In the possession of Prof. Ridgeway.

the meaning of these things be? There is no evidence for the dedication of toys, or indeed for their existence, thus early; and the tombs were not the tombs of children, but of kings, warriors, full-grown men. It has been already pointed out, that there is evidence for the axe as a unit of currency; and where large axes still circulate, small ones in bundles of ten, each representing a fraction of the axe-unit, are used for exchange[1]. Little axes have also been found in Mexico, which are said by the Indians to have been used as money[2]. This must explain our axelets; and the hole in the handle will have been meant to string them like Chinese cash. Whether the dots had any relation to the value there are too few examples to decide. Here I may mention, that Homer recognises the fractional half-axe[3].

Fig. 63. Miniature axe, from Mexico.

Ridgeway, *Early Age*, fig. 80.

But while the large axes could be used, the small ones were of no use; they were in fact tokens, half-way between the implement and the coin. It may be suggested that the small tripods and kettles[4] of Olympia were also tokens, having no value, but representing a fraction of the full-size article in exchange. It may be that this is true only of the better specimens, those cut out of thin foil being *simulacra*, dedicated because the tripod was a traditional form of dedication. That the idea of dedicating *simulacra* was not unknown we see from the story which tells of wooden and clay tripods dedicated at Ithome[5].

Once the key is found, it may open more than one lock. We have already seen that iron bars were dedicated as a tithe[6], and that bars of iron are recorded in the Delian shrine[7]. The late

[1] Ridgeway, *Origin*, 40 (figs.); *Early Age*, i. 443. See fig. 58.

[2] Ridgeway, *Early Age*, i. 443, fig. 80. See fig. 63.

[3] *Il.* xxiii. 851 *δέκα μὲν πελέκεας δέκα δ' ἡμιπέλεκκα.*

[4] *Bronzen von Ol.* 115 pl. xliv.

[5] Paus. iv. 12. 9.

[6] Page 92. Perhaps the original iron money of Sparta was in the shape of manufactured articles. Why is it just here that we find iron 'money'? Did the Dorians first introduce iron into Greece, or first use it to any extent?

[7] See Index vi. *s.v.* *βουβάλιον*, *ὀβελίσκος.*

excavations at Argos have revealed a vast number of these bars; and it is suggested that large objects of iron the size of a mountain gun may have been the largest multiple of the bar currency, perhaps the very ones dedicated by Pheidon himself[1]. There are also a large number of objects hitherto unexplained, which perhaps may be brought under the same category. These are the rings of Argos[2], Olympia[3], and other places, lances and arrowheads of thin foil from Delos[4], the miniature swords or knives[5], and helmet[6] of Olympia, the miniature shields of Olympia[7] and Crete[8], the miniature cuirasses of Praesus in Crete[9], the miniature wheels of Argos[10], Dodona[11], Lusi[12] and Olympia[13].

Now Phanias speaks of bronze knives along with tripods and kettles as part of the wealth of Sicilian shrines[14], just as bars are mentioned as part of the wealth of Delphi by Epicharmus[15]. Shields in full size, and in miniature as fractions of the same shape as the larger, are used in South America for exchange[16]. There is evidence that shields were once so used in Greece[17]. Many of the small ones found are indistinguishable from the heads of large pins or buttons; but in view of the facts given

[1] Dr Waldstein; above, p. 74.

[2] *Bronzes*, 1614 ff., 1695 ff.

[3] *Bronzen von Ol.*, 454 ff. (immense quantities in the Pelopeum).

[4] *AZ* xl. 333; useless for practical purposes.

[5] *Bronzen von Ol.*, xxvi. 530 ff. Some of the Cretan knives may be *simulacra*: *Ann. Br. Sch. Ath.* vi. 110. The little knives however may have been used as the hillmen in India do now; beside their curved *khukree* they have a little knife about 4 inches long in a sheath of its own within the larger sheath. So the Celts also: Poseidonius ap. *Ath.* iv. 152 A *ἐὰν δὲ ᾖ τι δυσαπόσπαστον, μαχαιρίῳ μικρῷ παρατέμνοντες, ὃ τοῖς κολεοῖς ἐν ἰδίᾳ θήκῃ παράκειται.*

[6] *Bronzen von Ol.*, no. 1041.

[7] *Bronzen von Ol.*, no. 1002—5. See fig. 52, p. 388.

[8] *Ann. Br. Sch. Ath.* vi. 109.

[9] *AJA* N.S. v. 383, 384, fig. 13.

[10] *IGA* 43 *a*, *IPI* i. 566; also one in the Heraeum, *Bronzes* 2254.

[11] Carapanos, *Dodone*, pl. xxvi. 1 *Ὠφελίων Ἀφροδῖται ἀνέθηκε*, hardly intelligible unless given for its value real or traditional.

[12] *Jahreshefte* iv. 51[74].

[13] *Bronzen von Ol.*, p. 68: some cut out of thin foil 498 ff., some cast 503 ff.

[14] Phanias ap. Ath. v. 232 C *ἱστορεῖ Φανίας ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ τυράννων, ὡς χαλκῶν ὄντων τῶν παλαιῶν ἀναθημάτων καὶ τριπόδων καὶ λεβήτων καὶ ἐγχειριδίων.*

[15] *Ap.* Ath. viii. 362 C *λέβητες χάλκεοι, κρατῆρες, ὀδελοί.*

[16] Prof. Ridgeway has a specimen of a miniature shield. See also fig. 56.

[17] Ridgeway, *Origin*, 331, 334.

above we need not fear to call them shields. Any article under the sun, used in exchange, might be modelled as a token; as we see from the researches of Ridgeway and Temple. I may here call attention to the ancient coinage of China, which imitates in metal a ring or a knife[1], a bale of cloth, a spade or hoe, or a wheel[2]. So also we find shields in the South Pacific and in North America used as currency[3]; and models of axes[4], spear-heads[5], hoes[6], millstones[7], even a conventionalised frying-pan[8], are found in different parts of Africa, Asia, or America. If this explanation be right, the wheels of Olympia may have nothing to do with chariots or chariot-races; and perhaps even the chariots themselves may often be *simulacra* given instead of the real thing. The Greeks were on the same path as the Chinese took; but they did not follow it out to its logical conclusion, and offer paper money to the shades.

Two other classes of dedications demand a brief word: the dedication of one god in the temple of another, and the dedication of grotesques or *genre* figures.

The figure of a god might be dedicated in any temple as an ornament to the temple, choice spoil of war, and the like[9]; of which we have seen examples in the old statue from Tiryns at Argos[10], the Hermes of Praxiteles and Aphrodite which stood in the Heraeum at Olympia[11], and probably the figure of Apollo dedicated as a tithe to Athena[12]. So Theseus dedicates at Delphi an image of Aphrodite which had belonged to Ariadne[13].

[1] R. C. Temple: *Beginnings of Currency*, in *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* N. S. ii. 117, 122, pl. xxi. 7, 10. See pl. ii. figs. 60, 61, 62.

[2] *AJA* iv. 284 pl. xii., xiii.

[3] *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* N.S. ii. pl. xx. 1, 2, see pl. i. fig. 56.

[4] *Ibid.* pl. xxi. 1—6, see pl. ii. fig. 58.

[5] *Ibid.* pl. xx. 14, 15, 18, 19, see pl. i. figs. 53, 54.

[6] *Ibid.* pl. xx. 11, 12, xxi. 12, 13, see pl. ii. fig. 57.

[7] See pl. i. fig 10.

[8] *Ibid.* pl. xxi. 18, see pl. ii. fig. 59.

[9] This principle is correctly laid down by Letronne, *Sur l'usage des anciens de consecrer la statue d'un dieu à un autre dieu*: *Rev. Arch.* i. 439 ff. *Lettre à M. Millingen*, *Annali* vi. 198 ff. *CIG* 3159 says as much, late as it is: Κούιντος Βαλέριος Ἰουλιανὸς Σμυρναῖος Ἀσκληπιῷ ἰητῆρι Διὸς Σωτῆρος ἄγαλμα σὺν βάσει ἀργυρέῃ γύψου μεστῇ ἀνέθηκεν, but he seems to feel some appropriateness in selecting Zeus Soter. The figure that Letronne calls Apollo, which is dedicated to Asclepius, is more probably a worshipper in ritual act.

[10] Page 117.

[11] Paus. v. 17. 4.

[12] Page 63.

[13] Paus. ix. 40. 3.

Others are less clear. Hermes was said to have been dedicated by Cecrops in the temple of Athena Polias, where he stood[1]. The Eleans dedicated an Athena at Olympia[2]. Micythus dedicated Amphitrite, Poseidon, and Hestia in the same place[3]. Besides these Pausanias mentions Artemis in a temple of Demeter[4], Aphrodite and Athena in a temple of Zeus[5], Apollo, the Muses, and Heracles in a temple of Asclepius[6], Artemis Leucophryene dedicated by the sons of Themistocles on the Acropolis at Athens[7], Enyo, two statues of Aphrodite, with Heracles and Apollo, in a temple of Ares[8]. With what thought these were dedicated there is no saying. If such figures are part of a group, then the dedication is easily understood, and falls under one of the great principles we have seen working everywhere[9]. Perhaps they were all dedicated as *ἀγάλματα*. But I can find no authority for the dedication of one deity as a deity to another until very late times; when it is exemplified by a dedication of Artemis to Apollo[10], Sabazius to Zeus[11], of Heracles to Asclepius[12], of Aphrodite to Asclepius[13], of Athena to Artemis[14] or Asclepius[15], of Hermes to Pan and the Nymphs[16]. These are an extension of the vicious idea which brought honorific statues into the temples. There were of course often altars of other deities in a divine precinct, as at Athens, Olympia, Epidaurus, and there seems to be no reason why a dedication should not be made at those altars to those deities:

[1] Paus. i. 27. 1.

[2] Paus. v. 26. 6.

[3] Paus. v. 26. 2. Perhaps the group was meant to represent the act of salvation done upon him.

[4] Paus. viii. 37. 4.

[5] Paus. vii. 24. 2.

[6] Paus. iv. 31. 9.

[7] Paus. i. 26. 4.

[8] Paus. i. 8. 4.

[9] Above, p. 129 ff. So the Dioscuri are dedicated to Poseidon, if the interpretation of *IGS* iii. 1. 130 be right, as engaged in some act of mercy.

[10] *CIG* 6797 Gaul *Ἀπόλλωνι ἄνασσαν Ἐφέσου εὐχὴν ἀνέθηκεν.* Another from Ephesus: see above, p. 391[8].

[11] *BCH* i. 308 *Διὶ κορυφαίῳ Δία Σαουάζιον Νεαυλείτην* (name) *εὐχήν*; cp. *Rev. Arch.* i. 280 Cereri Dianam s. p. consecravit.

[12] *CIG* 1794*a*.

[13] *Cat. Ath. Sc.* 285 *Ἀφρικανὸς ὁ ἱερεὺς τὸ Γ Ἀσσκληπείῳ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην.*

[14] *Cat. Ath. Sc.* 275 **θεοῦ** *προσταγῇ Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν Ἀθήναιαν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι.* Another from Ephesus, see above, p. 391[8].

[15] *Cat. Ath. Sc.* 276 *πατροκασιγνήτην Ἀσκληπίῳ εἶσατ' Ἀθηνῆν Ἀσκάλον ἐκ γαίης σῶστρα φέρων Γενέθλις.*

[16] *Anth. Pal. App.* (Cougny) 342.

but this is different. There are no figures demonstrable for other gods, and not part of an ornament or group, amongst the Acropolis remains, at Dodona, or in the part of Olympia which belonged specially to Zeus. On the other hand, in the Cabirium came to light twenty-five Pans, one inscribed to the son of the Cabirus[1]; at Elatea, in the shrine of Athena, were twenty-two figures of other gods, Eros, Psyche, Leda, Dionysus, Aphrodite, Demeter; in the shrines of Amynus were some ancient seated goddesses[2]. With the exception of the last, which may have got there by accident[3], all these are probably given as pretty things which had some value for the givers; the dedication of Pan to the Cabirus' little boy looks like a sympathetic thought. This will also explain the Silenus figures and grotesques, which meet us in shoals[4].

In taking a last look backwards it is impossible not to feel with a new force how little there is in early times of the specialization of functions. The local deity or hero was lookt to for help in all emergencies, and all sorts of offerings might be paid to him. Panofka[5] has written an elaborate study to prove that the dedicator chose his deity for some supposed connexion, based largely on names, that is by his hypothesis on the family worship: a man named Diodorus preferring Zeus, Apollonius Apollo, and so forth. The reader will search in vain in this book for evidence to support that ingenious theory; neither will he find it necessary to call in mythical kinship to explain the dedication of a statue of Athena to Apollo. And as our study has shown what variety of blessing one deity could dispense, so it shows the infinite variety of objects which could be dedicated for one cause. Every kind of prayer can be addressed to Athena, Apollo, Poseidon, or Zeus; almost every kind of object is given to Asclepius for one and the same boon.

[1] *AM* xv. 359, 391 ἄνθεμα τῶι παιδὶ τῶ Καβίρω.

[2] *AM* xviii. 243, xxi. 293.

[3] The Cybele probably did.

[4] Seventy in the Cabirium, *AM* xv. 359; a dozen at Elatea, with seven hundred *genre* figures; one at Dodona (Carapanos, p. 31, pl. ix.), two centaurs on the Acropolis (Ridder, *Cat.* 429, 430).

[5] Panofka, "Von einer Anzahl Antiker Weihgeschenke und den Beziehen ihrer Geber zu den Orten ihrer Bestimmung": *Abhandl. der Akad. der Wiss. in Berlin*, 1839.

INDICES.

Only one or two references as a rule are given. The word is quoted in the nominative, unless for special reasons an exact quotation is desirable. Restored letters are not indicated unless doubtful. It is not certain that all the articles mentioned were votive offerings, as miscellaneous stock is sometimes included in the lists; but where the articles were clearly not votive they have been left out.

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χρυσίον ἄπυρον 751 I *a*[5]

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IV. ATHENS: Asclepieum. *CIA* ii. 766 (341/40), 835—840 (320—327).

αἰδοῖον 836[20]
ἀλάβαστρον 836 *a*[38]
ἀλύσιον 835[18]
ἀνδριάς 766[27]
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ἀργύριον 766[10]
ἀσπίς 835[68]
ἀστραγάλιον 766[32]
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αὐλός 766[31]
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βελόνη 836[108]
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γόνυ 836[30]

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δαρεικός 766[112]
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δελφὶς λίθινος 836[32]
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θηρικλεῖον 836 81
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θολίον 766 31
θρόνος ξύλινος 766 8
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ἴασπις 766 25
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καθετήρ 835 9, διάλιθος 836 *a* 30
κανοῦν 835 66
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κρατηρίσκος 836 *a* 44
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κυλιχνίς 766 31
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ὁδούς 766 24
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ὄνυξ 766 28
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πέδαι 835 38
περισκελίδιον 835 47
πίναξ 766 31
ποτηρίδιον 836 86
ποτήριον 766 14
προσκεφάλαιον ἐρεοῦν 766 35
πρόσωπον 766 4

ῥιπίς 836 *c* 10
ῥίς 835 89
ῥυτόν 836 31
ῥυτοφίαλον 836 *c* 10

σάρδιον 766 26
σιαγών 835 38
σκάφιον 836 22
σκέλος 766 22
στέφανος 766 1
στῆθος 836 92
στλεγγίδιον χρυσοῦν 836 22
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στόμα 835 21
σφραγίδιον 766 61
σφραγίς 766 18
σῶμα ἀνδρός 835 25
— γυναικός 835 14
σωμάτιον 835 45

τετράδραχμον 766 30
τετρᾶχμον 835 80
τίτθη 836 68
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τριώβολον 836 92
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V. ELEUSIS. *CIA* ii. 682 *c*, iv. 767 *b*; *AM* xix. 192.

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ἀκύλων χρυσοῦς
ἀσκός
ἀσπιδίσκη

δακτύλιος

ἐνώιδια
ἐχῖνος

ζωμήρυσις

ἠθμός
ἡμίχουν

κάδος
κανοῦν
καρχήσιον
κέρχνος
κηστήριον
κιβώτιον (ivory)
κότυλος
κραδευτής
κρεάγριον
κύαθος
κώθων

λαμπαδεῖον
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λοιβίς
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μηνίσκος

ξιφίδιον

ὀβελίσκος
οἰνοχόη
ὅρμος

πλάστρα
ποτήριον
ποδανιπτήρ

σίγλος
στλεγγίς
στυράκιον δόρατος
σφαγεῖον
σφραγίδιον
σφραγίς

ὑδρία
ὑποδερίς

φιάλη

χειροπέδα
χούς
χυτρίδιον

ψυκτήρ

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ἄκμων vi 47 [168]
ἀλάβαστος x 464 [86]
ἄμπελος χρυσῆ xiv 406
ἀμφιδέα x 463, xiv 412
ἀμφορεύς vi 50 [199]
ἀμφορίσκος x 466 [128]
ἀναγκαιοπότης vi 51 [209]
ἀνδριαντίδιον vi 47 [167]
ἀνδριάντιον xiv 412 [119]
ἀνδριαντίσκος x 464 [75, 93, 95]
ἀνδριάς vi 34 [60]
ἀνθέμιον xiv 406 [51]
ἀπαρχή vi 41 [114]
ἀργύριον ἄσημον x 464 [73]
ἀργυρίς vi 44 [142]
ἀρυστήρ x 463 [58]
ἀρύσας vi 39 [97]

ἀσπιδίσκη vi 32 [32]
ἀσπὶς ἀργυρᾶ vi 48 [178]

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βατιάκιον vi 108
βουβάλιον xiv 412
βουκεφάλιον χρυσοῦν vi 50 [199]
βουπάλινον vi 48 [171]

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γέρανος ἡ καλουμένη x 464 [84]

δακτυλίδιον xiv 412 [118]
δακτύλιος x 463 [51]
δεκάτη vi 34 [47]
δελφίς xiv 403 [18]
διόπη x 462 [51]
δίσκος vi 46 [157]
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ἔπλεστιον (?) vi 47[168]
ἐρώτιον xiv 412
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— *Θηρίκλειος* xiv 404[27]
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— Λακωνική x 462[13]
— λειά vi 37[79]
— λογχωτή xiv 408[70]
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βύρσα 827[20]

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δαρεικός 813 B[11]
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καλώδια 826[13]
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IX. PLATAEA.

(*AJA* vii. 406. All the dedications by women, whose names are given without further explanation.)

ἄλυσις
ἀμμάτιον

βουκεφάλη
βωμίσκος

δαΐς (many)
δακτύλιος

ἐνώιδιον

ἐνωτίδιον
ἐνώτιον
ἔρια
ἐρωτίσκος

ζώνη

λαμπάδιον
λαμπάς

πίναξ

στεφάνωμα
στυλίδιον

τὰ ἐφ' αὑτῆς
τύπος

φιάλη

Among the names are:

Δαιδίχη
Ἡδίστα
Ζωπύρα
Κοσμία
Λαμπρίχα
Ὀνησίμα
Παρανόμα
Σοβαρόν
Χρησίμα

X. TEMPLE OF HERA AT SAMOS, 436 B.C.

Curtius, *Samos* 6. Stamatiades, Σάμος, i. 218 ff.

ἀνδριαντίσκος

δίφρος inscribed Ἡρόδοτος Ζήνωνος Ἥρηι

ἐξάλειπτρον ἐλεφάντινον

ἡμιτύβιον λιτόν

ἱμάτιον
ἱππίσκος χαλκοῦς

κεκρύφαλος
κηρύκειον
κιθὼν κατάστικτος
κιθὼν Λύδιος
κιθωνίσκος λινοῦς
κοπίς
κρήδεμνα ἑπτά
κύκλος χαλκοῦς

μάχαιραι ἐμ μαχαιροθήκει
μίτρη λιτὴ στυππείου

παράλασσις
παραπέτασμα τῆς τραπέζης
περίζωμα ἀλουργοῦν ποικίλον
πόδες λίθινοι
πρόσλημμα παραλοργὲς ἀμφιθύσανον
πρόσωπον
πρόχους χαλκῆ

σινδονίσκη
σπληνίσκος ὑπογεγραμμένος
στρουθοὶ ἐπίχρυσοι
— ὑπάργυροι
σφελίσκος
σφενδόναι λιναῖ

τέττιγες ἐπίχρυσοι

ὑποκεφάλαια δύο

φιάλαι (ninety-two)

χεῖρες ἐπὶ βήματος ξυλίνου
χερνιβεῖον χαλκοῦν
χλάνδιον

XI. TREASURE OF APOLLO AT BRANCHIDAE.

CIG 2855 ff.

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ἀπαρχή 2855

βωμός 2862

ἐσχαρίς 2859

κανοῦν 2855
κέρας 2862

λιβανωτίς 2855
λιβανωτός 2862
λυχνία 2862

μαζόνομον 2862

οἰνοχόη 2862

παλίμποτον 2862
πλακοῦς περιηργυρωμένον 2862
πολυάνθης 2862
ποτήριον 2862

σινδών 2862
σκύφος 2862
σμύρνη 2862

ὑδρία 2855

φιάλη 2855 etc.

χιτὼν χρυσοῦς 2862

ψυκτήρ 2862

XII. FRAGMENT OF LIST FROM AEGINA. *IPI* i. 1588.

ἄγαλμα	κανοῦν	παναγρίς
ἀγαλμάτιον	καρχήσιον	περοναῖ in batches from five to 120
ἀσπιδίσκη	κηρύκειον	
ἀσπίς	κιβωτός	πίναξ
βάθρον	λουέτιον	ῥόα χαλκῆ
	λυχνίον	
θρόνος		φιάλη
θώραξ	πελεκῖνος	

XIII. INDEX TO THE DEDICATIONS IN THE *ANTHOLOGY*.

(Book VI. unless otherwise stated; *App.* means Cougny's *Appendix* (Didot).)

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